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PARADISE LOST.

A

POEM,

IN

TWELVE BOOKS.

The AUTHOR

JOHN MILTON.

A NEW EDITION,

With NOTES of various AUTHORS,

By *THOMAS NEWTON*, D. D.

VOLUME *the* FIRST.

LONDON:

Printed for J. and R. TONSON and S. DRAPER in the *Strand*.

M DCC XLIX.

PARADISE LOST.

A

POEM

IN

TWELVE BOOKS.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

3 H 2

To the RIGHT HONORABLE the

EARL OF *BATH.*

MY LORD,

MILTON himſelf prefixed no Dedication to the PARADISE LOST; for he deſigned it, not for a ſingle patron, but for the wiſe and learned of all ages. However ſeveral of the later editions have been inſcribed to Lord Sommers, as a great admirer and encourager of this work: and

indeed ſuch a poem ſhould be addreſſed only to the moſt worthy, to Lord Sommers, or One like Him a judge and patron of arts, and illuſtrious both in the commonwealth of men and the commonwealth of letters.

But this edition hath a peculiar right and title to Your Lordſhip's patronage and protection, as it was undertaken chiefly at Your deſire, and in ſome meaſure carried on at Your expenſe, Your Lordſhip having generouſly contributed the copper plates to beautify and adorn it: and at the ſame time Your Lordſhip was willing to give ſome encouragement to the art of deſigning here in England; for it is greatly to be lamented, when we can produce models in poetry ſuperior to any or all the nations in Europe, that we ſhould be deficient and inferior to ſeveral of them in the ſiſter art of painting.

Milton was ever a favorite poet with Your Lordſhip. You conſidered him always as a claſſic author in

Engliſh,

Engliſh, and were deſirous to have him publiſhed as ſuch: and though I cannot pretend to inſtruct Your Lordſhip to underſtand him better, or admire him more; yet if I can make him more generally underſtood, and conſequently more juſtly admired, Your Lordſhip's purpoſe and mine will be ſufficiently anſwered. Your Lordſhip's taſte has never been queſtioned; and I ſhould dread Your great abilities, if I did not love more Your candor and good-nature: and no wonder that You have ſo much a finer taſte than other great men, as You are ſo much a finer writer, and if I may be allowed to mention it, in poetry as well as in proſe. For the ſtate has not wholly ingroſſed Your time and attention; at proper ſeaſons and intervals You have alſo ſacrificed to the Muſes. Your writings in other kinds are very well known to the world, have long been in every body's hands, and read with univerſal delight and admiration: but Your verſes are made only for the amuſe-

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ment of Your leiſure hours, and the entertainment of Your friends; and it is not eaſy for others, who have not had the pleaſure of ſeeing ſome of them, to conceive the ſpirit, and eaſe, and elegance, and happineſs, with which they are written. They, who remember the pieces by Lord Dorſet, may have the beſt notion of them.

And if I may preſume to know any thing of the ſpirit or mind of Milton by a diligent peruſal of his works, he would be pleaſed with the offering of any of his writings to Your Lordſhip, for the ſake of thoſe principles of liberty which You have always profeſſed. He would have rejoiced in Your long, and glorious ſtruggle in the cauſe of liberty, in the cauſe of Your country: and if all the good effects have not followed from it, which might have been expected, though it may not become me to ſay where the blame ought to be laid, yet it cannot misbecome me to ſay that it ought by no means to be laid, as it has been,

upon

upon Your Lordſhip. It is not my buſineſs to give any offenſe, and I intend none. I abhor defamation, and I ſcorn as much to flatter Your Lordſhip or any man. But it may be ſaid, I hope without offenſe, I am ſure without flattery, that it is in Your Lordſhip's power to ſet all theſe tranſactions in a clear light, and You have ſufficient materials by You for this purpoſe, and have often been ſolicited by Your friends to do it: but Your Lordſhip's anſwer always was, that You would leave it to Time and Truth to vindicate Your character. And the event has ſucceeded according to Your Lordſhip's wiſdom and foreſight; prejudice is dying away; truth is gaining ground daily; and the more the truth is underſtood, the more it redounds to Your Lordſhip's honor: and Your enemies themſelves, and thoſe who not knowing Your purpoſes will not allow You to have acted a wiſe, muſt yet be forced to acknowledge that You acted a moſt diſintereſted part. For it is very well known, that You were even courted to accept

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the place of the greateſt power and confidence; or if You had foreſeen any difficulty of maintaining Yourſelf in power, as that is a ſlippery and uncertain ſituation, You might have ſecured Yourſelf in the poſſeſſion of any of the moſt lucrative employments, and might have enjoyed it with a patent for life. But Your Lordſhip was content to leave others in place and power, who You thought were moſt able and beſt qualified for the adminiſtration of public affairs, and retired Yourſelf with only a dignity, which had been offered You ſeveral times before. Such inſtances of magnanimity and diſintereſtedneſs have not been common in any age, and are very uncommon in the preſent.

Thus much the love of truth and virtue, which is inſeparable from the love of Your Lordſhip, has obliged me to ſay: and if I am partial to Your Lordſhip's character, there are other reaſons which have made me ſo, beſides the friendſhip and kindneſs which You have ſhown to me upon all occaſions. Your love

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of religion and virtue, which You expreſs in all Your diſcourſes and actions; Your reverence for the holy Scriptures, and how unfaſhionable ſoever it may be, Your open profeſſion of the truth of the Chriſtian revelation; Your regard for our eſtabliſh'd Church, and regular attendence upon the public worſhip; Your conſtant and inviolable affection to the conſtitution and liberties of Your country; Your acting always upon the true Whig principles, and aſſerting equally the prerogatives of the crown and the privileges of the people; Your ſteddy and ſincere attachment, tho' not always to the miniſters, yet always to the perſon of our moſt gracious King, and the true intereſts of his royal family, who next under God are the great bulwark and defenſe of our religion and liberties; Your readineſs at all times to maintain the liberty of the preſs, tho' no man ever ſuffered more by the abuſe of it than Yourſelf; Your humane and compaſſionate temper; Your uncommon knowledge, and extenſive

genius for litterature or buſineſs; Your eaſy wit, and flowing converſation, often inſtructive, always agreeable and entertaining; Your ſocial and convivial ſpirit, that it is a happineſs to live or converſe with You; theſe, theſe are the good qualities, which have gained my affection, and muſt gain every one's who hath equal opportunities of obſerving them. If I knew any man, who poſſeſſed and exerted them all in a greater and more eminent degree than Your Lordſhip, I ſhould love him and admire him more: but till then I muſt have the higheſt honor for Your Lordſhip, and cannot help profeſſing myſelf without reſerve, and with all poſſible veneration,

MY LORD,

Your LORDSHIP's ever obliged,

and devoted Servant,

May 20. 1749.

THOMAS NEWTON.

PREFACE.

TO publiſh new and correct editions of the works of approved authors has ever been eſteemed a ſervice to learning, and an employment worthy of men of learning. It is not material whether the author is ancient or modern. Good criticiſm is the ſame in all languages. Nay I know not whether there is not greater merit in cultivating our own language than any other. And certainly next to a good writer, a good critic holds the ſecond rank in the republic of letters. And if the pious and learned Biſhop of Theſſalonica has gained immortal honor by his notes upon Homer, it can be no diſcredit to a graver Divine than myſelf to comment upon ſuch a divine poem as the Paradiſe Loſt, eſpecially after ſome great men, who have gone before me in this exerciſe, and whoſe example is ſanction ſufficient.

My deſign in the preſent edition is to publiſh the Paradiſe Loſt, as the work of a claſſic author cum notis variorum. And in order to this end the firſt care has been to print the text correctly according to Milton's own editions. And herein the editors of Milton have a conſiderable advantage over the editors of Shakeſpear. For the firſt editions of Shakeſpear's works being printed from the incorrect copies of the players, there is more room left for conjectures and emendations; and as according to the old proverb,

Bene qui conjiciet vatem hunc perhibebo optimum,

the beſt gueſſer was the beſt diviner, ſo he may be ſaid in ſome meaſure too to be the beſt editor of Shakeſpear, as Mr. Warburton hath proved himſelf by variety of conjectures, and many of them very happy ones, upon the moſt difficult paſſages. But we who undertake to publiſh Milton's Paradiſe Loſt are not reduced to that uncertainty; we are not left floting in the wide ocean of conjecture, but have a chart and compaſs to ſteer by; we have an authentic copy to follow in the two editions printed in his own life-time, and have only to correct what may be ſuppoſed to be the errors of the preſs, or miſtakes occaſioned by the

author's blindneſs. Theſe two editions then, the firſt in ten books printed in a ſmall quarto, and the ſecond in twelve books printed in a ſmall octavo, are propoſed as our ſtandard: the variations in each are noted; and we never deviate from them both without aſſigning, as we think, a ſubſtantial reaſon for it. Some alterations indeed are neceſſary to be made in conſequence of the late improvements in printing, with regard to the uſe of capital letters, Italic characters, and the ſpelling of ſome words: but to Milton's own ſpelling (for we muſt diſtinguiſh between his and that of his times) we pay all proper regard, and commonly note where it is right, and where it is wrong; and follow it or not accordingly. His pointing too we generally obſerve, becauſe it is generally right; ſuch was the care, that Milton himſelf took in having the proof-ſheets read to him, or his friends took for him: and changes of conſequence we make none without ſignifying the reaſons; in leſſer inſtances there is no occaſion to be particular. In a word we approve of the two firſt editions in the main, tho' we cannot think that they ought to be followed (as ſome have adviſed) letter for letter, and point for point. We deſire to tranſcribe all their excellences, but have no notion of perpetuating their faults and errors.

When the text was ſettled, the notes came next under conſideration. P. H. or Patrick Hume, as he was the firſt, ſo is the moſt copious annotator. He laid the foundation, but he laid it among infinite heaps of rubbiſh. The greater part of his work is a dull dictionary of the moſt common words, a tedious fardel of the moſt trivial obſervations, explaining what requires no explanation: but take away what is ſuperfluous, and there will ſtill remain a great deal that is uſeful; there is gold among his droſs, and I have been careful to ſeparate the one from the other. It was recommended to me indeed to print entire Mr. Addiſon's Spectators upon the Paradiſe Loſt, as ingenious eſſays which had contributed greatly to the reputation of the poem, and having been added to ſeveral editions they could not well be omitted in this edition: and accordingly thoſe papers, which treat of the poem in general, are prefixed in the nature of a preliminary diſcourſe; and thoſe, which are written upon each book ſeparately, are

inſerted

inſerted under each book, and interwoven in their proper places. Dr. Bentley's is a great name in criticiſm, but he has not acquired any additional honor by his new edition of the Paradiſe Loſt. Nay ſome have been ſo far prejudiced as to think, that he could not be a good critic in any language, who had ſhown himſelf ſo injudicious an one in his own mother-tongue. But prejudice apart, he was a very great man, of parts inferior to few, of learning ſuperior to moſt men; and he has made ſome very judicious and uſeful remarks upon the Paradiſe Loſt, though in the general they may rather be called the dotages of Dr. Bentley. He was more ſagacious in finding faults, than happy in mending them; and if he had confined himſelf only to the former, he might have had better ſucceſs; but when he attempted the latter, and ſubſtituted verſes of his own in the room of Milton's, he commonly made moſt miſerable bungling work, being no poet himſelf, and having little or no taſte of poetry. Dr. Pearce, the preſent Lord Biſhop of Bangor, has diſtinguiſhed his taſte and judgment in chooſing always the beſt authors for the ſubjects of his criticiſm, as Cicero and Longinus among the Ancients, and Milton among the Moderns. His Review of the Text of the Paradiſe Loſt is not only a moſt complete anſwer to Dr. Bentley, but may ſerve as a pattern to all future critics, of ſound learning and juſt reaſoning joined with the greateſt candor and gentleneſs of manners. The whole is very well worthy of the peruſal of every lover and admirer of Milton, but ſuch parts only are ingraffed into this work as are more immediately proper for our deſign, and explain ſome difficulty, or illuſtrate ſome beauty of our author. His Lordſhip together with my Lord Bath firſt engaged me in this undertaking, and he has kindly aſſiſted me in it from the beginning to the end; and I cannot but entertain the better hopes of the public approbation, as theſe ſheets, long before they went to the preſs, were peruſed and corrected by his Lordſhip. Of Mr. Richardſon's notes we have much the ſame opinion, as we have of his paintings. Some of his portraits are ſtiff, and aukward, and nothing like the perſons; but ſometimes he was very happy in taking of likeneſſes, and finiſhed his pieces with uncommon force and ſpirit: and in his writings there are

ſtrange

ſtrange inequalities; there is often better ſenſe than grammar or Engliſh; and among ſeveral things odd and unaccountable, he ſometimes hits the true meaning of the author ſurpriſingly, and explains it properly. He had good natural parts but without erudition or learning, in which he was aſſiſted by his ſon, who is a man of taſte and litterature, as well as of the greateſt benevolence and good-nature. Mr. Warburton likewiſe has publiſhed ſome remarks upon the Paradiſe Loſt, occaſioned chiefly by Dr. Bentley's edition. They were printed ſome years ago in the Hiſtory of the works of the Learned, and he allowed me the free uſe of them: but upon looking into the Hiſtory of the works of the Learned, to my regret I found that his remarks were continued no farther than the three firſt books, and what is become of his other papers, and how they were miſlaid and loſt, neither he nor I can apprehend; but the excellence of thoſe which remain ſufficiently evinces the great loſs that we have ſuſtained in the others, which cannot now be recovered. He has done me the honor too of recommending this edition to the public in the preface to his Shakeſpear, but nothing could have recommended it more effectually than if it had been adorned by ſome more of his notes and obſervations. There is a pamphlet intitled An Eſſay upon Milton's imitations of the Ancients, ſaid to be written by a Gentleman of North Britain; and there is another intitled Letters concerning poetical tranſlations, and Virgil's and Milton's arts of verſe, commonly aſcribed to Mr. Auditor Benſon: and of both theſe I have made ſome uſe, as I have likewiſe of the learned Mr. Upton's Critical Obſervations on Shakeſpear, wherein he has occaſionally interſperſed ſome remarks upon Milton; and in ſhort, like the bee, I have been ſtudious of gathering ſweets wherever I could find them growing.

But beſides the flower of thoſe which have been already publiſhed, here are ſeveral new obſervations offered to the world, both of others and my own. Dr. Heylin lent me the uſe of his manuſcript remarks, but much the greater part of them had been rifled before by Dr. Bentley. It ſeems Dr. Heylin had once an intention of publiſhing a new edition of the Paradiſe Loſt, and mentioned his deſign to Dr. Bentley: but Dr. Bentley declaring at the ſame time his reſolution of doing it,

Dr.

Dr. Heylin modeſtly deſiſted, and freely communicated what obſervations he had made to Dr. Bentley. And what does Dr. Bentley do? Why, he borrows the beſt and moſt plauſible of his notes from Dr. Heylin, publiſhes them as his own, and never has the gratitude to make any acknowledgment, or ſo much as any mention of his benefactor. I am obliged too to Mr. Jortin for ſome remarks, which he conveyed to me by the hands of Dr. Pearce. They are chiefly upon Milton's imitations of the Ancients; but every thing that proceeds from him is of value, whether in poetry, criticiſm, or divinity; as appears from his Luſus Poetici, his Miſcellaneous Obſervations upon authors, and his Diſcourſes concerning the truth of the Chriſtian Religion. Beſides thoſe already mentioned, Mr. Warburton has favored me with a few other notes in manuſcript; I wiſh there had been more of them for the ſake of the reader, for the looſe hints of ſuch writers, like the ſlight ſketches of great maſters in painting, are worth more than the labor'd pieces of others. And he very kindly lent me Mr. Pope's Milton of Bentley's edition, wherein Mr. Pope had all along with his own hand ſet ſome mark of approbation, rectè, benè, pulchrè &c, in the margin over-againſt ſuch emendations of the Doctor's, as ſeemed to him juſt and reaſonable. It was a ſatisfaction to ſee what ſo great a genius thought particularly of that edition, and he appears throughout the whole to have been a very candid reader, and to have approved of more than really merits approbation. Mr. Richardſon the father has ſaid in his preface, that his ſon had a very copious collection of fine paſſages out of ancient and modern authors, by which Milton had profited; and this collection, which is written in the margin and between the lines of Mr. Hume's annotations, Mr. Richardſon the ſon has put into my hands. Some little uſe I have made of it; and it might have been of greater ſervice, and have ſaved me ſome trouble, if I had not then almoſt completed this work. Mr. Thyer, the Librarian at Mancheſter, I have not the pleaſure of knowing perſonally, but by his writings I am convinced that he muſt be a man of great learning, and as great humanity. It was late before I was informed that he had written any remarks upon the Paradiſe Loſt, but he was very

ready

ready to communicate them, and for the greater diſpatch ſent me his interleav'd Milton, wherein his remarks were written: but unluckily for him, for me, and for the public, the book thro' the negligence of the carrier was dropt upon the road, and cannot ſince be found. Mr. Thyer however hath had the goodneſs to endevor to repair the loſs to me and to the public by writing what he could recollect, and ſending me a ſheet or two full of remarks almoſt every poſt for ſeveral weeks together: and tho' ſeveral of them came too late to be inſerted into the body of the work, yet they will be found in the Appendix, which is made for the ſake of them principally. It is unneceſſary to ſay any thing in their commendation; they will ſufficiently recommend themſelves. Some other aſſiſtance too I have received from perſons, whoſe names are unknown, and others, whoſe names I am not at liberty to mention: but I hope the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons will pardon my ambition to have it known, that he has been pleaſed to ſuggeſt ſome uſeful hints and obſervations, when I have been admitted to the honor of his converſation.

And as the notes are of various authors, ſo they are of various kinds, critical and explanatory; ſome to correct the errors of former editions, to diſcuſs the various readings, and to eſtabliſh the true genuin text of Milton; ſome to illuſtrate the ſenſe and meaning, to point out the beauties and defects of ſentiment and character, and to commend or cenſure the conduct of the poem; ſome to remark the peculiarities of ſtile and language, to clear the ſyntax, and to explain the uncommon words, or common words uſed in an uncommon ſignification; ſome to conſider and examin the numbers, and to diſplay our author's great arts of verſification, the variety of the pauſes, and the adaptneſs of the ſound to the ſenſe; ſome to ſhow his imitations and alluſions to other authors, whether ſacred or profane, ancient or modern. We might have been much larger and more copious under each of theſe heads, and eſpecially under the laſt: but I would not produce every thing that hath any ſimilitude and reſemblance, but only ſuch paſſages as we may ſuppoſe the author really alluded to, and had in mind at the time of writing. It was once my intention to prefix ſome eſſays

to

to this work, one upon Milton's ſtile, another upon his verſification, a third upon his imitations &c; but upon more mature deliberation I concluded that the ſame things would have a better effect in the form of ſhort notes, when the particular paſſages referred to came immediately under conſideration, and the context lay before the reader. There would have been more of the pomp and oſtentation of criticiſm in the former, but I conceive there is more real uſe and advantage in the latter. It is the great fault of commentators, that they are apt to be ſilent or at moſt very conciſe where there is any difficulty, and to be very prolix and tedious where there is none: but it is hoped that the contrary method has been taken here; and tho' more may be ſaid than is requiſite for critics and ſcholars, yet it may be no more than is neceſſary or proper for other readers of Milton. For theſe notes are intended for general uſe, and if they are received with general approbation, that will be ſufficient. I can hardly expect that any body ſhould approve them all, and I may be certain that no body can condemn them all.

The life of the author it is almoſt become a cuſtom to prefix to a new edition of his works; for when we admire the writer, we are curious alſo to know ſomething of the man: and the life of Milton is not barely a hiſtory of his works, but is ſo much the more intereſting, as he was more engaged in public affairs than poets uſually are. And it has happened that more accounts have been written of his life, than of almoſt any author's, particularly by Antony Wood in his Faſti Oxonienſes, by our author's nephew Mr. Edward Philips before the Engliſh tranſlation of Milton's State-letters printed in 1694, by Mr. Toland before the edition of our author's proſe works in three volumes folio printed in 1698, by Monſieur Bayle in his Hiſtorical and Critical Dictionary, by Mr. Fenton before the edition of our author's poetical works printed in 1725, by Mr. Richardſon in the preface to his Explanatory Notes and Remarks upon Milton's Paradiſe Loſt, and by the reverend and ingenious Mr. Thomas Birch in the General Dictionary, and more largely before the edition of our author's proſe works in two volumes folio printed in 1738. And I have not only read and com-

pared theſe accounts together, and made the beſt extracts out of them which I poſſibly could; but have alſo collected ſome other particulars from Milton's own works as well as from other authors, and from credible tradition as well as from written teſtimonies: and all theſe, like ſo many different threds, I have woven into one piece, and formed into a continued narration, of which, whether it affords more or leſs ſatisfaction and entertainment than former accounts, the reader muſt judge and determin: but it has been my ſtudy and endevor, as in the notes to compriſe the flower of all other notes, ſo in the life to include the ſubſtance of all former lives, and with improvements and additions.

In the concluſion are added copious indexes, one of the principal matters, and another of the words. The man, who is at the pains of making indexes, is really to be pitied; but of their great utility there is no need to ſay any thing, when ſeveral perſons, who paſs in the world for profound ſcholars, know little more of books than title-pages and indexes, but never catch the ſpirit of an author, which is ſure always to evaporate or die in ſuch hands.

As the buſineſs of this preface is to open and explain the uſe and intent of the preſent edition, and likewiſe to acknowledge what helps and aſſiſtances I have received towards completing it, I cannot conclude without returning my thanks to my ſubſcribers, thoſe of them eſpecially who have not only honored me with their own names, but alſo by procuring others, and particularly to Lord and Lady Carpenter for a long ſeries of favors, having lived above fifteen years in the moſt eaſy agreeable manner in their family.

THE

THE LIFE OF *MILTON.*

IT is agreed among all writers, that the family of Milton came originally from Milton in Oxfordſhire; but from which of the Miltons is not altogether ſo certain. Some ſay, and particularly Mr. Philips, that the family was of Milton near Abington in Oxfordſhire, where it had been a long time ſeated, as appears by the monuments ſtill to be ſeen in Milton-church. But that Milton is not in Oxfordſhire, but in Barkſhire; and upon inquiry I find, that there are no ſuch monuments in that church, nor any remains of them. It is more probable therefore that the family came, as Mr. Wood ſays, from Milton near Halton and Thame in Oxfordſhire: where it floriſhed ſeveral years, till at laſt the eſtate was ſequeſter'd, one of the family having taken the unfortunate ſide in the civil wars between the houſes of York and Lancaſter. John Milton, the poet's grand-father, was, according to Mr. Wood, an under-ranger or keeper of the foreſt of Shotover near Halton in Oxfordſhire; he was of the religion of Rome, and ſuch a bigot that he diſinherited his ſon only for being a proteſtant. Upon this the ſon, the poet's father, named likewiſe John Milton, ſettled in London, and became a ſcrivener by the advice of a friend eminent in that profeſſion: but he was not ſo devoted to gain and to buſineſs, as to loſe all taſte of the politer arts, and was particularly skilled in muſic, in which he was not only a fine performer, but is alſo celebrated for ſeveral pieces of his compoſition: and yet on the other hand he was not ſo fond of his muſic and amuſements, as in the leaſt to neglect his buſineſs, but by his diligence and œconomy acquired a competent eſtate, which enabled him afterwards to retire, and live in the country. He was by all accounts a very worthy man; and married an excellent woman, Sarah of the ancient family of the Bradſhaws, ſays Mr. Wood; but Mr. Philips, our author's nephew, who was more likely to know, ſays, of the family of the Caſtons derived

originally from Wales. Whoever ſhe was, ſhe is ſaid to have been a woman of incomparable virtue and goodneſs; and by her her husband had two ſons and a daughter.

The elder of the ſons was our famous poet, who was born in the year of our Lord 1608, on the 9th of December in the morning between 6 and 7 o'clock, in Bread-ſtreet London, where his father lived at the ſign of the ſpread eagle, which was alſo the coat of arms of the family. He was named John, as his father and grand-father had been before him; and from the beginning diſcovering the marks of an uncommon genius, he was deſigned for a ſcholar, and had his education partly under private tutors, and partly at a public ſchool. It has been often controverted whether a public or private education is beſt, but young Milton was ſo happy as to ſhare the advantages of both. It appears from the fourth of his Latin elegies, and from the firſt and fourth of his familiar epiſtles, that Mr. Thomas Young, who was afterwards paſtor of the company of Engliſh merchants reſiding at Hamburg, was one of his private preceptors: and when he had made good progreſs in his ſtudies at home, he was ſent to St. Paul's ſchool, to be fitted for the univerſity under the care of Mr. Gill, who was the maſter at that time, and to whoſe ſon are addreſſed ſome of his familiar epiſtles. In this early time of his life ſuch was his love of learning, and ſo great was his ambition to ſurpaſs his equals, that from his twelfth year he commonly continued his ſtudies till midnight, which (as he ſays himſelf in his ſecond Defenſe) was the firſt ruin of his eyes, to whoſe natural debility were added too frequent head-akes: but all could not extinguiſh or abate his laudable paſſion for letters. It is very ſeldom ſeen, that ſuch application and ſuch a genius meet in the ſame perſon. The force of either is great, but both together muſt perform wonders.

He was now in the 17th year of his age, and was a very good claſſical ſcholar and maſter of ſeveral languages, when he was ſent to the univerſity of Cambridge, and admitted at Chriſt's College (as appears from the regiſter) on the 12th of February 1624-5, under the tuition of Mr. William Chappel, afterwards Biſhop of Roſs in Ireland. He continued above ſeven years at the univerſity, and took two degrees, that

that of Bachelor of Arts in 1628-9, and that of Maſter in 1632. It is ſomewhat remarkable, that tho' the merits of both our univerſities are perhaps equally great, and tho' poetical exerciſes are rather more encouraged at Oxford, yet moſt of our greateſt poets have been bred at Cambridge, as Spenſer, Cowley, Waller, Dryden, Prior, not to mention any of the leſſer ones, when there is a greater than all, Milton. He had given early proofs of his poetic genius before he went to the univerſity, and there he excelled more and more, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by ſeveral copies of verſes upon occaſional ſubjects, as well as by all his academical exerciſes, many of which are printed among his other works, and ſhow him to have had a capacity above his years: and by his obliging behaviour added to his great learning and ingenuity he deſervedly gained the affection of many, and admiration of all. We do not find however that he obtained any preferment in the univerſity, or a fellowſhip in his own college; which ſeemeth the more extraordinary, as that ſociety has always encouraged learning and learned men, had the moſt excellent Mr. Mede at that time a fellow, and afterwards boaſteth the great names of Cudworth, and Burnet author of the Theory of the Earth, and ſeveral others. And this together with ſome Latin verſes of his to a friend, reflecting upon the univerſity ſeemingly on this account, might probably have given occaſion to the reproach which was afterwards caſt upon him by his adverſaries, that he was expelled from the univerſity for irregularities committed there, and forced to fly to Italy: but he ſufficiently refutes this calumny in more places than one of his works; and indeed it is no wonder, that a perſon ſo engaged in religious and political controverſies, as he was, ſhould be calumniated and abuſed by the contrary party.

He was deſigned by his parents for holy orders; and among the manuſcripts of Trinity College in Cambridge there are two draughts in Milton's own hand of a letter to a friend, who had importuned him to take orders, when he had attained the age of twenty three: but the truth is, he had conceived early prejudices againſt the doctrin and diſciplin of the Church, and ſubſcribing to the Articles was in his opinion ſubſcribing ſlave. This no doubt was a diſappointment to his friends,

friends, who though in comfortable were yet by no means in great circumſtances: and neither doth he ſeem to have had any inclination to any other profeſſion; he had too free a ſpirit to be limited and confined; and was for comprehending all ſciences, but profeſſing none. And therefore after he had left the univerſity in 1632, he retired to his father's houſe in the country; for his father had by this time quitted buſineſs, and lived at an eſtate which he had purchaſed at Horton near Colebrooke in Buckinghamſhire. Here he reſided with his parents for the ſpace of five years, and, as he himſelf has informed us, (in his ſecond Defenſe, and the 7th of his familiar epiſtles) read over all the Greek and Latin authors, particularly the hiſtorians; but now and then made an excurſion to London, ſometimes to buy books or to meet his friends from Cambridge, and at other times to learn ſomething new in the mathematics or muſic, with which he was extremely delighted.

His retirement therefore was a learned retirement, and it was not long before the world reaped the fruits of it. It was in the year 1634 that his Mask was preſented at Ludlow-caſtle. There was formerly a preſident of Wales, and a ſort of a court kept at Ludlow, which has ſince been aboliſhed; and the preſident at that time was the Earl of Bridgwater, before whom Milton's Mask was preſented on Michaelmas night, and the principal parts, thoſe of the two brothers were performed by his Lordſhip's ſons the Lord Brackly and Mr. Thomas Egerton, and that of the lady by his Lordſhip's daughter the Lady Alice Egerton. The occaſion of this poem ſeemeth to have been merely an accident of the two brothers and the lady having loſt one another in their way to the caſtle: and it is written very much in imitation of Shakeſpear's Tempeſt, and the Faithful Shepherdeſs of Beaumont and Fletcher; and though one of the firſt, is yet one of the moſt beautiful of Milton's compoſitions. It was for ſome time handed about only in manuſcript; but afterwards to ſatisfy the importunity of friends and to ſave the trouble of tranſcribing, it was printed at London, though without the author's name, in 1637, with a dedication to the Lord Brackly by Mr. H. Lawes, who compos'd the muſic, and played the part of the attendent Spirit. It was printed likewiſe at Oxford at the end of Mr. R's

poems,

poems, as we learn from a letter of Sir Henry Wotton to our author; but who that Mr. R. was, whether Randolph the poet or who elſe, is uncertain. It has lately, tho' with additions and alterations, been exhibited on the ſtage ſeveral times; and we hope the fine poetry and morality have recommended it to the audience, and not barely the authority of Milton's name; and we wiſh for the honor of the nation, that the like good taſte prevailed in every thing.

In 1637 he wrote another excellent piece, his Lycidas, wherein he laments the untimely fate of a friend, who was unfortunately drowned that ſame year in the month of Auguſt, on the Iriſh ſeas, in his paſſage from Cheſter. This friend was Mr. Edward King, ſon of Sir John King, Secretary of Ireland under Queen Elizabeth, King James I, and King Charles I; and was a fellow of Chriſt's College, and was ſo well beloved and eſteemed at Cambridge, that ſome of the greateſt names in the univerſity have united in celebrating his obſequies, and publiſhed a collection of poems, Greek and Latin and Engliſh, ſacred to his memory. The Greek by H. More &c; the Latin by T. Farnaby, J. Pearſon &c; the Engliſh by H. King, J. Beaumont, J. Cleaveland with ſeveral others; and judiciouſly the laſt of all, as the beſt of all, is Milton's Lycidas. " On ſuch ſacrifices the God's themſelves ſtrow in-" cenſe;" and one would almoſt wiſh ſo to have died, for the ſake of having been ſo lamented. But this poem is not all made up of ſorrow and tenderneſs; there is a mixture of ſatir and indignation; for in part of it the poet taketh occaſion to inveigh againſt the corruptions of the clergy, and ſeemeth to have firſt diſcovered his acrimony againſt Archbiſhop Laud, and to have threaten'd him with the loſs of his head, which afterwards happened to him thro' the fury of his enemies. At leaſt I can think of no ſenſe ſo proper to be given to the following verſes in Lycidas,

> Beſides what the grim wolf with privy paw
> Daily devours apace, and nothing ſaid;
> But that two-handed engin at the door
> Stands ready to ſmite once, and ſmite no more.

About

About this time, as we learn from one of his familiar epiſtles, he had ſome thoughts of taking chambers at one of the Inns of Court, for he was not very well pleaſed with living ſo obſcurely in the country: but his mother dying, he prevailed with his father to let him indulge a deſire, which he had long entertained, of ſeeing foreign countries, and particularly Italy: and having communicated his deſign to Sir Henry Wotton, who had formerly been embaſſador at Venice, and was then Provoſt of Eton College, and having alſo ſent him his Mask of which he had not yet publicly acknowledged himſelf the author, he received from him the following friendly letter dated from the College the 10th of April 1638.

SIR,

" It was a ſpecial favor, when You lately beſtowed upon me here " the firſt taſte of Your acquaintance, tho' no longer than to make me " know, that I wanted more time to value it, and to enjoy it rightly. " And in truth, if I could then have imagined Your farther ſtay in theſe " parts, which I underſtood afterwards by Mr. H., I would have been " bold, in our vulgar phraſe, to mend my draught, for You left me " with an extreme thirſt, and to have begged your converſation again " jointly with Your ſaid learned friend, at a poor meal or two, that " we might have banded together ſome good authors of the ancient " time, among which I obſerved You to have been familiar.

" Since Your going, You have charged me with new obligations, " both for a very kind letter from You, dated the ſixth of this month, " and for a dainty piece of entertainment, that came therewith; wherein " I ſhould much commend the tragical part, if the lyrical did not raviſh " with a certain Doric delicacy in Your ſongs and odes, wherein I muſt " plainly confeſs to have ſeen yet nothing parallel in our language, " Ipſa mollities. But I muſt not omit to tell You, that I now only " owe You thanks for intimating unto me, how modeſtly ſoever, the " true artificer. For the work itſelf I had view'd ſome good while " before with ſingular delight, having received it from our common " friend Mr. R. in the very cloſe of the late R's poems printed at " Oxford;

" Oxford; whereunto it is added, as I now ſuppoſe, that the acceſſory " might help out the principal, according to the art of ſtationers, and " leave the reader con la bocca dolce.

" Now, Sir, concerning Your travels, wherein I may challenge a " little more privilege of diſcourſe with You; I ſuppoſe, You will not " blanch Paris in Your way. Therefore I have been bold to trouble " You with a few lines to Mr. M. B. whom You ſhall eaſily find at- " tending the young Lord S. as his governor; and You may ſurely re- " ceive from him good directions for ſhaping of Your farther journey " into Italy, where he did reſide by my choice ſome time for the king, " after mine own receſs from Venice.

" I ſhould think, that Your beſt line will be thro' the whole length " of France to Marſeilles, and thence by ſea to Genoa, whence the " paſſage into Tuſcany is as diurnal as a Graveſend barge. I haſten, " as You do, to Florence or Sienna, the rather to tell You a ſhort " ſtory, from the intereſt You have given me in Your ſafety.

" At Sienna I was tabled in the houſe of one Alberto Scipione, an " old Roman courtier in dangerous times, having been ſteward to the " Duca di Pagliano, who with all his family were ſtrangled, ſave this " only man, that eſcaped by foreſight of the tempeſt. With him I " had often much chat of thoſe affairs; into which he took pleaſure " to look back from his native harbour; and at my departure toward " Rome, which had been the center of his experience, I had won con- " fidence enough to beg his advice, how I might carry myſelf ſecurely " there, without offenſe of others, or of my own conſcience: Signor " Arrigo meo, ſays he, i penſieri ſtretti, & il viſo ſciolto, that is, Your " thoughts cloſe, and Your countenance looſe, will go ſafely over the " whole world. Of which Delphian oracle (for ſo I have found it) " Your judgment doth need no commentary; and therefore, Sir, I " will commit You with it to the beſt of all ſecurities, God's dear " love, remaining Your friend, as much at command as any of " longer date.

H. Wotton.

P. S. "Sir, I have expreſsly ſent this by my foot-boy to prevent "Your departure, without ſome acknowledgment from me of the re-"ceipt of Your obliging letter, having myſelf thro' ſome buſineſs, I "know not how, neglected the ordinary conveyance. In any part "where I ſhall underſtand You fixed, I ſhall be glad and diligent to "entertain You with home-novelties, even for ſome fomentation of our "friendſhip, too ſoon interrupted in the cradle."

Soon after this he ſet out upon his travels, being of an age to make the proper improvements, and not barely to ſee ſights and to learn the languages, like moſt of our modern travelers, who go out boys, and return ſuch as we ſee, but ſuch as I do not chooſe to name. He was attended by only one ſervant, who accompanied him through all his travels; and he went firſt to France, where he had recommendations to the Lord Scudamore, the Engliſh embaſſador there at that time; and as ſoon as he came to Paris, he waited upon his Lordſhip, and was received with wonderful civility; and having an earneſt deſire to viſit the learned Hugo Grotius, he was by his Lordſhip's means introduced to that great man, who was then embaſſador at the French court from the famous Chriſtina Queen of Sweden; and the viſit was to their mutual ſatisfaction; they were each of them pleaſed to ſee a perſon, of whom they had heard ſuch commendations. But at Paris he ſtayed not long; his thoughts and his wiſhes haſtened into Italy; and ſo after a few days he took leave of the Lord Scudamore, who very kindly gave him letters to the Engliſh merchants in the ſeveral places thro' which he was to travel, requeſting them to do him all the good offices which lay in their power.

From Paris he went directly to Nice, where he took ſhipping for Genoa, from whence he went to Leghorn, and thence to Piſa, and ſo to Florence, in which city he found ſufficient inducements to make a ſtay of two months. For beſides the curioſities and other beauties of the place, he took great delight in the company and converſation there, and frequented their academies as they are called, the meetings of the moſt polite and ingenious perſons, which they have in this, as well as

in

in the other principal cities of Italy, for the exerciſe and improvement of wit and learning among them. And in theſe converſations he bore ſo good a part, and produced ſo many excellent compoſitions, that he was ſoon taken notice of, and was very much courted and careſſed by ſeveral of the nobility and prime wits of Florence. For the manner is, as he ſays himſelf in the preface to his ſecond book of the Reaſon of Church-government, that every one muſt give ſome proof of his wit and reading there, and his productions were received with written encomiums which the Italian is not forward to beſtow on men of this ſide the Alps. Jacomo Gaddi, Antonio Francini, Carlo Dati, Benedetto Bonmatthei, Cultellino, Freſcobaldi, Clementilli are reckoned among his particular friends. At Gaddi's houſe the academies were held, which he conſtantly frequented. Antonio Francini compoſed an Italian ode in his commendation. Carlo Dati wrote a Latin eulogium of him, and correſponded with him after his return to England. Bonmatthei was at that time about publiſhing an Italian grammar; and the eighth of our author's familiar epiſtles, dated at Florence Sept. 10. 1638, is addreſſed to him upon that occaſion, commending his deſign, and adviſing him to add ſome obſervations concerning the true pronunciation of that language for the uſe of foreigners.

So much good acquaintance would probably have detained him longer at Florence, if he had not been going to Rome, which to a curious traveler is certainly the place the moſt worth ſeeing of any in the world. And ſo he took leave of his friends at Florence, and went from thence to Sienna, and from Sienna to Rome, where he ſtayed much about the ſame time that he had continued at Florence, feaſting both his eyes and his mind, and delighted with the fine paintings, and ſculptures, and other rarities and antiquities of the city, as well as with the converſation of ſeveral learned and ingenious men, and particularly of Lucas Holſtenius, keeper of the Vatican library, who received him with the greateſt humanity, and ſhowed him all the Greek authors, whether in print or in manuſcript, which had paſſed thro' his correction; and alſo preſented him to Cardinal Barberini, who at an entertainment of muſic, performed at his own expenſe, waited for him at

the door, and taking him by the hand brought him into the aſſembly. The next morning he waited upon the Cardinal to return him thanks for his civilities, and by the means of Holſtenius was again introduced to his Eminence, and ſpent ſome time in converſation with him. It ſeems that Holſtenius had ſtudied three years at Oxford, and this might diſpoſe him to be more friendly to the Engliſh, but he took a particular liking and affection to Milton; and Milton, to thank him for all his favors, wrote to him afterwards from Florence the ninth of his familiar epiſtles. At Rome too Selvaggi made a Latin diſtich in honor of Milton, and Salſilli a Latin tetraſtich, celebrating him for his Greek and Latin and Italian poetry; and he in return preſented to Salſilli in his ſickneſs thoſe fine Scazons, or Iambic verſes having a ſpondee in the laſt foot, which are inſerted among his juvenile poems.

From Rome he went to Naples, in company with a certain hermit; and by his means was introduced to the acquaintance of Giovanni Baptiſta Manſo, Marquis of Villa, a Neapolitan nobleman, of ſingular merit and virtue, to whom Taſſo addreſſes his dialogue of friendſhip, and whom he mentions likewiſe in his Gieruſalemme Liberata with great honor. This nobleman was particularly civil to Milton, frequently viſited him at his lodgings, and went with him to ſhow him the Vice-roy's palace, and whatever was curious or worth notice in the city: and moreover he honored him ſo far as to make a Latin diſtich in his praiſe, which is printed before our author's Latin poems, as is likewiſe the other of Selvaggi, and the Latin tetraſtich of Salſilli together with the Italian ode and the Latin eulogium before mentioned. We may ſuppoſe that Milton was not a little pleaſed with the honors conferred upon him by ſo many perſons of diſtinction, and eſpecially by one of ſuch quality and eminence as the Marquis of Villa; and as a teſtimony of his gratitude he preſented to the Marquis at his departure from Naples his eclogue intitled Manſus, which is well worth reading among his Latin poems. So that it may be reckoned a peculiar felicity of the Marquis of Villa's life, to have been celebrated both by Taſſo and Milton, the one the greateſt modern poet of his own, and the other the greateſt of foreign nations.

Having

Having ſeen the fineſt parts of Italy, Milton was now thinking of paſſing over into Sicily and Greece, when he was diverted from his purpoſe by the news from England, that things were tending to a civil war between the King and Parlament; for he thought it unworthy of himſelf to be taking his pleaſure abroad, while his countrymen were contending for liberty at home. He reſolved therefore to return by the way of Rome, tho' he was adviſed to the contrary by the merchants, who had received intelligence from their correſpondents, that the Engliſh Jeſuits there were forming plots againſt him, in caſe he ſhould return thither, by reaſon of the great freedom which he had uſed in all his diſcourſes of religion. For he had by no means obſerved the rule, recommended to him by Sir Henry Wotton, of keeping his thoughts cloſe and his countenance open: He had viſited Galileo, a priſoner to the Inquiſition, for aſſerting the motion of the earth, and thinking otherwiſe in aſtronomy than the Dominicans and Franciſcans thought: And tho' the Marquis of Villa had ſhown him ſuch diſtinguiſhing marks of favor at Naples, yet he told him at his departure that he would have ſhown him much greater, if he had been more reſerved in matters of religion. But he had a ſoul above diſſimulation and diſguiſe; he was neither afraid, nor aſhamed to vindicate the truth; and if any man had, he had in him the ſpirit of an old martyr. He was ſo prudent indeed, that he would not of his own accord begin any diſcourſe of religion; but at the ſame time he was ſo honeſt, that if he was queſtioned at all about his faith, he would not diſſemble his ſentiments, whatever was the conſequence. And with this reſolution he went to Rome the ſecond time, and ſtayed there two months more, neither concealing his name, nor declining openly to defend the truth, if any thought proper to attack him: and yet, God's good providence protecting him, he came ſafe to his kind friends at Florence, where he was received with as much joy and affection, as if he had returned into his own country.

Here likewiſe he ſtayed two months, as he had done before, excepting only an excurſion of a few days to Lucca: and then croſſing the Apennine, and paſſing thro' Bologna and Ferrara, he came to Venice, in

in which city he ſpent a month; and having ſhipped off the books, which he had collected in his travels, and particularly a cheſt or two of choice muſic books of the beſt maſters floriſhing about that time in Italy, he took his courſe thro' Verona, Milan, and along the lake Leman to Geneva. In this city he tarried ſome time, meeting here with people of his own principles, and contracted an intimate friendſhip with Giovanni Deodati, the moſt learned profeſſor of divinity, whoſe annotations upon the Bible are publiſhed in Engliſh. And from thence returning thro' France, the ſame way that he had gone before, he arrived ſafe in England, after a peregrination of one year and about three months, having ſeen more, and learned more, and converſed with more famous men, and made more real improvements, than moſt others in double the time.

His firſt buſineſs after his return was to pay his duty to his father, and to viſit his other friends; but this pleaſure was much diminiſhed by the loſs of his dear friend and ſchoolfellow Charles Deodati in his abſence. While he was abroad, he heard it reported that he was dead; and upon his coming home he found it but too true, and lamented his death in an excellent Latin eclogue intitled Epitaphium Damonis. This Deodati had a father originally of Lucca, but his mother was Engliſh, and he was born and bred in England, and ſtudied phyſic, and was an admirable ſcholar, and no leſs remarkable for his ſobriety and other virtues than for his great learning and ingenuity. One or two of Milton's familiar epiſtles are addreſſed to him; and Mr. Toland ſays, that he had in his hands two Greek letters of Deodati to Milton, very handſomely written. It may be right for ſcholars now and then to exerciſe themſelves in Greek and Latin; but we have much more frequent occaſion to write letters in our own native language, and in that therefore we ſhould principally endevor to excel.

Milton, ſoon after his return, had taken a lodging at one Ruſſel's, a taylor, in St. Bride's Church-yard; but he continued not long there, having not ſufficient room for his library and furniture; and therefore determined to take a houſe, and accordingly took a handſome garden-houſe in Alderſgate-ſtreet, ſituated at the end of an entry, which was

the

the more agreeable to a ſtudious man for its privacy and freedom from noiſe and diſturbance. And in this houſe he continued ſeveral years, and his ſiſter's two ſons were put to board with him, firſt the younger and afterwards the elder: and ſome other of his intimate friends requeſted of him the ſame favor for their ſons, eſpecially ſince there was little more trouble in inſtructing half a dozen than two or three: and he, who could not eaſily deny any thing to his friends, and who knew that the greateſt men in all ages had delighted in teaching others the principles of knowledge and virtue, undertook the office, not out of any ſordid and mercenary views, but merely from a benevolent diſpoſition, and a deſire to do good. And his method of education was as much above the pedantry and jargon of the common ſchools, as his genius was ſuperior to that of a common ſchoolmaſter. One of his nephews has given us an account of the many authors both Latin and Greek, which (beſides thoſe uſually read in the ſchools) thro' his excellent judgment and way of teaching were run over within no greater compaſs of time, than from ten to fifteen or ſixteen years of age. Of the Latin the four authors concerning husbandry, Cato, Varro, Columella, and Palladius, Cornelius Celſus the phyſician, a great part of Pliny's Natural Hiſtory, the Architecture of Vitruvius, the Stratagems of Frontinus, and the philoſophical poets Lucretius and Manilius. Of the Greek Heſiod, Aratus's Phænomena and Dioſemeia, Dionyſius Afer de ſitu orbis, Oppian's Cynegetics and Halieutics, Quintus Calaber's poem of the Trojan war continued from Homer, Apollonius Rhodius's Argonautics, and in proſe Plutarch's Placita philoſophorum, and of the education of children, Xenophon's Cyropædia and Anabaſis, Ælian's Tactics, and the Stratagems of Polyænus. Nor did this application to the Greek and Latin tongues hinder the attaining to the chief oriental languages, the Hebrew, Chaldee and Syriac, ſo far as to go thro' the Pentateuch or five books of Moſes in Hebrew, to make a good entrance into the Targum or Chaldee paraphraſe, and to underſtand ſeveral chapters of St. Matthew in the Syriac Teſtament; beſides the modern languages, Italian and French, and a competent knowledge of the mathematics and aſtronomy. The Sunday's exerciſe for his pupils was for

for the moſt part to read a chapter of the Greek Teſtament, and to hear his learned expoſition of it. The next work after this was to write from his dictation ſome part of a ſyſtem of divinity, which he had collected from the ableſt divines, who had written upon that ſubject. Such were his academic inſtitutions; and thus by teaching others he in ſome meaſure inlarged his own knowledge; and having the reading of ſo many authors as it were by proxy, he might poſſibly have preſerved his ſight, if he had not moreover been perpetually buſied in reading or writing ſomething himſelf. It was certainly a very recluſe and ſtudious life, that both he and his pupils led; but the young men of that age were of a different turn from thoſe of the preſent; and he himſelf gave an example to thoſe under him of hard ſtudy and ſpare diet; only now and then, once in three weeks or a month, he made a gawdy day with ſome young gentlemen of his acquaintance, the chief of whom, ſays Mr. Philips, were Mr. Alphry and Mr. Miller, both of Gray's-Inn, and two of the greateſt beaus of thoſe times.

But he was not ſo fond of this academical life, as to be an indifferent ſpectator of what was acted upon the public ſtage of the world. The nation was now in a great ferment in 1641, and the clamor run high againſt the biſhops, when he joined loudly in the cry, to help the puritan miniſters, (as he ſays himſelf in his ſecond Defenſe) they being inferior to the biſhops in learning and eloquence; and publiſhed his two books, Of Reformation in England, written to a friend. About the ſame time certain miniſters having publiſhed a treatiſe againſt epiſcopacy, in anſwer to the Humble Remonſtrance of Dr. Joſeph Hall Biſhop of Norwich, under the title of Smectymnuus, a word conſiſting of the initial letters of their names, Stephen Marſhal, Edmund Calamy, Thomas Young, Matthew Newcomen, and William Spurſtow; and Archbiſhop Uſher having publiſhed at Oxford a refutation of Smectymnuus, in a tract concerning the Original of Biſhops and Metropolitans; Milton wrote his little piece Of Prelatical Epiſcopacy, in oppoſition chiefly to Uſher, for he was for contending with the moſt powerful adverſary; there would be either leſs diſgrace in the defeat, or more glory in the victory. He handled the ſubject more at large in his next performance, which

which was the Reaſon of Church Government urged againſt Prelaty, in two books. And Biſhop Hall having publiſhed a Defenſe of the Humble Remonſtrance, he wrote Animadverſions upon it. All theſe treatiſes he publiſhed within the courſe of one year, 1641, which ſhow how very diligent he was in the cauſe that he had undertaken. And the next year he ſet forth his Apology for Smectymnuus, in anſwer to the Confutation of his Animadverſions, written as he thought himſelf by Biſhop Hall or his ſon. And here very luckily ended a controverſy, which detained him from greater and better writings which he was meditating, more uſeful to the public, as well as more ſuitable to his own genius and inclination: but he thought all this while that he was vindicating eccleſiaſtical liberty.

In the year 1643, and the 35th of his age, he married; and indeed his family was now growing ſo numerous, that it wanted a miſtreſs at the head of it. His father, who had lived with his younger ſon at Reading, was, upon the taking of that place by the forces under the Earl of Eſſex, neceſſitated to come and live in London with this his elder ſon, with whom he continued in tranquillity and devotion to his dying day. Some addition too was to be made to the number of his pupils. But before his father or his new pupils were come, he took a journey in the Whitſuntide vacation, and after a month's abſence returned with a wife, Mary the eldeſt daughter of Mr. Richard Powell, of Foreſthill near Shotover in Oxfordſhire, a juſtice of the peace, and a gentleman of good repute and figure in that country. But ſhe had not cohabited with her husband above a month, before ſhe was earneſtly ſolicited by her relations to come and ſpend the remaining part of the ſummer with them in the country. If it was not at her inſtigation that her friends made this requeſt, yet at leaſt it was agreeable to her inclination; and ſhe obtained her husband's conſent upon a promiſe of returning at Michaelmas. And in the mean while his ſtudies went on very vigorouſly; and his chief diverſion, after the buſineſs of the day, was now and then in an evening to viſit the Lady Margaret Lee, daughter of the Earl of Marlborough, Lord High Treaſurer of England, and Preſident of the Privy Council to King James I. This Lady, being

a woman of excellent wit and underſtanding, had a particular honor for our author, and took great delight in his converſation; as likewiſe did her husband Captain Hobſon, a very accompliſhed gentleman. And what a regard Milton again had for her, he has left upon record in a ſonnet to her praiſe, extant among his other poems.

Michaelmas was now come, but he heard nothing of his wife's return. He wrote to her, but received no anſwer. He wrote again letter after letter, but received no anſwer to any of them. He then diſpatched a meſſenger with a letter, deſiring her to return; but ſhe poſitively refuſed, and diſmiſſed the meſſenger with contempt. Whether it was, that ſhe had conceived any diſlike to her husband's perſon or humor; or whether ſhe could not conform to his retired and philoſophical manner of life, having been accuſtomed to a houſe of much gaiety and company; or whether being of a family ſtrongly attached to the royal cauſe, ſhe could not bear her husband's republican principles; or whether ſhe was overperſuaded by her relations, who poſſibly might repent of having matched the eldeſt daughter of the family to a man ſo diſtinguiſhed for taking the contrary party, the King's head-quarters being in their neighbourhood at Oxford, and his Majeſty having now ſome fairer proſpect of ſucceſs; whether any or all of theſe were the reaſons of this extraordinary behaviour; however it was, it ſo highly incenſed her husband, that he thought it would be diſhonorable ever to receive her again after ſuch a repulſe, and he determined to repudiate her as ſhe had in effect repudiated him, and to conſider her no longer as his wife. And to fortify this his reſolution, and at the ſame time to juſtify it to the world, he wrote the Doctrin and Diſciplin of Divorce, wherein he endevors to prove, that indiſpoſition, unfitneſs, or contrariety of mind, proceeding from any unchangeable cauſe in nature, hindering and ever likely to hinder the main benefits of conjugal ſociety, which are ſolace and peace, are greater reaſons of divorce than adultery or natural frigidity, eſpecially if there be no children, and there be mutual conſent for ſeparation. He publiſhed it at firſt without his name, but the ſtile eaſily betrayed the author; and afterwards a ſecond edition, much augmented, with his name; and he dedicated

dedicated it to the Parlament of England with the Aſſembly of Divines, that as they were then conſulting about the general reformation of the kingdom, they might alſo take this particular caſe of domeſtic liberty into their conſideration. And then, as it was objected, that his doctrin was a novel notion, and a paradox that no body had ever aſſerted before, he endevored to confirm his own opinion by the authority of others, and publiſhed in 1644 the Judgment of Martin Bucer &c: And as it was ſtill objected, that his doctrin could not be reconciled to Scripture, he publiſhed in 1645 his Tetrachordon or Expoſitions upon the four chief places in Scripture, which treat of marriage, or nullities in marriage. At the firſt appearing of the Doctrin and Diſciplin of Divorce the clergy raiſed a heavy outcry againſt it, and daily ſolicited the Parlament to paſs ſome cenſure upon it; and at laſt one of them, in a ſermon preached before the Lords and Commons on a day of humiliation in Auguſt 1644, roundly told them, that there was a book abroad which deſerved to be burnt, and that among their other ſins they ought to repent, that they had not yet branded it with ſome mark of their diſpleaſure. And Mr. Wood informs us, that upon Milton's publiſhing his three books of Divorce, the Aſſembly of Divines, that was then ſitting at Weſtminſter, took ſpecial notice of them; and notwithſtanding his former ſervices in writing againſt the Biſhops, cauſed him to be ſummoned before the Houſe of Lords: but that Houſe, whether approving his doctrin, or not favoring his accuſers, ſoon diſmiſſed him. He was attacked too from the preſs as well as from the pulpit, in a pamphlet intitled Divorce at pleaſure, and in another intitled an Anſwer to the Doctrin and Diſciplin of Divorce, which was licenced and recommended by Mr. Joſeph Caryl, a famous Presbyterian Divine, and author of a voluminous commentary on the book of Job: and Milton in his Colaſterion or Reply publiſhed in 1645 expoſtulates ſmartly with the licencer, as well as handles very roughly the nameleſs author. And theſe provocations, I ſuppoſe, contributed not a little to make him ſuch an enemy to the Presbyterians, to whom he had before diſtinguiſhed himſelf a friend. He compoſed likewiſe two of his ſonnets on the re-

ception his book of Divorce met with, but the latter is much the better of the two. To this account it may be added from Antony Wood, that after the King's reſtoration, when the ſubject of divorce was under conſideration with the Lords upon the account of John Lord Ros or Roos his ſeparation from his wife Anne Pierpoint eldeſt daughter to Henry Marquis of Dorcheſter, he was conſulted by an eminent member of that Houſe, and about the ſame time by a chief officer of ſtate, as being the prime perſon who was knowing in that affair.

But while he was engaged in this controverſy of divorce, he was not ſo totally engaged in it, but he attended to other things; and about this time publiſhed his letter of Education to Mr. Samuel Hartlib, who wrote ſome things about husbandry, and was a man of conſiderable learning, as appears from Sir William Petty's and Pell the mathematician's writing to him, the former his treatiſe for the Advancement of ſome particular parts of learning, and the latter his Idea of the Mathematics, as well as from this letter of our author. This letter of our author has uſually been printed at the end of his poems, and is as I may ſay the theory of his own practice; and by the rules which he has laid down for education we ſee in ſome meaſure the method that he purſued in educating his own pupils. And in 1644 he publiſhed his Areopagitica or Speech for the liberty of unlicenced printing to the Parlament of England. It was written at the deſire of ſeveral learned men, and is perhaps the beſt vindication, that has been publiſhed at any time or in any language, of that liberty which is the baſis and ſupport of all other liberties, the liberty of the preſs: but alas it had not the deſired effect; for the Presbyterians were as fond of exerciſing the licencing power, when they got it into their own hands, as they had been clamorous before in inveighing againſt it, while it was in the hands of the Prelates. And Mr. Toland is miſtaken in ſaying, "that ſuch was the effect of this piece, that the following "year Mabol a licencer offered reaſons againſt licencing; and at his "own requeſt was diſcharged that office." For neither was the licencer's name Mabol, but Gilbert Mabbot; neither was he diſcharged from

from his office till May 1649, about five years afterwards, tho' probably he might be ſwayed by Milton's arguments, as every ingenuous perſon muſt, who peruſes and conſiders them. And in 1645 was publiſhed a collection of his poems, Latin and Engliſh, the principal of which are On the morning of Chriſt's nativity, L'Allegro, Il Penſeroſo, Lycidas, the Mask &c &c: and if he had left no other monuments of his poetical genius behind him, theſe would have been ſufficient to have rendered his name immortal.

But without doubt his Doctrin of Divorce and the maintenance of it principally engaged his thoughts at this period; and whether others were convinced or not by his arguments, he was certainly convinced himſelf that he was in the right; and as a proof of it he determined to marry again, and made his addreſſes to a young lady of great wit and beauty, one of the daughters of Dr. Davis. But intelligence of this coming to his wife, and the then declining ſtate of the King's cauſe, and conſequently of the circumſtances of Juſtice Powell's family, cauſed them to ſet all engins on work to reſtore the wife again to her husband. And his friends too for different reaſons ſeem to have been as deſirous of bringing about a reconciliation as her's, and this method of effecting it was concerted between them. He had a relation, one Blackborough, living in the lane of St. Martin's Le Grand, whom he often viſited; and one day when he was viſiting there, it was contrived that the wife ſhould be ready in another room; and as he was thinking of nothing leſs, he was ſurpriſed to ſee her, whom he had expected never to have ſeen any more, falling down upon her knees at his feet, and imploring his forgiveneſs with tears. At firſt he ſhowed ſome ſigns of averſion, but he continued not long inexorable; his wife's intreaties, and the interceſſion of friends on both ſides ſoon wrought upon his generous nature, and procured a happy reconciliation with an act of oblivion of all that was paſt. But he did not take his wife home immediately; it was agreed that ſhe ſhould remain at a friend's, till the houſe, that he had newly taken, was fitted for their reception; for ſome other gentlemen of his acquaintance, having obſerved the great ſucceſs of his method of education, had recommended their ſons

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to his care; and his houſe in Alderſgate-ſtreet not being large enough, he had taken a larger in Barbican: and till this could be got ready, the place pitched upon for his wife's abode was the widow Webber's houſe in St. Clement's Churchyard, whoſe ſecond daughter had been married to the other brother many years before. The part, that Milton acted in this whole affair, ſhowed plainly that he had a ſpirit capable of the ſtrongeſt reſentment, but yet more inclinable to pity and forgiveneſs: and neither in this was any injury done to the other lady, whom he was courting, for ſhe is ſaid to have been always averſe from the motion, not daring I ſuppoſe to venture in marriage with a man who was known to have a wife ſtill living. He might not think himſelf too at liberty as before, while his wife continued obſtinate; for his moſt plauſible argument for divorce proceeds upon a ſuppoſition, that the thing be done with mutual conſent.

After his wife's return his family was increaſed not only with children, but alſo with his wife's relations, her father and mother, her brothers and ſiſters, coming to live with him in the general diſtreſs and ruin of the royal party: and he was ſo far from reſenting their former ill treatment of him, that he generouſly protected them, and entertained them very hoſpitably, till their affairs were accommodated thro' his intereſt with the prevailing faction. And then upon their removal, and the death of his own father, his houſe looked again like the houſe of the Muſes: but his ſtudies had like to have been interrupted by a call to public buſineſs; for about this time there was a deſign of conſtituting him Adjutant General in the army under Sir William Waller; but the new modeling of the army ſoon following, that deſign was laid aſide. And not long after, his great houſe in Barbican being now too large for his family, he quitted it for a ſmaller in High Holborn, which opened backward into Lincoln's Inn Fields, where he proſecuted his ſtudies till the King's trial and death, when the Presbyterians declaming tragically againſt the King's execution, and aſſerting that his perſon was ſacred and inviolable, provoked him to write the Tenure of Kings and Magiſtrates, proving that it is lawful to call a tyrant to account and to depoſe and put him to death, and that they who of late

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ſo much blame depoſing are the men who did it themſelves: and he publiſhed it at the beginning of the year 1649, to ſatisfy and compoſe the minds of the people. Not long after this he wrote his Obſervations on the articles of peace between the Earl of Ormond and the Iriſh rebels. And in theſe and all his writings, whatever others of different parties may think, he thought himſelf an advocate for true liberty, for eccleſiaſtical liberty in his treatiſes againſt the biſhops, for domeſtic liberty in his books of divorce, and for civil liberty in his writings againſt the king in defenſe of the parlament and people of England.

After this he retired again to his private ſtudies; and thinking that he had leiſure enough for ſuch a work, he applied himſelf to the writing of a Hiſtory of England, which he intended to deduce from the earlieſt accounts down to his own times: and he had finiſhed four books of it, when neither courting nor expecting any ſuch preferment, he was invited by the Council of State to be their Latin Secretary for foreign affairs. And he ſerved in the ſame capacity under Oliver, and Richard, and the Rump, till the Reſtoration; and without doubt a better Latin pen could not have been found in the kingdom. For the Republic and Cromwell ſcorned to pay that tribute to any foreign prince, which is uſually paid to the French king, of managing their affairs in his language; they thought it an indignity and meanneſs, to which this or any free nation ought not to ſubmit; and took a noble reſolution neither to write any letters to any foreign ſtates, nor to receive any anſwers from them, but in the Latin tongue, which was common to them all. And it would have been well, if ſucceeding princes had followed their example; for in the opinion of very wiſe men, the univerſality of the French language will make way for the univerſality of the French monarchy.

But it was not only in foreign diſpatches that the government made uſe of his pen. He had diſcharged the buſineſs of his office a very little time, before he was called to a work of another kind. For ſoon after the King's death was publiſhed a book under his name intitled Εικων Βασιλικη, or the royal image: and this book, like Cæſar's laſt will,

will, making a deeper impreſſion, and exciting greater commiſeration in the minds of the people, than the King himſelf did while alive, Milton was ordered to prepare an anſwer to it, which was publiſhed by authority, and intitled Εικονοκλασης or the image-breaker, the famous ſurname of many Greek emperors, who in their zeal againſt idolatry broke all ſuperſtitious images to pieces. This piece was tranſlated into French; and two replies to it were publiſhed, one in 1651, and the other in 1692, upon the reprinting of Milton's book at Amſterdam.

But his moſt celebrated work in proſe is his Defenſe of the people of England againſt Salmaſius, Defenſio pro populo Anglicano contra Claudii Anonymi, alias Salmaſii, Defenſionem Regiam. Salmaſius, by birth a Frenchman, ſucceeded the famous Scaliger as honorary Profeſſor of the univerſity of Leyden, and had gained great reputation by his Plinian Exercitations on Solinus, and by his critical remarks on ſeveral Latin and Greek authors, and was generally eſteemed one of the greateſt and moſt conſummate ſcholars of that age: and is commended by Milton himſelf in his Reaſon of Church Government, and called the learned Salmaſius. And beſides his great learning he had extraordinary talents in railing. "This prince of ſcholars, as ſome body ſaid of "him, ſeemed to have erected his throne upon a heap of ſtones, that "he might have them at hand to throw at every one's head who "paſſed by." He was therefore courted by Charles II, as the moſt able man to write a defenſe of the late King his father and to traduce his adverſaries, and a hundred Jacobuſes were given him for that purpoſe, and the book was publiſhed in 1649 with this title Defenſio Regia pro Carolo I. ad Carolum II. No ſooner did this book appear in England, but the Council of State unanimouſly appointed Milton, who was then preſent, to anſwer it: and he performed the task with amazing ſpirit and vigor, tho' his health at that time was ſuch, that he could hardly indure the fatigue of writing, and being weak in body he was forced to write by piece-meal, and to break off almoſt every hour, as he ſays himſelf in the introduction. This neceſſarily occaſioned ſome delay, ſo that his Defenſe of the people of England was not made

made public till the beginning of the year 1651: and they who cannot read the original, may yet have the pleaſure of reading the Engliſh tranſlation by Mr. Waſhington of the Temple, which was printed in 1692, and is inſerted among Milton's works in the two laſt editions. It was ſomewhat extraordinary, that Salmaſius, a penſioner to a republic, ſhould pretend to write a defenſe of monarchy; but the States ſhowed their diſapprobation by publicly condemning his book, and ordering it to be ſuppreſſed. And on the other hand Milton's book was burnt at Paris, and at Tolouſe by the hands of the common hangman; but this ſerved only to procure it the more readers: it was read and talked of every where, and even they who were of different principles, yet could not but acknowledge that he was a good defender of a bad cauſe; and Salmaſius's book underwent only one impreſſion, while this of Milton paſſed thro' ſeveral editions. On the firſt appearance of it, he was viſited or invited by all the foreign miniſters at London, not excepting even thoſe of crowned heads; and was particularly honored and eſteemed by Adrian Paaw, embaſſador from the States of Holland. He was likewiſe highly complimented by letters from the moſt learned and ingenious perſons in France and Germany; and Leonard Philaras, an Athenian born, and embaſſador from the Duke of Parma to the French king, wrote a fine encomium of his Defenſe, and ſent him his picture, as appears from Milton's letter to Philaras dated at London in June 1652. And what gave him the greateſt ſatisfaction, the work was highly applauded by thoſe, who had deſired him to undertake it; and they made him a preſent of a thouſand pounds, which in thoſe days of frugality was reckoned no inconſiderable reward for his performance. But the caſe was far otherwiſe with Salmaſius. He was then in high favor at the court of Chriſtina Queen of Sweden, who had invited thither ſeveral of the moſt learned men of all countries: but when Milton's Defenſe of the people of England was brought to Sweden, and was read to the Queen at her own deſire, he ſunk immediately in her eſteem and the opinion of every body; and tho' he talked big at firſt, and vowed the deſtruction of Milton and the Parlament, yet finding that he was looked upon with coldneſs, he thought

proper to take leave of the court; and he who came in honor, was diſmiſſed with contempt. He died ſome time afterwards at Spa in Germany, and it is ſaid more of a broken heart than of any diſtemper, leaving a poſthumous reply to Milton, which was not publiſhed till after the Reſtoration, and was dedicated to Charles II. by his ſon Claudius; but it has done no great honor to his memory, abounding with abuſe much more than argument.

Iſaac Voſſius was at Stockholm, when Milton's book was brought thither, and in ſome of his letters to Nicolas Heinſius, publiſhed by Profeſſor Burman in the third tome of his Sylloge Epiſtolarum, he ſays, that he had the only copy of Milton's book, that the Queen borrowed it of him, and was very much pleaſed with it, and commended Milton's wit and manner of writing in the preſence of ſeveral perſons, and that Salmaſius was very angry, and very buſy in preparing his anſwer, wherein he abuſed Milton as if he had been one of the vileſt catamites in Italy, and alſo criticized his Latin poems. Heinſius writes again to Voſſius from Holland, that he wondered that only one copy of Milton's book was brought to Stockholm, when three were ſent thither, one to the Queen, another to Voſſius which he had received, and the third to Salmaſius; that the book was in every body's hands, and there had been four editions in a few months beſides the Engliſh one; that a Dutch tranſlation was handed about, and a French one was expected. And afterwards he writes from Venice, that Holſtenius had lent him Milton's Latin poems; that they were nothing, compared with the elegance of his Apology; that he had offended frequently againſt proſody, and here was a great opening for Salmaſius's criticiſm: but as to Milton's having been a catamite in Italy, he ſays, that it was a mere calumny; on the contrary he was diſliked by the Italians, for the ſeverity of his manners, and for the freedom of his diſcourſes againſt popery. And in others of his letters to Voſſius and to J. Fr. Gronovius from Holland, Heinſius mentions how angry Salmaſius was with him for commending Milton's book, and ſays that Graſwinkelius had written ſomething againſt Milton, which was to have been printed by Elzevir, but it was ſuppreſſed by public authority.

The

The firſt reply that appeared was publiſhed in 1651, and intitled an Apology for the king and people &c, Apologia pro rege & populo Anglicano contra Johannis Polypragmatici (alias Miltoni Angli) Defenſionem deſtructivam regis & populi Anglicani. It is not known, who was the author of this piece. Some attributed it to one Janus a lawyer of Grays-Inn, and others to Dr. John Bramhall, who was then Biſhop of Derry, and was made Primate of Ireland after the Reſtoration: but it is utterly improbable, that ſo mean a performance, written in ſuch barbarous Latin, and ſo full of ſolœciſms, ſhould come from the hands of a prelate of ſuch diſtinguiſhed abilities and learning. But whoever was the author of it, Milton did not think it worth his while to animadvert upon it himſelf, but employed the younger of his nephews to anſwer it; but he ſuperviſed and corrected the anſwer ſo much before it went to the preſs, that it may in a manner be called his own. It came forth in 1652 under this title, Johannis Philippi Angli Reſponſio ad Apologiam anonymi cujuſdam tenebrionis pro rege & populo Anglicano infantiſſimam; and it is printed with Milton's works; and throughout the whole Mr. Philips treats Biſhop Bramhall with great ſeverity as the author of the Apology, thinking probably that ſo conſiderable an adverſary would make the anſwer more conſiderable.

Sir Robert Filmer likewiſe publiſhed ſome animadverſions upon Milton's Defenſe of the people, in a piece printed in 1652, and intitled Obſervations concerning the original of government, upon Mr. Hobbes's Leviathan, Mr. Milton againſt Salmaſius, and Hugo Grotius de Jure belli: but I do not find that Milton or any of his friends took any notice of it; but Milton's quarrel was afterwards ſufficiently avenged by Mr. Locke, who wrote againſt Sir Robert Filmer's principles of government, more I ſuppoſe in condeſcenſion to the prejudices of the age, than out of any regard to the weight or importance of Filmer's arguments.

It is probable that Milton, when he was firſt made Latin Secretary, removed from his houſe in High Holborn to be nearer Whitehall: and for ſome time he had lodgings at one Thomſon's next door to the

Bull-head tavern at Charing-Croſs, opening into Spring-Garden, till the apartment, appointed for him in Scotland-Yard, could be got ready for his reception. He then removed thither; and there his third child, a ſon was born and named John, who thro' the ill uſage or bad conſtitution of the nurſe died an infant. His own health too was greatly impaired; and for the benefit of the air, he removed from his apartment in Scotland-Yard to a houſe in Petty-France Weſtminſter, which was next door to Lord Scudamore's, and opened into St. James's Park; and there he remained eight years, from the year 1652 till within a few weeks of the King's reſtoration. In this houſe he had not been ſettled long, before his firſt wife died in childbed; and his condition requiring ſome care and attendence, he was eaſily induced after a proper interval of time to marry a ſecond, who was Catharine daughter of Captain Woodcock of Hackney: and ſhe too died in childbed within a year after their marriage, and her child, who was a daughter, died in a month after her; and her husband has done honor to her memory in one of his ſonnets.

Two or three years before this ſecond marriage he had totally loſt his ſight. And his enemies triumphed in his blindneſs, and imputed it as a judgment upon him for writing againſt the King: but his ſight had been decaying ſeveral years before, thro' his cloſe application to ſtudy, and the frequent head-akes to which he had been ſubject from his childhood, and his continual tampering with phyſic, which perhaps was more pernicious than all the reſt: and he himſelf has informed us in his ſecond Defenſe, that when he was appointed by authority to write his Defenſe of the people againſt Salmaſius, he had almoſt loſt the ſight of one eye, and the phyſicians declared to him, that if he undertook that work, he would alſo loſe the ſight of the other: but he was nothing diſcouraged, and choſe rather to loſe both his eyes than deſert what he thought his duty. It was the ſight of his left eye that he loſt firſt: and at the deſire of his friend Leonard Philaras the Duke of Parma's miniſter at Paris he ſent him a particular account of his caſe, and of the manner of his growing blind, for him to conſult Thevenot the phyſician, who was reckoned famous in

caſes

caſes of the eyes. The letter is the fifteenth of his familiar epiſtles, and is dated Septemb. 28. 1654: but it does not appear what anſwer he received; we may preſume, none that adminiſtered any relief. His blindneſs however did not diſable him entirely from performing the buſineſs of his office. An aſſiſtant was allowed him, and his ſalary as ſecretary ſtill continued to him.

And there was farther occaſion for his ſervice beſides dictating of letters. For the controverſy with Salmaſius did not die with him, and there was publiſhed at the Hague in 1652 a book intitled the Cry of the King's blood &c, Regii ſanguinis Clamor ad cœlum adverſus Parricidas Anglicanos. The true author of this book was Peter du Moulin the younger, who was afterwards prebendary of Canterbury: and he tranſmitted his papers to Salmaſius; and Salmaſius intruſted them to the care of Alexander Morus, a French miniſter; and Morus publiſhed them with a dedication to King Charles II. in the name of Adrian Ulac the printer, from whence he came to be reputed the author of the whole. This Morus was the ſon of a learned Scotſman, who was preſident of the college, which the proteſtants had formerly at Caſtres in Languedoc; and he is ſaid to have been a man of a moſt haughty diſpoſition, and immoderately addicted to women, haſty, ambitious, full of himſelf and his own performances, and ſatirical upon all others. He was however eſteemed one of the moſt eminent preachers of that age among the proteſtants; but as Monſieur Bayle obſerves, his chief talent muſt have conſiſted in the gracefulneſs of his delivery, or in thoſe ſallies of imagination and quaint turns and alluſions, whereof his ſermons are full; for they retain not thoſe charms in reading, which they were ſaid to have formerly in the pulpit. Againſt this man therefore, as the reputed author of Regii ſanguinis Clamor &c, Milton publiſhed by authority his Second Defenſe of the people of England, Defenſio Secunda pro populo Anglicano, in 1654, and treats Morus with ſuch ſeverity as nothing could have excuſed, if he had not been provoked to it by ſo much abuſe poured upon himſelf. There is one piece of his wit, which had been publiſhed before in the news-papers at London, a diſtich upon Morus for getting Pontia the maid-ſervant of his friend Salmaſius with child.

Galli

Galli ex concubitu gravidam te, Pontia, Mori
Quis bene moratam morigeramque neget?

Upon this Morus publiſhed his Fides Publica in anſwer to Milton, in which he inſerted ſeveral teſtimonies of his orthodoxy and morals ſigned by the conſiſtories, academies, ſynods, and magiſtrates of the places where he had lived; and diſowned his being the author of the book imputed to him, and appealed to two gentlemen of great credit with the Parlament party, who knew the real author. This brought Du Moulin, who was then in England, into great danger; but the government ſuffered him to eſcape with impunity, rather than they would publicly contradict the great patron of their cauſe. For he ſtill perſiſted in his accuſation, and endevored to make it good in his Defenſe of himſelf, Autoris pro ſe Defenſio, which was publiſhed in 1655, wherein he oppoſed to the teſtimonies in favor of Morus other teſtimonies againſt him; and Morus replied no more.

After this controverſy was ended, he was at leiſure again to purſue his own private ſtudies, which were the Hiſtory of England before mentioned, and a new Theſaurus of the Latin tongue, intended as an improvement upon that by Robert Stephens; a work, which he had been long collecting from the beſt and pureſt Latin authors, and continued at times almoſt to his dying day: but his papers were left ſo confuſed and imperfect, that they could not be fitted for the preſs, tho' great uſe was made of them by the compilers of the Cambridge Dictionary printed in 1693. Theſe papers are ſaid to have conſiſted of three large volumes in folio; and it is a great pity that they are loſt, and no account is given what is become of the manuſcript. It is commonly ſaid too that at this time he began his famous poem of Paradiſe Loſt; and it is certain, that he was glad to be releaſed from thoſe controverſies, which detained him ſo long from following things more agreeable to his natural genius and inclination, tho' he was far from ever repenting of his writings in defenſe of liberty, but gloried in them to the laſt.

The

The only interruption now of his private ſtudies was the buſineſs of his office. In 1655 there was publiſhed in Latin a writing in the name of the Lord Protector, ſetting forth the reaſons of the war with Spain: and this piece is rightly adjudged to our author, both on account of the peculiar elegance of the ſtile, and becauſe it was his province to write ſuch things as Latin Secretary; and it is printed among his other proſe-works in the laſt edition. And for the ſame reaſons I am inclined to think, that the famous Latin verſes to Chriſtina Queen of Sweden in the name of Cromwell were made by our author rather than Andrew Marvel. In thoſe days they had admirable intelligence in the Secretary's office; and Mr. Philips relates a memorable inſtance or two upon his own knowledge. The Dutch were ſending a plenipotentiary to England to treat of peace; but the emiſſaries of the government had the art to procure a copy of his inſtructions in Holland, which were delivered by Milton to his kinſman who was then with him, to tranſlate them for the uſe of the Council, before the ſaid plenipotentiary had taken ſhipping for England; and an anſwer to all that he had in charge was prepared, and lay ready for him before he made his public entry into London. Another time a perſon came to London with a very ſumptuous train, pretending himſelf an agent from the Prince of Conde, who was then in arms againſt Cardinal Mazarine: but the government ſuſpecting him ſet their inſtruments to work ſo ſucceſsfully, that in a few days they received intelligence from Paris, that he was a ſpy employed by Charles II: whereupon the very next morning Milton's kinſman was ſent to him with an order of Council, commanding him to depart the kingdom within three days, or expect the puniſhment of a ſpy. This kinſman was in all probability Mr. Philips or his brother, who were Milton's nephews, and lived very much with him, and one or both of them were aſſiſtant to him in his office. His blindneſs no doubt was a great hindrance and inconvenience to him in his buſineſs, tho' ſometimes a political uſe might be made of it; as men's natural infirmities are often pleaded in excuſe for not doing what they have no great inclination to do. Thus when Cromwell, as we may collect from Whitlock, for ſome reaſons delayed artfully

artfully to ſign the treaty concluded with Sweden, and the Swediſh embaſſador made frequent complaints of it, it was excuſed to him, becauſe Mr. Milton on account of his blindneſs proceeded ſlower in buſineſs, and had not yet put the articles of the treaty into Latin. Upon which the embaſſador was greatly ſurpriſed, that things of ſuch conſequence ſhould be intruſted to a blind man, for he muſt neceſſarily employ an amanuenſis, and that amanuenſis might divulge the articles; and ſaid it was very wonderful, that there ſhould be only one man in England who could write Latin, and he a blind one. But his blindneſs had not diminiſhed, but rather increaſed the vigor of his mind: and his ſtate-letters will remain as authentic memorials of thoſe times, to be admired equally by critics and politicians; and thoſe particularly about the ſufferings of the poor proteſtants in Piedmont, who can read without ſenſible emotion? This was a ſubject that he had very much at heart, as he was an utter enemy to all ſorts of perſecution; and among his ſonnets there is a moſt excellent one upon the ſame occaſion.

But Oliver Cromwell being dead, and the government weak and unſettled in the hands of Richard and the Parlament, he thought it a ſeaſonable time to offer his advice again to the public; and in 1659 publiſhed a Treatiſe of civil power in eccleſiaſtical cauſes; and another tract intitled Conſiderations touching the likelieſt means to remove hirelings out of the church; both addreſſed to the Parlament of the commonwealth of England. And after the Parlament was diſſolved, he wrote a Letter to ſome Stateſman, with whom he had a ſerious diſcourſe the night before, concerning the ruptures of the commonwealth; and another, as it is ſuppoſed, to General Monk, being a brief Delineation of a free commonwealth, eaſy to be put in practice and without delay. Theſe two pieces were communicated in manuſcript to Mr. Toland by a friend, who a little after Milton's death had them from his nephew; and Mr. Toland gave them to be printed in the edition of our author's proſe-works in 1698. But Milton, ſtill finding that affairs were every day tending more and more to the ſubverſion of the commonwealth and the reſtoration of the royal family, publiſhed his

his Ready and eaſy way to eſtabliſh a free commonwealth, and the excellence thereof, compared with the inconveniences and dangers of readmitting kingſhip in this nation. We are informed by Mr. Wood, that he publiſhed this piece in February 1659-60; and after this he publiſhed Brief notes upon a late ſermon intitled, the Fear of God and the King, preached by Dr. Matthew Griffith at Mercers Chapel March 25. 1660: ſo bold and reſolute was he in declaring his ſentiments to the laſt, thinking that his voice was the voice of expiring liberty.

A little before the King's landing he was diſcharged from his office of Latin Secretary, and was forced to leave his houſe in Petty France, where he had lived eight years with great reputation, and had been viſited by all foreigners of note, who could not go out of the country without ſeeing a man who did ſo much honor to it by his writings, and whoſe name was as well known and as famous abroad as in his own nation; and by ſeveral perſons of quality of both ſexes, particularly the pious and virtuous Lady Ranelagh, whoſe ſon for ſome time he inſtructed, the ſame who was Paymaſter of the forces in King William's time; and by many learned and ingenious friends and acquaintance, particularly Andrew Marvel, and young Laurence, ſon to the Preſident of Oliver's Council, to whom he has inſcribed one of his ſonnets, and Marchamont Needham the writer of Politicus, and above all Cyriac Skinner, whom he has honored with two ſonnets. But now it was not ſafe for him to appear any longer in public, ſo that by the advice of ſome who wiſhed him well and were concerned for his preſervation, he fled for ſhelter to a friend's houſe in Bartholomew Cloſe near Weſt Smithfield, where he lay concealed till the worſt of the ſtorm was blown over. The firſt notice that we find taken of him was on Saturday the 16th of June 1660, when it was ordered by the Houſe of Commons, that his Majeſty ſhould be humbly moved to iſſue his proclamation for the calling in of Milton's two books, his Defenſe of the people and Iconoclaſtes, and alſo Goodwyn's book intitled the Obſtructors of juſtice, written in juſtification of the murder of the late King, and to order them to be burnt by the hands of the

common hangman. At the ſame time it was ordered, that the Attorney General ſhould proceed by way of indictment or information againſt Milton and Goodwyn in reſpect of their books, and that they themſelves ſhould be ſent for in cuſtody of the Serjeant at arms attending the Houſe. On Wedneſday June 27th an order of Council was made agreeable to the order of the Houſe of Commons for a proclamation againſt Milton's and Goodwyn's books; and the proclamation was iſſued the 13th of Auguſt following, wherein it was ſaid that the authors had fled or did abſcond: and on Monday Auguſt 27th Milton's and Goodwyn's books were burnt according to the proclamation at the Old Bailey by the hands of the common hangman. On Wedneſday Auguſt 29th the act of indemnity was paſſed, which proved more favorable to Milton than could well have been expected; for tho' John Goodwyn Clerk was excepted among the twenty perſons, who were to have penalties inflicted upon them, not extending to life, yet Milton was not excepted at all, and conſequently was included in the general pardon. We find indeed that afterwards he was in cuſtody of the Serjeant at arms; but the time, when he was taken into cuſtody, is not certain. He was not in cuſtody on the 12th of September, for that day a liſt of the priſoners in cuſtody of the Serjeant at arms was read in the Houſe, and Milton is not among them; and on the 13th of September the Houſe adjourned to the 6th of November. It is moſt probable therefore, that after the act of indemnity was paſſed, and after the Houſe had adjourned, he came out of his concealment, and was afterwards taken into cuſtody of the Serjeant at arms by virtue of the former order of the Houſe of Commons: but we cannot find that he was proſecuted by the Attorney General, nor was he continued in cuſtody very long: for on Saturday the 15th of December 1660, it was ordered by the Houſe of Commons, that Mr. Milton now in cuſtody of the Serjeant at arms ſhould be forthwith releaſed, paying his fees; and on Monday the 17th of December, a complaint being made that the Serjeant at arms had demanded exceſſive fees for his impriſonment, it was referred to the Committee of privileges and elections to examin this buſineſs, and to

call Mr. Milton and the Serjeant before them, and to determin what was fit to be given to the Serjeant for his fees in this caſe; ſo courageous was he at all times in defenſe of liberty againſt all the encroachments of power, and tho' a priſoner, would yet be treated like a free-born Engliſhman. This appears to be the matter of fact, as it may be collected partly from the Journals of the Houſe of Commons, and partly from Kennet's Hiſtorical Regiſter: and the clemency of the government was ſurely very great towards him, conſidering the nature of his offenſes; for tho' he was not one of the King's judges and murderers, yet he contributed more to murder his character and reputation than any of them all: and to what therefore could it be owing, that he was treated with ſuch lenity, and was ſo eaſily pardoned? It is certain, there was not wanting powerful interceſſion for him both in Council and in Parlament. It is ſaid that Secretary Morrice and Sir Thomas Clargis greatly favored him, and exerted their intereſt in his behalf; and his old friend Andrew Marvel, member of Parlament for Hull, formed a conſiderable party for him in the Houſe of Commons; and neither was Charles the Second (as Toland ſays) ſuch an enemy to the Muſes, as to require his deſtruction. But the principal inſtrument in obtaining Milton's pardon was Sir William Davenant, out of gratitude for Milton's having procured his releaſe, when he was taken priſoner in 1650. It was life for life. Davenant had been ſaved by Milton's intereſt, and in return Milton was ſaved at Davenant's interceſſion. This ſtory Mr. Richardſon relates upon the authority of Mr. Pope; and Mr. Pope had it from Betterton the famous actor, who was firſt brought upon the ſtage and patronized by Sir William Davenant, and might therefore derive the knowledge of this tranſaction from the fountain.

Milton having thus obtained his pardon, and being ſet at liberty again, took a houſe in Holborn near Red Lion Fields; but he removed ſoon into Jewen Street near Alderſgate Street: and while he lived there, being in his 53d or 54th year, and blind and infirm, and wanting ſome body better than ſervants to tend and look after him, he employed his friend Dr. Paget to chooſe a proper conſort for him;

and at his recommendation married his third wife, Elizabeth Minſhul, of a gentleman's family in Cheſhire, and related to Dr. Paget. It is ſaid that an offer was made to Milton, as well as to Thurloe, of holding the ſame place of Secretary under the King, which he had diſcharged with ſo much integrity and ability under Cromwell; but he perſiſted in refuſing it, tho' the wife preſſed his compliance; "Thou "art in the right, ſays he; you, as other women, would ride in your "coach; for me, my aim is to live and die an honeſt man." What is more certain is, that in 1661 he publiſhed his Accedence commenced Grammar, and a tract of Sir Walter Raleigh intitled Aphoriſms of State; as in 1658 he had publiſhed another piece of Sir Walter Raleigh intitled the Cabinet Council diſcabinated, which he printed from a manuſcript, that had lain many years in his hands, and was given him for a true copy by a learned man at his death, who had collected ſeveral ſuch pieces: an evident ſign, that he thought it no mean employment, nor unworthy of a man of genius, to be an editor of the works of great authors. It was while he lived in Jewen Street, that Elwood the quaker (as we learn from the hiſtory of his life written by his own hand) was firſt introduced to read to him; for having wholly loſt his ſight, he kept always ſome body or other to perform that office, and uſually the ſon of ſome gentleman of his acquaintance, whom he took in kindneſs, that he might at the ſame time improve him in his learning. Elwood was recommended to him by Dr. Paget, and went to his houſe every afternoon except Sunday, and read to him ſuch books in the Latin tongue, as Milton thought proper. And Milton told him, that if he would have the benefit of the Latin tongue, not only to read and underſtand Latin authors, but to converſe with foreigners either abroad or at home, he muſt learn the foreign pronunciation; and he inſtructed him how to read accordingly. And having a curious ear, he underſtood by my tone, ſays Elwood, when I underſtood what I read, and when I did not; and he would ſtop me, and examin me, and open the moſt difficult paſſages to me. But it was not long after his third marriage, that he left Jewen Street, and removed to a houſe in the Artillery Walk leading to Bunhill Fields:

and

and this was his laſt ſtage in this world; he continued longer in this houſe than he had done in any other, and lived here to his dying day: only when the plague began to rage in London in 1665, he removed to a ſmall houſe at St. Giles Chalfont in Buckinghamſhire, which Elwood had taken for him and his family; and there he remained during that dreadful calamity; but after the ſickneſs was over, and the city was cleanſed and made ſafely habitable again, he returned to his houſe in London.

His great work of Paradiſe Loſt had principally engaged his thoughts for ſome years paſt, and was now completed. It is probable, that his firſt deſign of writing an epic poem was owing to his converſations at Naples with the Marquis of Villa about Taſſo and his famous poem of the delivery of Jeruſalem; and in a copy of verſes preſented to that nobleman before he left Naples, he intimated his intention of fixing upon King Arthur for his hero. And in an eclogue, made ſoon after his return to England upon the death of his friend and ſchool-fellow Deodati, he propoſed the ſame deſign and the ſame ſubject, and declared his ambition of writing ſomething in his native language, which might render his name illuſtrious in theſe ilands, though he ſhould be obſcure and inglorious to the reſt of the world. And in other parts of his works, after he had engaged in the controverſies of the times, he ſtill promiſed to produce ſome noble poem or other at a fitter ſeaſon; but it doth not appear that he had then determined upon the ſubject, and King Arthur had another fate, being reſerved for the pen of Sir Richard Blackmore. The firſt hint of Paradiſe Loſt is ſaid to have been taken from an Italian tragedy; and it is certain, that he firſt deſigned it a tragedy himſelf, and there are ſeveral plans of it in the form of a tragedy ſtill to be ſeen in the author's own manuſcript preſerved in the library of Trinity College Cambridge. And it is probable, that he did not barely sketch out the plans, but alſo wrote ſome parts of the drama itſelf. His nephew Philips informs us, that ſome of the verſes at the beginning of Satan's ſpeech, addreſſed to the ſun in the fourth book, were ſhown to him and ſome others as deſigned for the beginning of the tragedy, ſeveral years before the poem

was

was begun: and many other paſſages might be produced, which plainly appear to have been originally intended for the ſcene, and are not ſo properly of the epic, as of the tragic ſtrain. It was not till after he was diſengaged from the Salmaſian controverſy, which ended in 1655, that he began to mold the Paradiſe Loſt in its preſent form; but after the Reſtoration, when he was diſmiſſed from public buſineſs, and freed from controverſy of every kind, he proſecuted the work with cloſer application. Mr. Philips relates a very remarkable circumſtance in the compoſure of this poem, which he ſays he had reaſon to remember, as it was told him by Milton himſelf, that his vein never happily flowed but from the autumnal equinox to the vernal, and that what he attempted at other times was not to his ſatisfaction, tho' he courted his fancy never ſo much. Mr. Toland imagins that Philips might be miſtaken as to the time, becauſe our author, in his Latin elegy, written in his twentieth year, upon the approach of the ſpring, ſeemeth to ſay juſt the contrary, as if he could not make any verſes to his ſatisfaction till the ſpring begun: and he ſays farther that a judicious friend of Milton's informed him, that he could never compoſe well but in ſpring and autumn. But Mr. Richardſon cannot comprehend, that either of theſe accounts is exactly true, or that a man with ſuch a work in his head can ſuſpend it for ſix months together, or only for one; it may go on more ſlowly, but it muſt go on: and this laying it aſide is contrary to that eagerneſs to finiſh what was begun, which he ſays was his temper in his epiſtle to Deodati dated Sept. 2. 1637. After all Mr. Philips, who had the peruſal of the poem from the beginning, by twenty or thirty verſes at a time, as it was compoſed, and having not been ſhown any for a conſiderable while as the ſummer came on, inquired of the author the reaſon of it, could hardly be miſtaken with regard to the time: and it is eaſy to conceive, that the poem might go on much more ſlowly in ſummer than in other parts of the year; for notwithſtanding all that poets may ſay of the pleaſures of that ſeaſon, I imagin moſt perſons find by experience, that they can compoſe better at any other time, with more facility and with more ſpirit, than during the heat and languor of ſummer. Whenever the

the poem was wrote, it was finiſhed in 1665, and as Elwood ſays was ſhown to him that ſame year at St. Giles Chalfont, whither Milton had retired to avoid the plague, and it was lent to him to peruſe it and give his judgment of it: and conſidering the difficulties which the author lay under, his uneaſineſs on account of the public affairs and his own, his age and infirmities, his gout and blindneſs, his not being in circumſtances to maintain an amanuenſis, but obliged to make uſe of any hand that came next to write his verſes as he made them, it is really wonderful, that he ſhould have the ſpirit to undertake ſuch a work, and much more, that he ſhould ever bring it to perfection. And after the poem was finiſhed, ſtill new difficulties retarded the publication of it. It was in danger of being ſuppreſſed thro' the malice or ignorance of the licencer, who took exception at ſome paſſages, and particularly at that noble ſimile, in the firſt book, of the ſun in an eclipſe, in which he fancied that he had diſcovered treaſon. It was with difficulty too that the author could ſell the copy; and he ſold it at laſt only for five pounds, but was to receive five pounds more after the ſale of 1300 of the firſt impreſſion, and five pounds more after the ſale of as many of the ſecond impreſſion, and five more after the ſale of as many of the third, and the number of each impreſſion was not to exceed 1500. And what a poor conſideration was this for ſuch an ineſtimable performance! and how much more do others get by the works of great authors, than the authors themſelves! This original contract with Samuel Simmons the printer is dated April 27. 1667, and is in the hands of Mr. Tonſon the bookſeller, as is likewiſe the manuſcript of the firſt book copied fair for the preſs, with the Imprimatur by Thomas Tomkyns chaplain to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury: ſo that tho' Milton was forced to make uſe of different hands to write his verſes from time to time as he had occaſion, yet we may ſuppoſe that the copy for the preſs was written all or at leaſt each book by the ſame hand. The firſt edition in ten books was printed in a ſmall quarto; and before it could be diſpoſed of, had three or more different title pages of the years 1667, 1668, and 1669. The firſt ſort was without the name of Simmons the printer, and

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began with the poem immediately following the title page, without any argument, or preface, or table of errata: to others was prefixed a ſhort advertiſement of the printer to the reader concerning the argument and the reaſon why the poem rimes not; and then followed the argument of the ſeveral books, and the preface concerning the kind of verſe, and the table of errata: others again had the argument, and the preface, and the table of errata, without that ſhort advertiſement of the printer to the reader: and this was all the difference between them, except now and then of a point or a letter, which were altered as the ſheets were printing off. So that, notwithſtanding theſe variations, there was ſtill only one impreſſion in quarto; and two years almoſt elapſed, before 1300 copies could be ſold, or before the author was intitled to his ſecond five pounds, for which his receipt is ſtill in being, and is dated April 26. 1669. And this was probably all that he received; for he lived not to enjoy the benefits of the ſecond edition, which was not publiſhed till the year 1674, and that ſame year he died. The ſecond edition was printed in a ſmall octavo, and was corrected by the author himſelf, and the number of books was augmented from ten to twelve, with the addition of ſome few verſes: and this alteration was made with great judgment, not for the ſake of ſuch a fanciful beauty as reſembling the number of books in the Æneid, but for the more regular diſpoſition of the poem, becauſe the ſeventh and tenth books were before too long, and are more fitly divided each into two. The third edition was publiſhed in 1678; and it appears that Milton had left his remaining right in the copy to his widow, and ſhe agreed with Simmons the printer to accept eight pounds in full of all demands, and her receipt for the money is dated December 21. 1680. But a little before this Simmons had covenanted to aſſign the whole right of copy to Brabazon Aylmer the bookſeller for twenty five pounds; and Aylmer afterwards ſold it to old Jacob Tonſon at two different times, one half on the 17th of Auguſt 1683, and the other half on the 24th of March 1690, with a conſiderable advance of the price; and except one fourth of it which has been aſſign'd to ſeveral perſons, his family have enjoyed

enjoyed the right of copy ever ſince. By the laſt aſſignment it appears, that the book was growing into repute and riſing in valuation; and to what perverſeneſs could it be owing that it was not better received at firſt? We conceive there were principally two reaſons; the prejudices againſt the author on account of his principles and party; and many no doubt were offended with the novelty of a poem that was not in rime. Rymer, who was a redoubted critic in thoſe days, would not ſo much as allow it to be a poem on this account; and declared war againſt Milton as well as againſt Shakeſpear; and threatened that he would write reflections upon the Paradiſe Loſt, which ſome (ſays he *) are pleaſed to call a poem, and would aſſert rime againſt the ſlender ſophiſtry wherewith the author attacks it. And ſuch a man as Biſhop Burnet maketh it a ſort of objection to Milton, that he affected to write in blank verſe without rime. And the ſame reaſon induced Dryden to turn the principal parts of Paradiſe Loſt into rime in his Opera called the State of innocence and Fall of man; to tag his lines, as Milton himſelf expreſſed it, alluding to the faſhion then of wearing tags of metal at the end of their ribbons. We are told indeed by Mr. Richardſon, that Sir George Hungerford, an ancient member of parlament, told him, that Sir John Denham came into the Houſe one morning with a ſheet of Paradiſe Loſt wet from the preſs in his hand; and being asked what he had there, ſaid that he had part of the nobleſt poem that ever was written in any language or in any age. However it is certain that the book was unknown till about two years after, when the Earl of Dorſet produced it, as Mr. Richardſon was informed by Dr. Tancred Robinſon the phyſician, who had heard the ſtory often from Fleetwood Shephard himſelf, that the Earl, in company with Mr. Shephard, looking about for books in Little Britain, accidentally met with Paradiſe Loſt; and being ſurpriſed at ſome paſſages in dipping here and there, he bought it. The bookſeller begged his Lordſhip to ſpeak in its favor if he liked it, for the impreſſion lay on his hands as waſte paper. The Earl having read it ſent it to Dryden, who in a ſhort time returned it with this anſwer, " This

* See Rymer's *Tragedies of the laſt age conſider'd.* p. 143.

" man cuts us all out and the Ancients too." Dryden's epigram upon Milton is too well known to be repeated; and thoſe Latin verſes by Dr. Barrow the phyſician, and the Engliſh ones by Andrew Marvel Eſq;, uſually prefixed to the Paradiſe Loſt, were written before the ſecond edition, and were publiſhed with it. But ſtill the poem was not generally known and eſteemed, nor met with the deſerved applauſe, till after the edition in folio, which was publiſhed in 1688 by ſubſcription. The Duke of Buckingham in his Eſſay on poetry prefers Taſſo and Spenſer to Milton: and it is related in the life of the witty Earl of Rocheſter, that he had no notion of a better poet than Cowley. In 1686 or thereabout Sir William Temple publiſhed the ſecond part of his Miſcellanies, and it may ſurpriſe any reader, that in his Eſſay on poetry he taketh no notice at all of Milton; nay he ſaith expreſsly that after Arioſto, Taſſo, and Spenſer, he knoweth none of the Moderns who have made any achievements in heroic poetry worth recording. And what can we think, that he had not read or heard of the Paradiſe Loſt, or that the author's politics had prejudiced him againſt his poetry? It was happy that all great men were not of his mind. The bookſeller was adviſed and encouraged to undertake the folio edition by Mr. Sommers, afterwards Lord Sommers, who not only ſubſcribed himſelf, but was zealous in promoting the ſubſcription: and in the liſt of ſubſcribers we find ſome of the moſt eminent names of that time, as the Earl of Dorſet, Waller, Dryden, Dr. Aldrich, Mr. Atterbury, and among the reſt Sir Roger Leſtrange, tho' he had formerly written a piece intitled No blind guides &c againſt Milton's Notes upon Dr. Griffith's ſermon. There were two editions more in folio, one I think in 1692, the other in 1695 which was the ſixth edition; for the poem was now ſo well received, that notwithſtanding the price of it was four times greater than before, the ſale increaſed double the number every year; as the bookſeller, who ſhould beſt know, has informed us in his dedication of the ſmaller editions to Lord Sommers. Since that time not only various editions have been printed, but alſo various notes and tranſlations. The firſt perſon who wrote annotations upon Paradiſe Loſt was P. H. or Patrick Hume, of whom

whom we know nothing, unleſs his name may lead us to ſome knowledge of his country, but he has the merit of being the firſt (as I ſay) who wrote notes upon Paradiſe Loſt, and his notes were printed at the end of the folio edition in 1695. Mr. Addiſon's Spectators upon the ſubject contributed not a little to eſtabliſhing the character, and illuſtrating the beauties of the poem. In 1732 appeared Dr. Bentley's new edition with notes: and the year following Dr. Pearce publiſhed his Review of the text, in which the chief of Dr. Bentley's emendations are conſidered, and ſeveral other emendations and obſervations are offered to the public. And the year after that Meſſieurs Richardſon, father and ſon, publiſhed their Explanatory notes and remarks. The poem has alſo been tranſlated into ſeveral languages, Latin, Italian, French, and Dutch; and propoſals have been made for tranſlating it into Greek. The Dutch tranſlation is in blank verſe, and printed at Harlem. The French have a tranſlation by Monſ. Dupré de S. Maur; but nothing ſhoweth the weakneſs and imperfection of their language more, than that they have few or no good poetical verſions of the greateſt poets; they are forced to tranſlate Homer, Virgil, and Milton into proſe: and blank verſe their language has not harmony and dignity enough to ſupport; their tragedies, and many of their comedies are in rime. Rolli, the famous Italian maſter here in England, made an Italian tranſlation; and Mr. Richardſon the ſon ſaw another at Florence in manuſcript by the learned Abbè Salvini, the ſame who tranſlated Addiſon's Cato into Italian. One William Hog or Hogæus tranſlated Paradiſe Loſt, Paradiſe Regain'd, and Samſon Agoniſtes into Latin verſe in 1690; but this verſion is very unworthy of the originals. There is a better tranſlation of the Paradiſe Loſt by Mr. Thomas Power Fellow of Trinity College in Cambridge, the firſt book of which was printed in 1691, and the reſt in manuſcript is in the library of that College. The learned Dr. Trap has alſo publiſhed a tranſlation into Latin verſe; and the world is in expectation of another, that will ſurpaſs all the reſt, by Mr. William Dobſon of New College in Oxford. So that by one means or other Milton is now conſidered as an Engliſh claſſic; and the Paradiſe Loſt is generally eſteemed the nobleſt and

moſt ſublime of modern poems, and equal at leaſt to the beſt of the ancient; the honor of this country, and the envy and admiration of all others!

In 1670 he publiſhed his Hiſtory of Britain, that part eſpecially now called England. He began it above twenty years before, but was frequently interrupted by other avocations; and he deſigned to have brought it down to his own times, but ſtopped at the Norman conqueſt; for indeed he was not well able to purſue it any farther by reaſon of his blindneſs, and he was engaged in other more delightful ſtudies, having a genius turned for poetry rather than hiſtory. When his Hiſtory was printed, it was not printed perfect and entire; for the licencer expunged ſeveral paſſages, which reflecting upon the pride and ſuperſtition of the Monks in the Saxon times, were underſtood as a concealed ſatir upon the Biſhops in Charles the ſecond's reign. But the author himſelf gave a copy of his unlicenced papers to the Earl of Angleſea, who, as well as ſeveral of the nobility and gentry, conſtantly viſited him: and in 1681 a conſiderable paſſage, which had been ſuppreſſed at the beginning of the third book, was publiſhed, containing a character of the Long Parlament and Aſſembly of Divines in 1641, which was inſerted in its proper place in the laſt edition of 1738. Biſhop Kennet begins his Complete Hiſtory of England with this work of Milton, as being the beſt draught, the cleareſt and moſt authentic account of thoſe early times: and his ſtile is freer and eaſier than in moſt of his other works, more plain and ſimple, leſs figurative and metaphorical, and better ſuited to the nature of hiſtory, has enough of the Latin turn and idiom to give it an air of antiquity, and ſometimes riſes to a ſurpriſing dignity and majeſty.

In 1670 likewiſe his Paradiſe Regain'd and Samſon Agoniſtes were licenced together, but were not publiſhed till the year following. It is ſomewhat remarkable, that theſe two poems were not printed by Simmons, the ſame who printed the Paradiſe Loſt, but by J. M. for one Starkey in Fleetſtreet: and what could induce Milton to have recourſe to another printer? was it becauſe the former was not enough encouraged by the ſale of Paradiſe Loſt to become a purchaſer of the other

other copies? The firſt thought of Paradiſe Regain'd was owing to Elwood the quaker, as he himſelf relates the occaſion in the hiſtory of his life. When Milton had lent him the manuſcript of Paradiſe Loſt at St. Giles Chalfont, as we ſaid before, and he returned it, Milton asked him how he liked it, and what he thought of it: "Which I modeſtly, but freely told him, ſays Elwood; and after "ſome further diſcourſe about it, I pleaſantly ſaid to him, Thou haſt "ſaid much of Paradiſe Loſt, but what haſt thou to ſay of Paradiſe "Found? He made me no anſwer, but ſat ſome time in a muſe; then "broke off that diſcourſe, and fell upon another ſubject." When Elwood afterwards waited upon him in London, Milton ſhowed him his Paradiſe Regain'd, and in a pleaſant tone ſaid to him, "This is "owing to You, for You put it into my head by the queſtion You "put me at Chalfont, which before I had not thought of." It is commonly reported, that Milton himſelf preferred this poem to the Paradiſe Loſt: but all that we can aſſert upon good authority is, that he could not indure to hear this poem cried down ſo much as it was, in compariſon with the other. For certainly it is very worthy of the author, and contrary to what Mr. Toland relates, Milton may be ſeen in Paradiſe Regain'd as well as in Paradiſe Loſt; if it is inferior in poetry, I know not whether it is not ſuperior in ſentiment; if it is leſs deſcriptive, it is more argumentative; if it doth not ſometimes riſe ſo high, neither doth it ever ſink ſo low; and it has not met with the approbation it deſerves, only becauſe it has not been more read and conſidered. His ſubject indeed is confined, and he has a narrow foundation to build upon; but he has raiſed as noble a ſuperſtructure, as ſuch little room and ſuch ſcanty materials would allow. The great beauty of it is the contraſt between the two characters of the Tempter and our Saviour, the artful ſophiſtry and ſpecious inſinuations of the one refuted by the ſtrong ſenſe and manly eloquence of the other. This poem has alſo been tranſlated into French together with ſome other pieces of Milton, Lycidas, L'Allegro, Il Penſeroſo, and the Ode on Chriſt's nativity: and in 1732 was printed a Critical Diſſertation with notes upon Paradiſe Regain'd, pointing out the beauties of it, and

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written by Mr. Meadowcourt, Canon of Worceſter: and the very learned and ingenious Mr. Jortin has added ſome obſervations upon this work at the end of his excellent Remarks upon Spenſer, publiſhed in 1734: and indeed this poem of Milton, to be more admired, needs only to be better known. His Samſon Agoniſtes is the only tragedy that he has finiſhed, tho' he has sketched out the plans of ſeveral, and propoſed the ſubjects of more, in his manuſcript preſerved in Trinity College library: and we may ſuppoſe that he was determined to the choice of this particular ſubject by the ſimilitude of his own circumſtances to thoſe of Samſon blind and among the Philiſtins. This I conceive to be the laſt of his poetical pieces; and it is written in the very ſpirit of the Ancients, and equals, if not exceeds, any of the moſt perfect tragedies, which were ever exhibited on the Athenian ſtage, when Greece was in its glory. As this work was never intended for the ſtage, the diviſion into acts and ſcenes is omitted. Biſhop Atterbury had an intention of getting Mr. Pope to divide it into acts and ſcenes, and of having it acted by the King's Scholars at Weſtminſter: but his commitment to the Tower put an end to that deſign. It has ſince been brought upon the ſtage in the form of an Oratorio; and Mr. Handel's muſic is never employed to greater advantage, than when it is adapted to Milton's words. That great artiſt has done equal juſtice to our author's L'Allegro and Il Penſeroſo, as if the ſame ſpirit poſſeſſed both maſters, and as if the God of muſic and of verſe was ſtill one and the ſame.

There are alſo ſome other pieces of Milton, for he continued publiſhing to the laſt. In 1672 he publiſhed Artis Logicæ plenior Inſtitutio ad Petri Rami methodum concinnata, an Inſtitution of Logic after the method of Petrus Ramus; and the year following, a treatiſe of true Religion and the beſt means to prevent the growth of popery, which had greatly increaſed thro' the connivance of the King, and the more open encouragement of the Duke of York; and the ſame year his poems, which had been printed in 1645, were reprinted with the addition of ſeveral others. His familiar epiſtles and ſome academical exerciſes, Epiſtolarum familiarium Lib. I. et Proluſiones quædam Oratoriæ

Oratoriæ in Collegio Chriſti habitæ, were printed in 1674; as was alſo his tranſlation out of Latin into Engliſh of the Pole's Declaration concerning the election of their king John III, ſetting forth the virtues and merits of that prince. He wrote alſo a brief Hiſtory of Muſcovy, collected from the relations of ſeveral travelers; but it was not printed till after his death in 1682. He had likewiſe his ſtate-letters tranſcribed at the requeſt of the Daniſh reſident, but neither were they printed till after his death in 1676, and were tranſlated into Engliſh in 1694; and to that tranſlation a life of Milton was prefixed by his nephew Mr. Edward Philips, and at the end of that life his excellent ſonnets to Fairfax, Cromwell, Sir Henry Vane, and Cyriac Skinner on his blindneſs were firſt printed. Beſides theſe works which were publiſhed, he wrote a ſyſtem of divinity, which Mr. Toland ſays was in the hands of his friend Cyriac Skinner, but where at preſent is uncertain. And Mr. Philips ſays, that he had prepared for the preſs an anſwer to ſome little ſcribbling quack in London, who had written a ſcurrilous libel againſt him; but whether by the diſſuaſion of friends, as thinking him a fellow not worth his notice, or for what other cauſe Mr. Philips knoweth not, this anſwer was never publiſhed. And indeed the beſt vindicator of him and his writings hath been Time. Poſterity hath univerſally paid that honor to his merits, which was denied him by great part of his contemporaries.

After a life thus ſpent in ſtudy and labors for the public he died of the gout at his houſe in Bunhill Row on or about the 10th of November 1674, when he had within a month completed the ſixty ſixth year of his age. It is not known when he was firſt attacked by the gout, but he was grievouſly afflicted with it ſeveral of the laſt years of his life, and was weakened to ſuch a degree, that he died without a groan, and thoſe in the room perceived not when he expired. His body was decently interred near that of his father (who had died very aged about the year 1647) in the chancel of the Church of St. Giles's Cripplegate; and all his great and learned friends in London, not without a friendly concourſe of the common people, paid their laſt reſpects in attending it to the grave. Mr. Fenton in his ſhort but elegant

elegant account of the life of Milton, ſpeaking of our author's having no monument, ſays that " he deſired a friend to inquire at St. Giles's " Church; where the ſexton ſhowed him a ſmall monument, which " he ſaid was ſuppoſed to be Milton's; but the inſcription had never " been legible ſince he was employed in that office, which he has poſ- " ſeſſed about forty years. This ſure could never have happened in " ſo ſhort a ſpace of time, unleſs the epitaph had been induſtriouſly " eraſed: and that ſuppoſition, ſays Mr. Fenton, carries with it ſo " much inhumanity, that I think we ought to believe it was not " erected to his memory." It is evident that it was not erected to his memory, and that the ſexton was miſtaken. For Mr. Toland in his account of the life of Milton ſays, that he was buried in the chancel of St. Giles's Church, " where the piety of his admirers will ſhortly " erect a monument becoming his worth and the encouragement of " letters in King William's reign." This plainly implies that no monument was erected to him at that time, and this was written in 1698: and Mr. Fenton's account was firſt publiſhed, I think, in 1725; ſo that not above twenty ſeven years intervened from the one account to the other; and conſequently the ſexton, who it is ſaid had been poſſeſſed of his office about forty years, muſt have been miſtaken, and the monument muſt have been deſigned for ſome other perſon, and not for Milton. A monument indeed has been erected to his memory in Weſtminſter Abbey by Auditor Benſon in the year 1737; but the beſt monument of him is his writings.

In his youth he was eſteemed extremely handſome, ſo that while he was a ſtudent at Cambridge, he was called the Lady of Chriſt's College. He had a very fine ſkin and freſh complexion; his hair was of a light brown, and parted on the foretop hung down in curls waving upon his ſhoulders; his features were exact and regular; his voice agreeable and muſical; his habit clean and neat; his deportment erect and manly. He was middle-ſized and well proportioned, neither tall nor ſhort, neither too lean nor too corpulent, ſtrong and active in his younger years, and though afflicted with frequent headakes, blindneſs, and gout, was yet a comely and well-looking man

to

to the laſt. His eyes were of a light blue color, and from the firſt are ſaid to have been none of the brighteſt; but after he loſt the ſight of them, (which happened about the 43d year of his age) they ſtill appeared without ſpot or blemiſh, and at firſt view and at a little diſtance it was not eaſy to know that he was blind. Mr. Richardſon had an account of him from an ancient clergyman in Dorſetſhire, Dr. Wright, who found him in a ſmall houſe, which had (he thinks) but one room on a floor; in that, up one pair of ſtairs, which was hung with a ruſty green, he ſaw John Milton ſitting in an elbow chair, with black clothes, and neat enough, pale but not cadaverous, his hands and fingers gouty, and with chalk ſtones; among other diſcourſe he expreſſed himſelf to this purpoſe, that was he free from the pain of the gout, his blindneſs would be tolerable. But there is the leſs need to be particular in the deſcription of his perſon, as the idea of his face and countenance is pretty well known from the numerous prints, pictures, buſts, medals, and other repreſentations which have been made of him. There are two pictures of greater value than the reſt, as they are undoubted originals, and were in the poſſeſſion of Milton's widow: the firſt was drawn when he was about twenty one, and is at preſent in the collection of the Right Honorable Arthur Onſlow Eſq; Speaker of the Houſe of Commons; the other in crayons was drawn when he was about ſixty two, and was in the collection of Mr. Richardſon, but has ſince been purchaſed by Mr. Tonſon. Several prints have been made from both theſe pictures; and there is a print done, when he was about ſixty two or ſixty three, after the life by Faithorn, which tho' not ſo handſome, may yet perhaps be as true a reſemblance, as any of them. It is prefixed to ſome of our author's pieces, and to the folio edition of his proſe works in three volumes printed in 1698.

In his way of living he was an example of ſobriety and temperance. He was very ſparing in the uſe of wine or ſtrong liquors of any kind. Let meaner poets make uſe of ſuch expedients to raiſe their fancy and kindle their imagination. He wanted not any artificial ſpirits; he had a natural fire, and poetic warmth enough of his own. He was

likewiſe very abſtemious in his diet, not faſtidiouſly nice or delicate in the choice of his diſhes, but content with any thing that was moſt in ſeaſon, or eaſieſt to be procured, eating and drinking, (according to the diſtinction of the philoſopher) that he might live, and not living that he might eat and drink. So that probably his gout deſcended by inheritance from one or other of his parents; or if it was of his own acquiring, it muſt have been owing to his ſtudious and ſedentary life. And yet he delighted ſometimes in walking and uſing exerciſe, but we hear nothing of his riding or hunting; and having early learned to fence, he was ſuch a maſter of his ſword, that he was not afraid of reſenting an affront from any man; and before he loſt his ſight, his principal recreation was the exerciſe of his arms; but after he was confined by age and blindneſs, he had a machine to ſwing in for the preſervation of his health. In his youth he was accuſtomed to ſit up late at his ſtudies, and ſeldom went to bed before midnight; but afterwards, finding it to be the ruin of his eyes, and looking on this cuſtom as very pernicious to health at any time, he uſed to go to reſt early, ſeldom later than nine, and would be ſtirring in the ſummer at four, and in the winter at five in the morning; but if he was not diſpoſed to riſe at his uſual hours, he ſtill did not lie ſleeping, but had ſome body or other by his bed ſide to read to him. At his firſt riſing he had uſually a chapter read to him out of the Hebrew Bible, and he commonly ſtudied all the morning till twelve, then uſed ſome exerciſe for an hour, afterwards dined, and after dinner played on the organ, and either ſung himſelf or made his wife ſing, who (he ſaid) had a good voice but no ear; and then he went up to ſtudy again till ſix, when his friends came to viſit him and ſat with him perhaps till eight; then he went down to ſupper, which was uſually olives or ſome light thing; and after ſupper he ſmoked his pipe, and drank a glaſs of water, and went to bed. He loved the country, and commends it, as poets uſually do; but after his return from his travels, he was very little there, except during the time of the plague in London. The civil war might at firſt detain him in town; and the pleaſures of the country were in a great meaſure loſt to him, as they

depend

depend moſtly upon ſight, whereas a blind man wanteth company and converſation, which is to be had better in populous cities. But he was led out ſometimes for the benefit of the freſh air, and in warm ſunny weather he uſed to ſit at the door of his houſe near Bunhill Fields, and there as well as in the houſe received the viſits of perſons of quality and diſtinction; for he was no leſs viſited to the laſt both by his own countrymen and foreigners, than he had been in his floriſhing condition before the Reſtoration.

Some objections indeed have been made to his temper; and I remember there was a tradition in the univerſity of Cambridge, that he and Mr. King (whoſe death he laments in his Lycidas) were competitors for a fellowſhip, and when they were both equal in point of learning, Mr. King was preferred by the college for his character of good nature, which was wanting in the other; and this was by Milton grievouſly reſented. But the difference of their ages, Milton being at leaſt four years elder, renders this ſtory not very probable; and beſides Mr. King was not elected by the college, but was made fellow by a royal mandate, ſo that there can be no truth in the tradition; but if there was any, it is no ſign of Milton's reſentment, but a proof of his generoſity, that he could live in ſuch friendſhip with a ſucceſsful rival, and afterwards ſo paſſionately lament his deceaſe. His method of writing controverſy is urged as another argument of his want of temper: but ſome allowance muſt be made for the cuſtoms and manners of the time. Controverſy, as well as war, was rougher and more barbarous in thoſe days, than it is in theſe. And it is to be conſidered too, that his adverſaries firſt began the attack; they loaded him with much more perſonal abuſe, only they had not the advantage of ſo much wit to ſeaſon it. If he had engaged with more candid and ingenuous diſputants, he would have preferred civility and fair argument to wit and ſatir: "to do ſo was my choice, "and to have done thus was my chance," as he expreſſes himſelf in the concluſion of one of his controverſial pieces. All who have written any accounts of his life agree, that he was affable and inſtructive in converſation, of an equal and chearful temper; and yet

I can eaſily believe, that he had a ſufficient ſenſe of his own merits, and contempt enough for his adverſaries.

His merits indeed were ſingular; for he was a man not only of wonderful genius, but of immenſe learning and erudition; not only an incomparable poet, but a great mathematician, logician, hiſtorian, and divine. He was a maſter not only of the Greek and Latin, but likewiſe of the Hebrew, Chaldee, and Syriac, as well as of the modern languages, Italian, French, and Spaniſh. He was particularly skilled in the Italian, which he always preferred to the French language, as all the men of letters did at that time in England; and he not only wrote elegantly in it, but is highly commended for his writings by the moſt learned of the Italians themſelves, and eſpecially by the members of that celebrated academy called della Cruſca, which was eſtabliſhed at Florence for the refining and perfecting of the Tuſcan language. He had read almoſt all authors, and improved by all, even by romances, of which he had been fond in his younger years; and as the bee can extract honey out of weeds, ſo (to uſe his own words in his Apology for Smectymnuus) "thoſe books, which to many "others have been the fuel of wantonneſs and looſe living, proved to "him ſo many incitements to the love and obſervation of virtue." His favorite author after the Holy Scriptures was Homer. Homer he could repeat almoſt all without book; and he was adviſed to undertake a tranſlation of his works, which no doubt he would have executed to admiration. But (as he ſays of himſelf in his poſtſcript to the Judgment of Martin Bucer) "he never could delight in long ci-"tations, much leſs in whole traductions." And accordingly there are few things, and thoſe of no great length, which he has ever tranſlated. He was poſſeſſed too much of an original genius to be a mere copyer. "Whether it be natural diſpoſition, ſays he, or edu-"cation in me, or that my mother bore me a ſpeaker of what God "made my own, and not a tranſlator." And it is ſomewhat remarkable, that there is ſcarce any author, who has written ſo much, and upon ſuch various ſubjects, and yet quotes ſo little from his contemporary authors, or ſo ſeldom mentions any of them. He praiſes

Selden

Selden indeed in more places than one, but for the reſt he appears diſpoſed to cenſure rather than commend. After his ſeverer ſtudies, and after dinner as we obſerved before, he uſed to divert and unbend his mind with playing upon the organ or baſs-viol, which was a great relief to him after he had loſt his ſight; for he was a maſter of muſic as was his father, and he could perform both vocally and inſtrumentally, and it is ſaid that he compoſed very well, tho' nothing of this kind is handed down to us. It is alſo ſaid that he had ſome skill in painting as well as in muſic, and that ſomewhere or other there is a head of Milton drawn by himſelf: but he was bleſſed with ſo many real excellences, that there is no want of fictitious ones to raiſe and adorn his character. He had a quick apprehenſion, a ſublime imagination, a ſtrong memory, a piercing judgment, a wit always ready, and facetious or grave as the occaſion required: and I know not whether the loſs of his ſight did not add vigor to the faculties of his mind. He at leaſt thought ſo, and often comforted himſelf with that reflection.

But his great parts and learning have ſcarcely gained him more admirers, than his political principles have raiſed him enemies. And yet the darling paſſion of his ſoul was the love of liberty; this was his conſtant aim and end, however he might be miſtaken in the means. He was indeed very zealous in what was called the good old cauſe, and with his ſpirit and his reſolution it is ſomewhat wonderful, that he never ventured his perſon in the civil war; but tho' he was not in arms, he was not unactive, and thought, I ſuppoſe, that he could be of more ſervice to the cauſe by his pen than by his ſword. He was a thorough republican, and in this he thought like a Greek or Roman, as he was very converſant with their writings. And one day Sir Robert Howard, who was a friend to Milton as well as to the liberties of his country, and was one of his conſtant viſitors to the laſt, inquired of him how he came to ſide with the republicans. Milton anſwered among other reaſons, becauſe theirs was the moſt frugal government, for the trappings of a monarchy might ſet up an ordinary commonwealth. But then his attachment to Cromwell muſt be

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condemned, as being neither conſiſtent with his republican principles, nor with his love of liberty. And I know no other way of accounting for his conduct, but by preſuming (as I think we may reaſonably preſume) that he was far from entirely approving of Cromwell's proceedings, but conſidered him as the only perſon who could reſcue the nation from the tyranny of the Presbyterians, who he ſaw were erecting a worſe dominion of their own upon the ruins of prelatical epiſcopacy; and of all things he dreaded ſpiritual ſlavery, and therefore cloſed with Cromwell and the Independents, as he expected under them greater liberty of conſcience. And tho' he ſerved Cromwell, yet it muſt be ſaid for him, that he ſerved a great maſter, and ſerved him ably, and was not wanting from time to time in giving him excellent good advice, eſpecially in his ſecond Defenſe: and ſo little being ſaid of him in all Secretary Thurloe's ſtate-papers, it appears that he had no great ſhare in the ſecrets and intrigues of government; what he diſpatched was little more than matters of neceſſary form, letters and anſwers to foreign ſtates; and he may be juſtified for acting in ſuch a ſtation, upon the ſame principle as Sir Matthew Hale for holding a Judge's commiſſion under the uſurper: and in the latter part of his life he frequently expreſſed to his friends his entire ſatisfaction of mind, that he had conſtantly employed his ſtrength and faculties in the defenſe of liberty, and in oppoſition to ſlavery.

In matters of religion too he has given as great offenſe, or even greater than by his political principles. But ſtill let not the infidel glory: no ſuch man was ever of that party. He had the advantage of a pious education, and ever expreſſed the profoundeſt reverence of the Deity in his words and actions, was both a Chriſtian and a Proteſtant, and ſtudied and admired the Holy Scriptures above all other books whatſoever; and in all his writings he plainly ſhoweth a religious turn of mind, as well in verſe as in proſe, as well in his works of an earlier date as in thoſe of later compoſition. When he wrote the Doctrin and Diſciplin of Divorce, he appears to have been a Calviniſt; but afterwards he entertained a more favorable opinion of Arminius. Some have inclined to believe, that he was an Arian; but there

there are more expreſs paſſages in his works to overthrow this opinion, than any there are to confirm it. For in the concluſion of his treatiſe of Reformation he thus ſolemnly invokes the Trinity; "Thou "therefore that ſitteſt in light and glory unapproachable, Parent of "Angels and Men! next thee I implore Omnipotent King, Redeemer "of that loſt remnant whoſe nature thou didſt aſſume, ineffable and "everlaſting Love! And thou the third ſubſiſtence of divine infini-"tude, illumining Spirit, the joy and ſolace of created things! one "Tri-perſonal Godhead! look upon this thy poor, and almoſt ſpent "and expiring Church &c." And in his tract of Prelatical Epiſcopacy he endevors to prove the ſpuriouſneſs of ſome epiſtles attributed to Ignatius, becauſe they contained in them hereſies, one of which hereſies is, that "he condemns them for miniſters of Satan, who ſay that "Chriſt is God above all." And a little after in the ſame tract he objects to the authority of Tertullian, becauſe he went about to "prove "an imparity between God the Father, and God the Son." And in Paradiſe Loſt we ſhall find nothing upon this head, that is not perfectly agreeable to Scripture. The learned Dr. Trap, who was as likely to cry out upon hereſy as any man, aſſerts that the poem is orthodox in every part of it; or otherwiſe he would not have been at the pains of tranſlating it. Neque alienum videtur a ſtudiis viri theologi poema magna ex parte theologicum; omni ex parte (rideant, per me licet, atque ringantur athei et infideles) orthodoxum. Milton was indeed a diſſenter from the Church of England, in which he had been educated, and was by his parents deſigned for holy orders, as we related before; but he was led away by early prejudices againſt the doctrin and diſciplin of the Church; and in his younger years was a favorer of the Presbyterians; in his middle age he was beſt pleaſed with the Independents and Anabaptiſts, as allowing greater liberty of conſcience than others, and coming neareſt in his opinion to the primitive practice; and in the latter part of his life he was not a profeſſed member of any particular ſect of Chriſtians, he frequented no public worſhip, nor uſed any religious rite in his family. Whether ſo many different forms of worſhip as he had ſeen, had made him indifferent to all forms; or whether

whether he thought that all Chriſtians had in ſome things corrupted the purity and ſimplicity of the Goſpel; or whether he diſliked their endleſs and uncharitable diſputes, and that love of dominion and inclination to perſecution, which he ſaid was a piece of Popery inſeparable from all Churches; or whether he believed, that a man might be a good Chriſtian without joining in any communion; or whether he did not look upon himſelf as inſpired, as wrapt up in God, and above all forms and ceremonies, it is not eaſy to determin: *to his own maſter he ſtandeth or falleth:* but if he was of any denomination, he was a ſort of a Quietiſt, and was full of the interior of religion tho' he ſo little regarded the exterior; and it is certain was to the laſt an enthuſiaſt rather than an infidel. As enthuſiaſm made Norris a poet, ſo poetry might make Milton an enthuſiaſt.

His circumſtances were never very mean, nor very great; for he lived above want, and was not intent upon accumulating wealth; his ambition was more to enrich and adorn his mind. His father ſupported him in his travels, and for ſome time after. Then his pupils muſt have been of ſome advantage to him, and brought him either a certain ſtipend or conſiderable preſents at leaſt; and he had ſcarcely any other method of improving his fortune, as he was of no profeſſion. When his father died, he inherited an elder ſon's ſhare of his eſtate, the principal part of which I believe was his houſe in Bread Street: And not long after, he was appointed Latin Secretary with a Salary of 200*l.* a year; ſo that he was now in opulent circumſtances for a man, who had always led a frugal and temperate life, and was at little unneceſſary expenſe beſides buying of books. Tho' he was of the victorious party, yet he was far from ſharing in the ſpoils of his country. On the contrary (as we learn from his ſecond Defenſe) he ſuſtained great loſſes during the civil war, and was not at all favored in the impoſition of taxes, but ſometimes paid beyond his due proportion. And upon a turn of affairs he was not only deprived of his place, but alſo loſt 2000*l.* which he had for ſecurity and improvement put into the Exciſe Office. He loſt likewiſe another conſiderable ſum for want of proper care and management, as perſons of Milton's genius are ſeldom

expert

expert in money matters. And in the fire of London his houſe in Bread Street was burnt, before which accident foreigners have gone out of devotion (ſays Wood) to ſee the houſe and chamber where he was born. His gains were inconſiderable in proportion to his loſſes; for excepting the thouſand pounds, which were given him by the government for writing his Defenſe of the people againſt Salmaſius, we may conclude that he got very little by the copies of his works, when it doth not appear that he received any more than ten pounds for Paradiſe Loſt. Some time before he died he ſold the greateſt part of his library, as his heirs were not qualified to make a proper uſe of it, and as he thought that he could diſpoſe of it to greater advantage than they could after his deceaſe. And finally by one means or other he died worth one thouſand five hundred pounds beſides his houſhold goods, which was no incompetent ſubſiſtence for him, who was as great a philoſopher as a poet.

To this account of Milton it may be proper to add ſomething concerning his family. We ſaid before, that he had a younger brother and a ſiſter. His brother Chriſtopher Milton was a man of totally oppoſit principles; was a ſtrong royaliſt, and after the civil war made his compoſition thro' his brother's intereſt; had been entered young a ſtudent in the Inner Temple, of which houſe he lived to be an ancient bencher; and being a profeſſed papiſt, was in the reign of James II. made a judge and knighted; but ſoon obtained his quietus by reaſon of his age and infirmities, and retired to Ipſwich, where he lived all the latter part of his life. His ſiſter Anne Milton had a conſiderable fortune given her by her father in marriage with Mr. Edward Philips (ſon of Mr. Edward Philips of Shrewsbury) who coming young to London was bred up in the Crown Office in Chancery, and at length became ſecondary of the office under Mr. Bembo. By him ſhe had, beſides other children who died infants, two ſons Edward and John, whom we have had frequent occaſion to mention before. Among our author's juvenile poems there is a copy of verſes on the death of a fair infant, a nephew, or rather niece of his, dying of a cough; and this

being written in his 17th year, as it is ſaid in the title, it may naturally be inferred that Mrs. Philips was elder than either of her brothers. She had likewiſe two daughters, Mary who died very young, and Anne who was living in 1694, by a ſecond husband Mr. Thomas Agar, who ſucceeded his intimate friend Mr. Philips in his place in the Crown Office, which he enjoyed many years, and left to Mr. Thomas Milton, ſon of Sir Chriſtopher before mentioned. As for Milton himſelf he appears to have been no enemy to the fair ſex by having had three wives. What fortune he had with any of them is no where ſaid, but they were gentlemen's daughters; and it is remarkable that he married them all maidens, for (as he ſays in his Apology for Smectymnuus, which was written before he married at all) he "thought with them, "who both in prudence and elegance of ſpirit would chooſe a virgin "of mean fortunes honeſtly bred before the wealthieſt widow." But yet he ſeemeth not to have been very happy in any of his marriages; for his firſt wife had juſtly offended him by her long abſence and ſeparation from him; the ſecond, whoſe love, ſweetneſs, and goodneſs he commends, lived not a twelvemonth with him; and his third wife is ſaid to have been a woman of a moſt violent ſpirit, and a hard mother in law to his children. She died very old, about twenty years ago, at Nantwich in Cheſhire: and from the accounts of thoſe who had ſeen her, I have learned, that ſhe confirmed ſeveral things which have been related before; and particularly that her husband uſed to compoſe his poetry chiefly in winter, and on his waking in a morning would make her write down ſometimes twenty or thirty verſes: and being asked whether he did not often read Homer and Virgil, ſhe underſtood it as an imputation upon him for ſtealing from thoſe authors, and anſwered with eagerneſs that he ſtole from no body but the Muſe who inſpired him; and being asked by a lady preſent who the Muſe was, replied it was God's grace, and the Holy Spirit that viſited him nightly. She was likewiſe asked whom he approved moſt of our Engliſh poets, and anſwered Spenſer, Shakeſpear, and Cowley: and being asked what he thought of Dryden, ſhe ſaid Dryden uſed ſometimes

times to viſit him, but he thought him no poet, but a good rimiſt: but this was before Dryden had compoſed his beſt poems, which made his name ſo famous afterwards. She was wont moreover to ſay, that her husband was applied to by meſſage from the King, and invited to write for the Court, but his anſwer was, that ſuch a behaviour would be very inconſiſtent with his former conduct, for he had never yet employed his pen againſt his conſcience. By his firſt wife he had four children, a ſon who died an infant, and three daughters who ſurvived him; by his ſecond wife he had only one daughter, who died ſoon after her mother, who died in childbed; and by his laſt wife he had no children at all. His daughters were not ſent to ſchool, but were inſtructed by a miſtreſs kept at home for that purpoſe: and he himſelf, excuſing the eldeſt on account of an impediment in her ſpeech, taught the two others to read and pronounce Greek and Latin and ſeveral other languages, without underſtanding any but Engliſh, for he uſed to ſay that one tongue was enough for a woman: but this employment was very irkſome to them, and this together with the ſharpneſs and ſeverity of their mother in law made them very uneaſy at home; and therefore they were all ſent abroad to learn things more proper for them, and particularly imbroidery in gold and ſilver. As Milton at his death left his affairs very much in the power of his widow, tho' ſhe acknowledged that he died worth one thouſand five hundred pounds, yet ſhe allowed but one hundred pounds to each of his three daughters. Anne the eldeſt was decrepit and deformed, but had a very handſome face; ſhe married a maſter-builder, and died in childbed of her firſt child, who died with her. Mary the ſecond lived and died ſingle. Deborah the youngeſt in her father's life time went over to Ireland with a lady, and afterwards was married to Mr. Abraham Clarke, a weaver in Spittle Fields, and died in Auguſt 1727 in the 76th year of her age. She is ſaid to have been a woman of good underſtanding and genteel behaviour, though in low circumſtances. As ſhe had been often called upon to read Homer and Ovid's Metamorphoſis to her father, ſhe could have repeated a conſiderable number of verſes from the

beginning of both thoſe poets, as Mr. Ward, Profeſſor of Rhetoric in Greſham College, relates upon his own knowledge: and another Gentleman has informed me, that he has heard her repeat ſeveral verſes likewiſe out of Euripides. Mr. Addiſon, and the other gentlemen, who had opportunities of ſeeing her, knew her immediately to be Milton's daughter by the ſimilitude of her countenance to her father's picture: and Mr. Addiſon made her a handſome preſent of a purſe of guineas with a promiſe of procuring for her ſome annual proviſion for her life; but his death happening ſoon after, ſhe loſt the benefit of his generous deſign. She received preſents likewiſe from ſeveral other gentlemen, and Queen Caroline ſent her fifty pounds by the hands of Dr. Freind the phyſician. She had ten children, ſeven ſons and three daughters; but none of them had any children, except one of her ſons named Caleb, and one of her daughters named Elizabeth. Caleb went to Fort St. George in the Eaſt Indies, where he married, and had two ſons, Abraham and Iſaac; the elder of whom came to England with the late governor Harriſon, but returned upon advice of his father's death, and whether he or his brother be now living is uncertain. Elizabeth, the youngeſt child of Mrs. Clarke, was married to Mr. Thomas Foſter a weaver in Spittle Fields, and had ſeven children who are all dead; and ſhe herſelf is aged about ſixty, and weak and infirm. She ſeemeth to be a good plain ſenſible woman, and has confirmed ſeveral particulars related above, and informed me of ſome others, which ſhe had often heard from her mother: that her grandfather loſt two thouſand pounds by a money-ſcrivener, whom he had intruſted with that ſum, and likewiſe an eſtate at Weſtminſter of ſixty pounds a year, which belonged to the Dean and Chapter, and was reſtored to them at the Reſtoration: that he was very temperate in his eating and drinking, but what he had he always loved to have of the beſt: that he ſeldom went abroad in the latter part of his life, but was viſited even then by perſons of diſtinction, both foreigners and others: that he kept his daughters at a great diſtance, and would not allow them to learn to write, which he thought unneceſſary for a woman:

that

that her mother was his greateſt favorite, and could read in ſeven or eight languages, tho' ſhe underſtood none but Engliſh: that her mother inherited his head-akes and diſorders, and had ſuch a weakneſs in her eyes, that ſhe was forced to make uſe of ſpectacles from the age of eighteen; and ſhe herſelf, ſhe ſays, has not been able to read a chapter in the Bible theſe twenty years: that ſhe was miſtaken in informing Mr. Birch, what he had printed upon her authority, that Milton's father was born in France; and a brother of hers who was then living was very angry with her for it, and like a true-born Engliſhman reſented it highly, that the family ſhould be thought to bear any relation to France: that Milton's ſecond wife did not die in childbed, as Mr. Philips and Toland relate, but above three months after of a conſumption; and this too Mr. Birch relates upon her authority; but in this particular ſhe muſt be miſtaken as well as in the other, for our author's ſonnet on his deceaſed wife plainly implies, that ſhe did die in childbed. She knows nothing of her aunt Philips or Agar's deſcendents, but believes that they are all extinct: as is likewiſe Sir Chriſtopher Milton's family, the laſt of which were two maiden ſiſters, Mrs. Mary and Mrs. Catharine Milton, who lived and died at Highgate: and ſhe herſelf is the only ſurvivor of Milton's own family, unleſs there be ſome in the Eaſt Indies, which ſhe very much queſtions, for ſhe uſed to hear from them ſometimes, but has heard nothing now for ſeveral years; ſo that in all probability Milton's whole family will be extinct with her, and he can live only in his writings. And ſuch is the caprice of fortune, this grandaughter of a man, who will be an everlaſting glory to the nation, has now for ſome years with her husband kept a little chandler's or grocer's ſhop for their ſubſiſtence, lately at the lower Holloway in the road between Highgate and London, and at preſent in Cock Lane not far from Shoreditch Church. Another thing let me mention, that is equally to the honor of the preſent age. Tho' Milton received not above ten pounds at two different payments for the copy of Paradiſe Loſt, yet Mr. Hoyle author of the treatiſe on the Game of Whiſt, after having diſpoſed of all the firſt impreſſion,

impreſſion, ſold the copy to the bookſeller, as I have been informed, for two hundred guineas.

As we have had occaſion to mention more than once Milton's manuſcripts preſerved in the library of Trinity College in Cambridge, it may not be ungrateful to the reader, if we give a more particular account of them, before we conclude. There are, as we ſaid, two draughts of a letter to a friend who had importuned him to take orders, together with a ſonnet on his being arrived to the age of twenty three: and by there being two draughts of this letter with ſeveral alterations and additions, it appears to have been written with great care and deliberation; and both the draughts have been publiſhed by Mr. Birch in his Hiſtorical and Critical Account of the life and writings of Milton. There are alſo ſeveral of his poems, Arcades, At a ſolemn muſic, On time, Upon the circumciſion, the Mask, Lycidas, with five or ſix of his ſonnets, all in his own hand-writing: and there are ſome others of his ſonnets written by different hands, being moſt of them compoſed after he had loſt his ſight. It is curious to ſee the firſt thoughts and ſubſequent corrections of ſo great a poet as Milton: but it is remarkable in theſe manuſcript poems, that he doth not often make his ſtops, or begin his lines with great letters. There are likewiſe in his own hand-writing different plans of Paradiſe Loſt in the form of a tragedy: and it is an agreeable amuſement to trace the gradual progreſs and improvement of ſuch a work from its firſt dawnings in the plan of a tragedy to its full luſtre in an epic poem. And together with the plans of Paradiſe Loſt there are the plans or ſubjects of ſeveral other intended tragedies, ſome taken from the Scripture, others from the Britiſh or Scotiſh hiſtories: and of the latter the laſt mentioned is Macbeth, as if he had an inclination to try his ſtrength with Shakeſpear; and to reduce the play more to the unities, he propoſes "begin-"ning at the arrival of Malcolm at Macduff; the matter of Dun-"can may be expreſſed by the appearing of his ghoſt." Theſe manuſcripts of Milton were found by the learned Mr. Profeſſor Maſon

Maſon among ſome other old papers, which, he ſays, belonged to Sir Henry Newton Puckering, who was a conſiderable benefactor to the library: and for the better preſervation of ſuch truly valuable reliques, they were collected together, and handſomely bound in a thin folio by the care and at the charge of a perſon, who is now very eminent in his profeſſion, and was always a lover of the Muſes, and at that time a fellow of Trinity College, Mr. Clarke, one of his Majeſty's counſel.

IN

IN
PARADISUM AMISSAM
SUMMI POETÆ
JOHANNIS MILTONI.

QUI legis Amiſſam Paradiſum, grandia magni
Carmina Miltoni, quid niſi cuncta legis?
Res cunctas, & cunctarum primordia rerum,
Et fata, & fines continet iſte liber.
Intima panduntur magni penetralia mundi,
Scribitur & toto quicquid in orbe latet:
Terræque, tractuſque maris, cœlumque profundum,
Sulphureumque Erebi, flammivomumque ſpecus:
Quæque colunt terras, pontumque, & Tartara cæca,
Quæque colunt ſummi lucida regna poli:
Et quodcunque ullis concluſum eſt finibus uſquam,
Et ſine fine Chaos, & ſine fine Deus:
Et ſine fine magis, ſi quid magis eſt ſine fine,
In Chriſto erga homines conciliatus amor.
Hæc qui ſperaret quis crederet eſſe futura?
Et tamen hæc hodie terra Britanna legit.
O quantos in bella duces! quæ protulit arma!
Quæ canit, & quanta prælia dira tuba!
Cœleſtes acies! atque in certamine cœlum!
Et quæ cœleſtes pugna deceret agros!
Quantus in æthereis tollit ſe Lucifer armis!
Atque ipſo graditur vix Michaele minor!

Quantis,

Quantis, & quàm funeſtis concurritur iris,
Dum ferus hic ſtellas protegit, ille rapit!
Dum vulſos montes ceu tela reciproca torquent,
Et non mortali deſuper igne pluunt:
Stat dubius cui ſe parti concedat Olympus,
Et metuit pugnæ non ſupereſſe ſuæ.
At ſimul in cœlis Meſſiæ inſignia fulgent,
Et currus animes, armaque digna Deo,
Horrendumque rotæ ſtrident, & fæva rotarum
Erumpunt torvis fulgura luminibus,
Et flammæ vibrant, & vera tonitrua rauco
Admiſtis flammis inſonuere polo:
Excidit attonitis mens omnis, & impetus omnis,
Et caſſis dextris irrita tela cadunt;
Ad pœnas fugiunt, & ceu foret Orcus aſylum,
Infernis certant condere ſe tenebris.
Cedite Romani Scriptores, cedite Graii,
Et quos fama recens vel celebravit anus.
Hæc quicunque leget tantùm ceciniſſe putabit
Mæonidem ranas, Virgilium culices.

SAMUEL BARROW, M. D.

On Paradise Lost.

WHEN I beheld the Poet blind, yet bold,
In ſlender book his vaſt deſign unfold,
Meſſiah crown'd, God's reconcil'd decree,
Rebelling Angels, the forbidden tree,
Heav'n, Hell, Earth, Chaos, all; the argument
Held me a while miſdoubting his intent,
That he would ruin (for I ſaw him ſtrong)
The ſacred truths to fable and old ſong,
(So Sampſon grop'd the temple's poſts in ſpite)
The world o'erwhelming to revenge his ſight.
Yet as I read, ſoon growing leſs ſevere,
I lik'd his project, the ſucceſs did fear;
Through that wide field how he his way ſhould find,
O'er which lame faith leads underſtanding blind;
Leſt he perplex'd the things he would explain,
And what was eaſy he ſhould render vain.
Or if a work ſo infinite he ſpann'd,
Jealous I was that ſome leſs skilful hand
(Such as diſquiet always what is well,
And by ill imitating would excel)
Might hence preſume the whole creation's day
To change in ſcenes, and ſhow it in a play.
Pardon me, mighty Poet, nor deſpiſe
My cauſeleſs, yet not impious, ſurmiſe.
But I am now convinc'd, and none will dare
Within thy labors to pretend a ſhare.
Thou haſt not miſs'd one thought that could be fit,
And all that was improper doſt omit:
So that no room is here for writers left,
But to detect their ignorance or theft.

That

That majeſty which through thy work doth reign,
Draws the devout, deterring the profane.
And things divine thou treat'ſt of in ſuch ſtate
As them preſerves, and thee, inviolate.
At once delight and horror on us ſeiſe,
Thou ſing'ſt with ſo much gravity and eaſe;
And above human flight doſt ſoar aloft
With plume ſo ſtrong, ſo equal, and ſo ſoft.
The bird nam'd from that Paradiſe you ſing
So never flags, but always keeps on wing.
Where couldſt thou words of ſuch a compaſs find?
Whence furniſh ſuch a vaſt expenſe of mind?
Juſt Heav'n thee like Tireſias to requite
Rewards with prophecy thy loſs of ſight.
Well might'ſt thou ſcorn thy readers to allure
With tinkling rime, of thy own ſenſe ſecure;
While the Town-Bays writes all the while and ſpells,
And like a pack-horſe tires without his bells:
Their fancies like our buſhy-points appear,
The poets tag them, we for faſhion wear.
I too tranſported by the mode offend,
And while I meant to Praiſe thee muſt Commend.
Thy verſe created like thy theme ſublime,
In number, weight, and meaſure, needs not rime.

ANDREW MARVEL.

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ANDREW MARVEL.

THE VERSE.

THE meaſure is Engliſh heroic verſe without rime, as that of Homer in Greek, and of Virgil in Latin; rime being no neceſſary adjunct or true ornament of poem or good verſe, in longer works eſpecially, but the invention of a barbarous age, to ſet off wretched matter and lame meter; grac'd indeed ſince by the uſe of ſome famous modern poets, carried away by cuſtom, but much to their own vexation, hindrance, and conſtraint to expreſs many things otherwiſe, and for the moſt part worſe than elſe they would have expreſs'd them. Not without cauſe therefore ſome both Italian and Spaniſh poets of prime note have rejected rime both in longer and ſhorter works, as have alſo long ſince our beſt Engliſh tragedies, as a thing of itſelf, to all judicious ears, trivial and of no true muſical delight; which conſiſts only in apt numbers, fit quantity of ſyllables, and the ſenſe variouſly drawn out from one verſe into another, not in the jingling ſound of like endings, a fault avoided by the learned Ancients both in poetry and all good oratory. This neglect then of rime ſo little is to be taken for a defect, though it may ſeem ſo perhaps to vulgar readers, that it rather is to be eſteemed an example ſet, the firſt in Engliſh, of ancient liberty recovered to heroic poem, from the troubleſome and modern bondage of riming.

A CRITIQUE upon the PARADISE LOST.

By Mr. *ADDISON.*

Cedite Romani Scriptores, cedite Graii. Propert.

THERE is nothing in nature more irkſome than general diſcourſes, eſpecially when they turn chiefly upon words. For this reaſon I ſhall wave the diſcuſſion of that point which was ſtarted ſome years ſince, Whether Milton's Paradiſe Loſt may be called an Heroic Poem? Thoſe who will not give it that title, may call it (if they pleaſe) a Divine Poem. It will be ſufficient to its perfection, if it has in it all the beauties of the higheſt kind of poetry; and as for thoſe who alledge it is not an heroic poem, they advance no more to the diminution of it, than if they ſhould ſay Adam is not Æneas, nor Eve Helen.

I ſhall therefore examin it by the rules of epic poetry, and ſee whether it falls ſhort of the Iliad or Æneid, in the beauties which are eſſential to that kind of writing. The firſt thing to be conſider'd in an epic poem, is the fable, which is perfect or imperfect, according as the action which it relates is more or leſs ſo. This action ſhould have three qualifications in it. Firſt, It ſhould be but One action. Secondly, It ſhould be an Entire action; and Thirdly, It ſhould be a Great action. To conſider the action of the Iliad, Æneid, and Paradiſe Loſt, in theſe three ſeveral lights. Homer to preſerve the unity of his action haſtens into the midſt of things, as Horace has obſerved: Had he gone up to Leda's egg, or begun much later, even at the rape of Helen, or the inveſting of Troy, it is manifeſt that the ſtory of the poem would have been a ſeries of ſeveral actions. He therefore opens his poem with the diſcord of his princes, and artfully interweaves, in the ſeveral ſucceeding parts of it, an account of every thing material which relates to them, and had paſſed before this fatal diſſenſion. After the ſame manner, Æneas makes his firſt appearance in the Tyrrhene ſeas, and within ſight of Italy, becauſe the action propoſed to be celebrated was that of his ſettling himſelf in Latium. But becauſe it was neceſſary for the reader to know what had happened to him in the taking of Troy, and in the preceding parts of his voyage, Virgil makes his hero relate it by way of epiſode in the ſecond and third books of the Æneid: the contents of both which books come before thoſe of the firſt book in the thred of the ſtory, tho' for preſerving of this unity of action, they follow it in the diſpoſition of the poem. Milton, in imitation of theſe two great poets, opens his Paradiſe Loſt with an infernal council plotting the fall of Man, which is the action he propoſed to celebrate; and as for thoſe great actions, the battle of the Angels, and the creation of the world, (which preceded in point of time, and which, in my opinion, would have entirely deſtroyed the unity of his principal action, had he related them in the ſame order that they happened) he caſt them into the fifth, ſixth and ſeventh books, by way of epiſode to this noble poem.

Ariſtotle himſelf allows, that Homer has nothing to boaſt of as to the unity of his fable, tho'

tho' at the ſame time that great critic and philoſopher endevors to palliate this imperfection in the Greek poet by imputing it in ſome meaſure to the very nature of an epic poem. Some have been of opinion, that the Æneid alſo labors in this particular, and has epiſodes which may be looked upon as excreſcencies rather than as parts of the action. On the contrary, the poem, which we have now under our conſideration, hath no other epiſodes than ſuch as naturally ariſe from the ſubject, and yet is filled with ſuch a multitude of aſtoniſhing incidents, that it gives us at the ſame time a pleaſure of the greateſt variety, and of the greateſt ſimplicity; uniform in its nature, tho' diverſified in the execution.

I muſt obſerve alſo, that, as Virgil in the poem which was deſigned to celebrate the original of the Roman empire, has deſcribed the birth of its great rival, the Carthaginian common-wealth: Milton, with the like art in his poem on the fall of Man, has related the fall of thoſe Angels who are his profeſſed enemies. Beſide the many other beauties in ſuch an epiſode, its running parallel with the great action of the poem, hinders it from breaking the unity ſo much as another epiſode would have done, that had not ſo great an affinity with the principal ſubject. In ſhort, this is the ſame kind of beauty which the critics admire in the Spaniſh Fryar, or the Double Diſcovery, where the two different plots look like counterparts and copies of one another.

The ſecond qualification required in the action of an epic poem is, that it ſhould be an entire action: An action is entire when it is complete in all its parts; or as Ariſtotle deſcribes it, when it conſiſts of a beginning, a middle, and an end. Nothing ſhould go before it, be intermix'd with it, or follow after it, that is not related to it. As on the contrary, no ſingle ſtep ſhould be omitted in that juſt and regular progreſs which it muſt be ſuppoſed to take from its original to its conſummation. Thus we ſee the anger of Achilles in its birth, its continuance, and effects; and Æneas's ſettlement in Italy, carried on through all the oppoſitions in his way to it both by ſea and land. The action in Milton excels (I think) both the former in this particular; we ſee it contrived in Hell, executed upon Earth, and puniſhed by Heaven. The parts of it are told in the moſt diſtinct manner, and grow out of one another in the moſt natural order.

The third qualification of an epic poem is its greatneſs. The anger of Achilles was of ſuch conſequence, that it embroiled the kings of Greece, deſtroyed the heroes of Aſia, and engaged all the Gods in factions. Æneas's ſettlement in Italy produced the Cæſars, and gave birth to the Roman empire. Milton's ſubject was ſtill greater than either of the former; it does not determin the fate of ſingle perſons or nations, but of a whole ſpecies. The united Powers of Hell are joined together for the deſtruction of mankind, which they effected in part, and would have completed, had not Omnipotence itſelf interpoſed. The principal actors are Man in his greateſt perfection, and Woman in her higheſt beauty. Their enemies are the fallen Angels: The Meſſiah their friend, and the Almighty their protector. In ſhort, every thing that is great in the whole circle of being, whether within the verge of nature, or out of it, has a proper part aſſigned it in this admirable poem.

In poetry, as in architecture, not only the whole, but the principal members, and every part of them, ſhould be great. I will not preſume to ſay, that the book of games in the Æneid, or that in the Iliad, are not of this nature, nor to reprehend Virgil's ſimile of the top, and many other of the ſame kind in the Iliad, as liable to any cenſure in this particular; but I think we may ſay, without derogating from thoſe wonderful performances, that there is an indiſputable and unqueſtioned magnificence

magnificence in every part of Paradiſe Loſt, and indeed a much greater than could have been formed upon any Pagan ſyſtem.

But Ariſtotle, by the greatneſs of the action, does not only mean that it ſhould be great in its nature, but alſo in its duration; or in other words, that it ſhould have a due length in it, as well as what we properly call greatneſs. The juſt meaſure of this kind of magnitude, he explains by the following ſimilitude. An animal, no bigger than a mite, cannot appear perfect to the eye, becauſe the ſight takes it in at once, and has only a confuſed idea of the whole, and not a diſtinct idea of all its parts; If on the contrary you ſhould ſuppoſe an animal of ten thouſand furlongs in length, the eye would be ſo filled with a ſingle part of it, that it could not give the mind an idea of the whole. What theſe animals are to the eye, a very ſhort or a very long action would be to the memory. The firſt would be, as it were, loſt and ſwallowed up by it, and the other difficult to be contained in it. Homer and Virgil have ſhown their principal art in this particular; the action of the Iliad, and that of the Æneid, were in themſelves exceeding ſhort, but are ſo beautifully extended and diverſified by the invention of epiſodes, and the machinery of Gods, with the like poetical ornaments, that they make up an agreeable ſtory ſufficient to employ the memory without overcharging it. Milton's action is enriched with ſuch a variety of circumſtances, that I have taken as much pleaſure in reading the contents of his books, as in the beſt invented ſtory I ever met with. It is poſſible, that the traditions, on which the Iliad and Æneid were built, had more circumſtances in them than the hiſtory of the fall of Man, as it is related in Scripture. Beſides it was eaſier for Homer and Virgil to daſh the truth with fiction, as they were in no danger of offending the religion of their country by it. But as for Milton, he had not only a very few circumſtances upon which to raiſe his poem, but was alſo obliged to proceed with the greateſt caution in every thing that he added out of his own invention. And, indeed, notwithſtanding all the reſtraints he was under, he has filled his ſtory with ſo many ſurpriſing incidents, which bear ſo cloſe analogy with what is delivered in holy Writ, that it is capable of pleaſing the moſt delicate reader, without giving offenſe to the moſt ſcrupulous.

The modern critics have collected from ſeveral hints in the Iliad and Æneid the ſpace of time, which is taken up by the action of each of thoſe poems; but as a great part of Milton's ſtory was tranſacted in regions that lie out of the reach of the ſun and the ſphere of day, it is impoſſible to gratify the reader with ſuch a calculation, which indeed would be more curious than inſtructive; none of the critics, either ancient or modern, having laid down rules to circumſcribe the action of an epic poem within any determined number of years, days, or hours.

But of this more particularly hereafter.

HAVING examined the action of Paradiſe Loſt, let us in the next place conſider the actors. This is Ariſtotle's method of conſidering; firſt the fable, and ſecondly the manners, or as we generally call them in Engliſh, the fable and the characters.

Homer has excelled all the heroic poets that ever wrote, in the multitude and variety of his characters. Every God that is admitted into his poem, acts a part which would have been ſuitable to no other Deity. His princes are as much diſtinguiſhed by their manners as by their dominions; and even thoſe among them, whoſe characters ſeem wholly made up of courage, differ from one another as to the particular kinds of courage in which they excel. In ſhort, there is ſcarce a ſpeech or action in the Iliad, which the reader may not aſcribe to the perſon that ſpeaks

or

or acts, without ſeeing his name at the head of it.

Homer does not only out-ſhine all other poets in the variety, but alſo in the novelty of his characters. He has introduced among his Grecian princes a perſon, who had lived in three ages of men, and converſed with Theſeus, Hercules, Polyphemus, and the firſt race of heroes. His principal actor is the ſon of a Goddeſs, not to mention the ofspring of other Deities, who have likewiſe a place in his poem, and the venerable Trojan prince who was the father of ſo many kings and heroes. There is in theſe ſeveral characters of Homer, a certain dignity as well as novelty, which adapts them in a more peculiar manner to the nature of an heroic poem. Tho' at the ſame time, to give them the greater variety, he has deſcribed a Vulcan, that is, a buffoon among his Gods, and a Therſites among his mortals.

Virgil falls infinitely ſhort of Homer in the characters of his poem, both as to their variety and novelty. Æneas is indeed a perfect character, but as for Achates, tho' he is ſtiled the heroe's friend, he does nothing in the whole poem which may deſerve that title. Gyas, Mneſtheus, Sergeſtus, and Cloanthus, are all of them men of the ſame ſtamp and character,

—fortemque Gyan, fortemque Cloanthum.
Virg.

There are indeed ſeveral very natural incidents in the part of Aſcanius; as that of Dido cannot be ſufficiently admired. I do not ſee any thing new or particular in Turnus. Pallas and Evander are remote copies of Hector and Priam, as Lauſus and Mezentius are almoſt parallels to Pallas and Evander. The characters of Niſus and Eurialus are beautiful, but common. We muſt not forget the parts of Sinon, Camilla, and ſome few others, which are fine improvements on the Greek poet. In ſhort, there is neither that variety nor novelty in the perſons of the Æneid, which we meet with in thoſe of the Iliad.

If we look into the characters of Milton, we ſhall find that he has introduced all the variety his fable was capable of receiving. The whole ſpecies of mankind was in two perſons at the time to which the ſubject of his poem is confined. We have, however, four diſtinct characters in theſe two perſons. We ſee Man and Woman in the higheſt innocence and perfection, and in the moſt abject ſtate of guilt and infirmity. The two laſt characters are, indeed, very common and obvious, but the two firſt are not only more magnificent, but more new than any characters either in Virgil or Homer, or indeed in the whole circle of nature.

Milton was ſo ſenſible of this defect in the ſubject of his poem, and of the few characters it would afford him, that he has brought into it two actors of a ſhadowy and fictitious nature, in the perſons of Sin and Death, by which means he has wrought into the body of his fable a very beautiful and well-invented allegory. But notwithſtanding the fineneſs of this allegory may atone for it in ſome meaſure; I cannot think that perſons of ſuch a chimerical exiſtence are proper actors in an epic poem; becauſe there is not that meaſure of probability annexed to them, which is requiſite in writings of this kind, as I ſhall ſhow more at large hereafter.

Virgil has, indeed, admitted Fame as an actreſs in the Æneid, but the part ſhe acts is very ſhort, and none of the moſt admired circumſtances in that divine work. We find in mock-heroic poems, particularly in the Diſpenſary and the Lutrin, ſeveral allegorical perſons of this nature, which are very beautiful in thoſe compoſitions, and may, perhaps, be uſed as an argument, that the authors of them were of opinion, ſuch characters might have a place in an epic work. For my own part, I ſhould be glad the reader would think ſo, for the ſake of the poem I am now examining, and muſt further add, that if ſuch empty unſubſtantial beings may be ever made uſe of on this occaſion,

occaſion, never were any more nicely imagined, and employed in more proper actions, than thoſe of which I am now ſpeaking.

Another principal actor in this poem is the great enemy of mankind. The part of Ulyſſes in Homer's Odyſſey is very much admired by Ariſtotle, as perplexing that fable with very agreeable plots and intricacies, not only by the many adventures in his voyage, and the ſubtlety of his behaviour, but by the various concealments and diſcoveries of his perſon in ſeveral parts of that poem. But the crafty being I have now mentioned, makes a much longer voyage than Ulyſſes, puts in practice many more wiles and ſtratagems, and hides himſelf under a greater variety of ſhapes and appearances, all of which are ſeverally detected, to the great delight and ſurpriſe of the reader.

We may likewiſe obſerve with how much art the poet has varied ſeveral characters of the perſons that ſpeak in his infernal aſſembly. On the contrary, how has he repreſented the whole Godhead exerting itſelf towards Man in its full benevolence under the three-fold diſtinction of a Creator, a Redeemer, and a Comforter!

Nor muſt we omit the perſon of Raphael, who, amidſt his tenderneſs and friendſhip for Man, ſhows ſuch a dignity and condeſcenſion in all his ſpeech and behaviour, as are ſuitable to a ſuperior nature. The Angels are indeed as much diverſified in Milton, and diſtinguiſhed by their proper parts, as the Gods are in Homer or Virgil. The reader will find nothing aſcribed to Uriel, Gabriel, Michael, or Raphael, which is not in a particular manner ſuitable to their reſpective characters.

There is another circumſtance in the principal actors of the Iliad and Æneid, which gives a peculiar beauty to thoſe two poems, and was therefore contrived with very great judgment. I mean the authors having choſen for their heroes perſons who were ſo nearly related to the people for whom they wrote. Achilles was a Greek, and Æneas the remote founder of Rome. By this means their countrymen (whom they principally propoſed to themſelves for their readers) were particularly attentive to all the parts of their ſtory, and ſympathized with their heroes in all their adventures. A Roman could not but rejoice in the eſcapes, ſucceſſes, and victories of Æneas, and be grieved at any defeats, misfortunes, or diſappointments that befel him; as a Greek muſt have had the ſame regard for Achilles. And it is plain, that each of thoſe poems have loſt this great advantage, among thoſe readers to whom their heroes are as ſtrangers, or indifferent perſons.

Milton's poem is admirable in this reſpect, ſince it is impoſſible for any of its readers, whatever nation, country or people he may belong to, not to be related to the perſons who are the principal actors in it; but what is ſtill infinitely more to its advantage, the principal actors in this poem are not only our progenitors, but our repreſentatives. We have an actual intereſt in every thing they do, and no leſs than our utmoſt happineſs is concerned, and lies at ſtake in all their behaviour.

I ſhall ſubjoin as a corollary to the foregoing remark, an admirable obſervation out of Ariſtotle, which hath been very much miſrepreſented in the quotations of ſome modern critics. 'If a man of perfect and conſummate 'virtue falls into a misfortune, it raiſes our 'pity, but not our terror, becauſe we do not 'fear that it may be our own caſe, who do not 'reſemble the ſuffering perſon. But as that great philoſopher adds, 'If we ſee a man of 'virtue, mixt with infirmities, fall into any 'misfortune, it does not only raiſe our pity but 'our terror; becauſe we are afraid that the like 'misfortunes may happen to ourſelves, who re'ſemble the character of the ſuffering perſon.

I ſhall only remark in this place, that the foregoing obſervation of Ariſtotle, tho' it may be true in other occaſions, does not hold in this; becauſe in the preſent caſe, though the perſons

who fall into misfortune are of the moſt perfect and conſummate virtue, it is not to be conſidered as what may poſſibly be, but what actually is our own caſe; ſince we are embark'd with them on the ſame bottom, and muſt be partakers of their happineſs or miſery.

In this, and ſome other very few inſtances, Ariſtotle's rules for epic poetry (which he had drawn from his reflections upon Homer) cannot be ſuppoſed to ſquare exactly with the heroic poems which have been made ſince his time; ſince it is evident to every impartial judge his rules would ſtill have been more perfect, could he have peruſed the Æneid which was made ſome hundred years after his death.

In my next, I ſhall go through other parts of Milton's poem; and hope that what I ſhall there advance, as well as what I have already written, will not only ſerve as a comment upon Milton, but upon Ariſtotle.

WE have already taken a general ſurvey of the fable and characters in Milton's Paradiſe Loſt: The parts which remain to be conſider'd, according to Ariſtotle's method, are the ſentiments and the language. Before I enter upon the firſt of theſe, I muſt advertiſe my reader, that it is my deſign as ſoon as I have finiſhed my general reflections on theſe four ſeveral heads, to give particular inſtances out of the poem now before us of beauties and imperfections which may be obſerved under each of them, as alſo of ſuch other particulars as may not properly fall under any of them. This I thought fit to premiſe, that the reader may not judge too haſtily of this piece of criticiſm, or look upon it as imperfect, before he has ſeen the whole extent of it.

The ſentiments in an epic poem are the thoughts and behaviour which the author aſcribes to the perſons whom he introduces, and are juſt when they are conformable to the characters of the ſeveral perſons. The ſentiments have likewiſe a relation to things as well as perſons, and are then perfect when they are ſuch as are adapted to the ſubject. If in either of theſe caſes the poet endevors to argue or explain, to magnify or diminiſh, to raiſe love or hatred, pity or terror, or any other paſſion, we ought to conſider whether the ſentiments he makes uſe of are proper for thoſe ends. Homer is cenſured by the critics for his defect as to this particular in ſeveral parts of the Iliad and Odyſſey, tho' at the ſame time thoſe who have treated this great poet with candor, have attributed this defect to the times in which he lived. It was the fault of the age, and not of Homer, if there wants that delicacy in ſome of his ſentiments, which now appears in the works of men of a much inferior genius. Beſides, if there are blemiſhes in any particular thoughts, there is an infinite beauty in the greateſt part of them. In ſhort, if there are many poets who would not have fallen into the meanneſs of ſome of his ſentiments, there are none who could have riſen up to the greatneſs of others. Virgil has excelled all others in the propriety of his ſentiments. Milton ſhines likewiſe very much in this particular: Nor muſt we omit one conſideration which adds to his honor and reputation. Homer and Virgil introduced perſons whoſe characters are commonly known among men, and ſuch as are to be met with either in hiſtory, or in ordinary converſation. Milton's characters, moſt of them, lie out of nature, and were to be formed purely by his own invention. It ſhows a greater genius in Shakeſpear to have drawn his Calyban, than his Hotſpur or Julius Cæſar: The one was to be ſupplied out of his own imagination, whereas the other might have been formed upon tradition, hiſtory and obſervation. It was much eaſier therefore for Homer to find proper ſentiments for an aſſembly of Grecian generals, than for Milton to diverſify his infernal council with proper characters, and inſpire them with a variety of ſentiments. The loves of Dido and Æneas are only copies of what has paſſed between other perſons. Adam and

and Eve before the fall, are a different ſpecies from that of mankind, who are deſcended from them; and none but a poet of the moſt unbounded invention, and the moſt exquiſite judgment, cou'd have filled their converſation and behaviour with ſo many apt circumſtances during their ſtate of innocence.

Nor is it ſufficient for an epic poem to be filled with ſuch thoughts as are natural, unleſs it abound alſo with ſuch as are ſublime. Virgil in this particular falls ſhort of Homer. He has not indeed ſo many thoughts that are low and vulgar; but at the ſame time has not ſo many thoughts that are ſublime and noble. The truth of it is, Virgil ſeldom riſes into very aſtoniſhing ſentiments, where he is not fired by the Iliad. He every where charms and pleaſes us by the force of his own genius; but ſeldom elevates and tranſports us where he does not fetch his hints from Homer.

Milton's chief talent, and indeed his diſtinguiſhing excellence lies in the ſublimity of his thoughts. There are others of the moderns who rival him in every other part of poetry; but in the greatneſs of his ſentiments he triumphs over all the poets both modern and ancient, Homer only excepted. It is impoſſible for the imagination of man to diſtend itſelf with greater ideas, than thoſe which he has laid together in his firſt, ſecond and ſixth books. The ſeventh, which deſcribes the creation of the world, is likewiſe wonderfully ſublime, tho' not ſo apt to ſtir up emotion in the mind of the reader, nor conſequently ſo perfect in the epic way of writing, becauſe it is filled with leſs action. Let the judicious reader compare what Longinus has obſerved on ſeveral paſſages in Homer, and he will find parallels for moſt of them in the Paradiſe Loſt.

From what has been ſaid we may infer, that as there are two kinds of ſentiments, the natural and the ſublime, which are always to be purſued in an heroic poem, there are alſo two kinds of thoughts which are carefully to be avoided. The firſt are ſuch as are affected and unnatural; the ſecond ſuch as are mean and vulgar. As for the firſt kind of thoughts we meet with little or nothing that is like them in Virgil: He has none of thoſe trifling points and puerilities that are ſo often to be met with in Ovid, none of the epigrammatic turns of Lucan, none of thoſe ſwelling ſentiments which are ſo frequently in Statius and Claudian, none of thoſe mixed embelliſhments of Taſſo. Every thing is juſt and natural. His ſentiments ſhow that he had a perfect inſight into human nature, and that he knew every thing which was the moſt proper to affect it.

Mr. Dryden has in ſome places, which I may hereafter take notice of, miſrepreſented Virgil's way of thinking as to this particular, in the tranſlation he has given us of the Æneid. I do not remember that Homer any where falls into the faults abovementioned, which were indeed the falſe refinements of later ages. Milton, it muſt be confeſt, has ſometimes erred in this reſpect, as I ſhall ſhew more at large in another paper; tho' conſidering all the poets of the age in which he writ, were infected with this wrong way of thinking, he is rather to be admired that he did not give more into it, than that he did ſometimes comply with the vicious taſte which ſtill prevails ſo much among modern writers.

But ſince ſeveral thoughts may be natural which are low and groveling, an epic poet ſhould not only avoid ſuch ſentiments as are unnatural or affected, but alſo ſuch as are mean and vulgar. Homer has opened a great field of rallery to men of more delicacy than greatneſs of genius, by the homelineſs of ſome of his ſentiments. But, as I have before ſaid, theſe are rather to be imputed to the ſimplicity of the age in which he lived, to which I may alſo add, of that which he deſcribed, than to any imperfection in that divine poet. Zoilus, among the Ancients, and Monſieur Perrault, among the Moderns, puſhed their ridicule very far upon

him, on account of ſome ſuch ſentiments. There is no blemiſh to be obſerved in Virgil, under this head, and but a very few in Milton.

I ſhall give but one inſtance of this impropriety of thought in Homer, and at the ſame time compare it with an inſtance of the ſame nature, both in Virgil and Milton. Sentiments which raiſe laughter, can very ſeldom be admitted with any decency into an heroic poem, whoſe buſineſs is to excite paſſions of a much nobler nature. Homer, however, in his characters of Vulcan and Therſites, in his ſtory of Mars and Venus, in his behaviour of Irus, and in other paſſages, has been obſerved to have lapſed into the burleſque character, and to have departed from that ſerious air which ſeems eſſential to the magnificence of an epic poem. I remember but one laugh in the whole Æneid, which riſes in the fifth book upon Monœtes, where he is repreſented as thrown overboard, and drying himſelf upon a rock. But this piece of mirth is ſo well timed, that the ſevereſt critic can have nothing to ſay againſt it, for it is in the book of games and diverſions, where the reader's mind may be ſuppoſed to be ſufficiently relaxed for ſuch an entertainment. The only piece of pleaſantry in Paradiſe Loſt, is where the evil ſpirits are deſcribed as rallying the Angels upon the ſucceſs of their new invented artillery. This paſſage I look upon to be the moſt exceptionable in the whole poem, as being nothing elſe but a ſtring of puns, and thoſe too very indifferent.

—— Satan beheld their plight,
And to his mates thus in deriſion call'd.
O Friends, why come not on theſe victors proud!
Ere while they fierce were coming, and when we,
To entertain them fair with *open front*,
And breaſt, (what could we more) propounded terms
Of *compoſition*; ſtrait they chang'd their minds,
Flew off, and into ſtrange vagaries fell,
As they would dance, yet for a dance they ſeem'd
Somewhat extravagant and wild, perhaps
For joy of offer'd peace; but I ſuppoſe
If our propoſals once again were *heard*,
We ſhould compel them to a quick *reſult*.
To whom thus Belial in like gameſome mood.
Leader, the terms we ſent, were terms *of weight*,
Of *hard contents*, and full of force urg'd home,
Such as we might perceive amus'd them all,
And *ſtumbled* many; who receives them right,
Had need, from head to foot, well *underſtand*;
Not *underſtood*, this gift they have beſides,
They ſhow us when our foes *walk not upright*.
Thus they among themſelves in pleaſant vein
Stood ſcoffing ——

HAVING already treated of the fable, the characters and ſentiments in the Paradiſe Loſt, we are in the laſt place to conſider the language; and as the learned world is very much divided upon Milton as to this point, I hope they will excuſe me if I appear particular in any of my opinions, and incline to thoſe who judge the moſt advantageouſly of the author.

It is requiſite that the language of an heroic poem ſhould be both perſpicuous and ſublime. In proportion as either of theſe two qualities are wanting, the language is imperfect. Perſpicuity is the firſt and moſt neceſſary qualification; inſomuch that a good-natur'd reader ſometimes overlooks a little ſlip even in the grammar or ſyntax, where it is impoſſible for him to miſtake the poet's ſenſe. Of this kind is that paſſage in Milton, wherein he ſpeaks of Satan.

—— God and his Son except,
Created thing nought valu'd he nor ſhunn'd.

And that in which he deſcribes Adam and Eve.

Adam the goodlieſt man of men ſince born
His ſons, the faireſt of her daughters Eve.

It is plain, that in the former of theſe paſſages, according to the natural ſyntax, the divine Perſons mentioned in the firſt line are repreſented as created beings; and that in the other, Adam and Eve are confounded with their ſons and daughters. Such little blemiſhes as

as theſe, when the thought is great and natural, we ſhould, with Horace, impute to a pardonable inadvertency, or to the weakneſs of human nature, which cannot attend to each minute particular, and give the laſt finiſhing to every circumſtance in ſo long a work. The ancient critics therefore, who were acted by a ſpirit of candor, rather than that of cavilling, invented certain figures of ſpeech, on purpoſe to palliate little errors of this nature in the writings of thoſe authors who had ſo many greater beauties to atone for them.

If clearneſs and perſpicuity were only to be conſulted, the poet would have nothing elſe to do but to clothe his thoughts in the moſt plain and natural expreſſions. But ſince it often happens that the moſt obvious phraſes, and thoſe which are uſed in ordinary converſation, become too familiar to the ear, and contract a kind of meanneſs by paſſing through the mouths of the vulgar, a poet ſhould take particular care to guard himſelf againſt idiomatic ways of ſpeaking. Ovid and Lucan have many poorneſſes of expreſſion upon this account, as taking up with the firſt phraſes that offered, without putting themſelves to the trouble of looking after ſuch as would not only be natural, but alſo elevated and ſublime. Milton has but a few failings in this kind, of which, however, you may meet with ſome inſtances, as in the following paſſages.

Embrio's and idiots, eremites and friers
White, *black* and *gray*, with all their *trumpery*,
Here pilgrims roam ——
—— A while diſcourſe they hold,
No fear leſt dinner cool; when thus began
Our author ——
Who of all ages to ſucceed, but feeling
The evil on him brought by me, will curſe
My head, Ill fare our Anceſtor impure,
For this we may thank Adam ——

The great maſters in compoſition know very well that many an elegant phraſe becomes improper for a poet or an orator, when it has been debaſed by common uſe. For this reaſon the works of ancient authors, which are written in dead languages, have a great advantage over thoſe which are written in languages that are now ſpoken. Were there any mean phraſes or idioms in Virgil and Homer, they would not ſhock the ear of the moſt delicate modern reader, ſo much as they would have done that of an old Greek or Roman, becauſe we never hear them pronounced in our ſtreets, or in ordinary converſation.

It is not therefore ſufficient, that the language of an epic poem be perſpicuous, unleſs it be alſo ſublime. To this end it ought to deviate from the common forms and ordinary phraſes of ſpeech. The judgment of a poet very much diſcovers itſelf in ſhunning the common roads of expreſſion, without falling into ſuch ways of ſpeech as may ſeem ſtiff and unnatural; he muſt not ſwell into a falſe ſublime, by endevoring to avoid the other extreme. Among the Greeks, Æſchylus, and ſometimes Sophocles were guilty of this fault; among the Latins, Claudian and Statius; and among our own Countrymen, Shakeſpear and Lee. In theſe authors the affectation of greatneſs often hurts the perſpicuity of the ſtile, as in many others the endevor after perſpicuity prejudices its greatneſs.

Ariſtotle has obſerved, that the idiomatic ſtile may be avoided, and the ſublime formed, by the following methods. Firſt, by the uſe of metaphors: ſuch are thoſe in Milton.

Imparadis'd in one another's arms.
—— And in his hand a reed
Stood waving *tipt* with fire. ——
The graſſy clods now *calv'd*. ——
Spangled with eyes ——

In theſe and innumerable other inſtances, the metaphors are very bold but juſt; I muſt however obſerve, that the metaphors are not thick ſown in Milton, which always ſavors too much of wit; that they never claſh with one another,

which,

which, as Ariſtotle obſerves, turns a ſentence into a kind of an enigma or riddle; and that he ſeldom has recourſe to them where the proper and natural words will do as well.

Another way of raiſing the language, and giving it a poetical turn, is to make uſe of the idoms of other tongues. Virgil is full of the Greek forms of ſpeech, which the critics call Helleniſms, as Horace in his odes abounds with them much more than Virgil. I need not mention the ſeveral dialects which Homer has made uſe of for this end. Milton in conformity with the practice of the ancient poets, and with Ariſtotle's rule, has infuſed a great many Latiniſms as well as Græciſms, and ſometimes Hebraiſms, into the language of his poem; as towards the beginning of it,

Nor did they *not* perceive the evil plight
In which they were, *or* the fierce pains *not* feel.
Yet *to* their gen'ral's voice they ſoon obey'd.
—— Who ſhall tempt with wandring feet
The dark unbottom'd infinite abyſs,
And through the *palpable obſcure* find out
His uncouth way, or ſpread his airy flight
Upborne with indefatigable wings
Over the *vaſt abrupt!*
——— So both aſcend
In the viſions of God —— B. 11.

Under this head may be reckoned the placing the adjective after the ſubſtantive, the tranſpoſition of words, the turning the adjective into a ſubſtantive, with ſeveral other foreign modes of ſpeech, which this poet has naturalized to give his verſe the greater ſound, and throw it out of proſe.

The third method mentioned by Ariſtotle, is what agrees with the genius of the Greek language more than with that of any other tongue, and is therefore more uſed by Homer than by any other poet. I mean the lengthning of a phraſe by the addition of words, which may either be inſerted or omitted, as alſo by the extending or contracting of particular words by the inſertion or omiſſion of certain ſyllables. Milton has put in practice this method of raiſing his language, as far as the nature of our tongue will permit, as in the paſſage above-mentioned, *eremite*, for what is hermite, in common diſcourſe. If you obſerve the meaſure of his verſe, he has with great judgment ſuppreſſed a ſyllable in ſeveral words, and ſhortned thoſe of two ſyllables into one, by which method, beſides the above-mentioned advantage, he has given a greater variety to his numbers. But this practice is more particularly remarkable in the names of perſons and of countries, as *Beëlzebub*, *Heſſebon*, and in many other particulars, wherein he has either changed the name, or made uſe of that which is not the moſt commonly known, that he might the better depart from the language of the vulgar.

The ſame reaſon recommended to him ſeveral old words, which alſo makes his poem appear the more venerable, and gives it a greater air of antiquity.

I muſt likewiſe take notice, that there are in Milton ſeveral words of his own coining, as *Cerberean*, *miſcreated*, *Hell-doom'd*, *embryon* atoms, and many others. If the reader is offended at this liberty in our Engliſh poet, I would recommend him to a diſcourſe in Plutarch, which ſhows us how frequently Homer has made uſe of the ſame liberty.

Milton by the above-mentioned helps, and by the choice of the nobleſt words and phraſes which our tongue would afford him, has carried our language to a greater highth than any of the Engliſh poets have ever done before or after him, and made the ſublimity of his ſtile equal to that of his ſentiments.

I have been the more particular in theſe obſervations on Milton's ſtile, becauſe it is that part of him in which he appears the moſt ſingular. The remarks I have here made upon the practice of other poets, with my obſervations out of Ariſtotle, will perhaps alleviate the prejudice which ſome have taken to his poem

upon

upon this account; tho' after all, I muſt confeſs, that I think his ſtile, tho' admirable in general, is in ſome places too much ſtiffened and obſcured by the frequent uſe of thoſe methods, which Ariſtotle has preſcribed for the raiſing of it.

This redundancy of thoſe ſeveral ways of ſpeech which Ariſtotle calls foreign language, and with which Milton has ſo very much enriched, and in ſome places darkned the language of his poem, was the more proper for his uſe, becauſe his poem is written in blank verſe. Rime without any other aſſiſtance, throws the language off from proſe, and very often makes an indifferent phraſe paſs unregarded; but where the verſe is not built upon rimes, there pomp of ſound, and energy of expreſſion, are indiſpenſably neceſſary to ſupport the ſtile, and keep it from falling into the flatneſs of proſe.

Thoſe who have not a taſte for this elevation of ſtile, and are apt to ridicule a poet when he goes out of the common forms of expreſſion, would do well to ſee how Ariſtotle has treated an ancient author, called Euclid, for his inſipid mirth upon this occaſion. Mr. Dryden uſed to call this ſort of men his proſe-critics.

I ſhould, under this head of the language, conſider Milton's numbers, in which he has made uſe of ſeveral eliſions, that are not cuſtomary among other Engliſh poets, as may be particularly obſerved in his cutting off the letter *Y*, when it precedes a vowel. This, and ſome other innovations in the meaſure of his verſe, has varied his numbers, in ſuch a manner, as makes them incapable of ſatiating the ear and cloying the reader, which the ſame uniform meaſure would certainly have done, and which the perpetual returns of rime never fail to do in long narrative poems. I ſhall cloſe theſe reflections upon the language of Paradiſe Loſt, with obſerving that Milton has copied after Homer, rather than Virgil, in the length of his periods, the copiouſneſs of his phraſes, and the running of his verſes into one another.

I HAVE now conſider'd Milton's Paradiſe Loſt under thoſe four great heads of the fable, the characters, the ſentiments, and the language; and have ſhown that he excels, in general, under each of theſe heads. I hope that I have made ſeveral diſcoveries which may appear new, even to thoſe who are verſed in critical learning. Were I indeed to chooſe my readers, by whoſe judgment I would ſtand or fall, they ſhould not be ſuch as are acquainted only with the French and Italian critics, but alſo with the ancient and modern who have written in either of the learned languages. Above all, I would have them well verſed in the Greek and Latin poets, without which a man very often fancies that he underſtands a critic, when in reality he does not comprehend his meaning.

It is in criticiſm, as in all other ſciences and ſpeculations; one who brings with him any implicit notions and obſervations which he has made in his reading of the poets, will find his own reflections methodized and explained, and perhaps ſeveral little hints that had paſſed in his mind, perfected and improved in the works of a good critic; whereas one who has not theſe previous lights, is very often an utter ſtranger to what he reads, and apt to put a wrong interpretation upon it.

Nor is it ſufficient, that a man who ſets up for a judge in criticiſm, ſhould have peruſed the authors above-mentioned, unleſs he has alſo a clear and logical head. Without this talent he is perpetually puzzled and perplexed amidſt his own blunders, miſtakes the ſenſe of thoſe he would confute, or if he chances to think right, does not know how to convey his thoughts to another with clearneſs and perſpicuity. Ariſtotle, who was the beſt critic, was alſo one of the beſt logicians that ever appeared in the world.

Mr.

Mr. Lock's Eſſay on Human Underſtanding would be thought a very odd book for a man to make himſelf maſter of, who would get a reputation by critical writings; though at the ſame time it is very certain, that an author, who has not learned the art of diſtinguiſhing between words and things, and of ranging his thoughts, and ſetting them in proper lights, whatever notions he may have, will loſe himſelf in confuſion and obſcurity. I might further obſerve, that there is not a Greek or Latin critic who has not ſhown, even in the ſtile of his criticiſms, that he was a maſter of all the elegance and delicacy of his native tongue.

The truth of it is, there is nothing more abſurd than for a man to ſet up for a critic, without a good inſight into all the parts of learning; whereas many of thoſe who have endevored to ſignalize themſelves by works of this nature among our Engliſh writers, are not only defective in the abovementioned particulars, but plainly diſcover by the phraſes which they make uſe of, and by their confuſed way of thinking, that they are not acquainted with the moſt common and ordinary ſyſtems of arts and ſciences. A few general rules extracted out of the French authors, with a certain cant of words, has ſometimes ſet up an illiterate heavy writer for a moſt judicious and formidable critic.

One great mark, by which you may diſcover a critic who has neither taſte nor learning, is this, that he ſeldom ventures to praiſe any paſſage in an author which has not been before received and applauded by the public, and that his criticiſm turns wholly upon little faults and errors. This part of a critic is ſo very eaſy to ſucceed in, that we find every ordinary reader, upon the publiſhing of a new poem, has wit and ill-nature enough to turn ſeveral paſſages of it into ridicule, and very often in the right place. This Mr. Dryden has very agreeably remarked in thoſe two celebrated lines,

Errors, like ſtraws, upon the ſurface flow;
He who would ſearch for pearls muſt dive below.

A true critic ought to dwell rather upon excellencies than imperfections, to diſcover the concealed beauties of a writer, and communicate to the world ſuch things as are worth their obſervation. The moſt exquiſite words and fineſt ſtrokes of an author are thoſe which very often appear the moſt doubtful and exceptionable, to a man who wants a reliſh for polite learning; and they are theſe, which a ſour undiſtinguiſhing critic generally attacks with the greateſt violence. Tully obſerves, that it is very eaſy to brand or fix a mark upon what he calls verbum ardens, or, as it may be rendered into Engliſh, a glowing bold expreſſion, and to turn it into ridicule by a cold ill-natured criticiſm. A little wit is equally capable of expoſing a beauty, and of aggravating a fault; and though ſuch a treatment of an author naturally produces indignation in the mind of an underſtanding reader, it has however its effect among the generality of thoſe whoſe hands it falls into, the rabble of mankind being very apt to think that every thing which is laughed at with any mixture of wit, is ridiculous in itſelf.

Such a mirth as this, is always unſeaſonable in a critic, as it rather prejudices the reader than convinces him, and is capable of making a beauty, as well as a blemiſh, the ſubject of deriſion. A man, who cannot write with wit on a proper ſubject, is dull and ſtupid, but one who ſhows it in an improper place, is as impertinent and abſurd. Beſides, a man who has the gift of ridicule, is apt to find fault with any thing that gives him an opportunity of exerting his beloved talent, and very often cenſures a paſſage, not becauſe there is any fault in it, but becauſe he can be merry upon it. Such kinds of pleaſantry are very unfair and diſingenuous in works of criticiſm, in which the greateſt

maſters,

maſters, both ancient and modern, have always appeared with a ſerious and inſtructive air.

As I intend in my next paper to ſhow the defects in Milton's Paradiſe Loſt, I thought fit to premiſe theſe few particulars, to the end that the reader may know I enter upon it, as on a very ungrateful work, and that I ſhall juſt point at the imperfections, without endevoring to inflame them with ridicule. I muſt alſo obſerve with Longinus, that the productions of a great genius, with many lapſes and inadvertencies, are infinitely preferable to the works of an inferior kind of author, which are ſcrupulouſly exact and conformable to all the rules of correct writing.

I ſhall conclude my paper with a ſtory out of Boccalini, which ſufficiently ſhows us the opinion that judicious author entertained of the ſort of critics I have been here mentioning. A famous critic, ſays he, having gathered together all the faults of an eminent poet, made a preſent of them to Apollo, who received them very graciouſly, and reſolved to make the author a ſuitable return for the trouble he had been at in collecting them. In order to this, he ſet before him a ſack of wheat as it had been juſt threſhed out of the ſheaf. He then bid him pick out the chaff from among the corn, and lay it aſide by itſelf. The critic applied himſelf to the taſk with great induſtry and pleaſure, and after having made the due ſeparation, was preſented by Apollo with the chaff for his pains.

AFTER what I have ſaid, I ſhall enter on the ſubject without farther preface, and remark the ſeveral defects which appear in the fable, the characters, the ſentiments, and the language of Milton's Paradiſe Loſt; not doubting but the reader will pardon me, if I alledge at the ſame time whatever may be ſaid for the extenuation of ſuch defects. The firſt imperfection which I ſhall obſerve in the fable is, that the event of it is unhappy.

The fable of every poem is according to Ariſtotle's diviſion either ſimple or implex. It is called ſimple when there is no change of fortune in it, implex when the fortune of the chief actor changes from bad to good, or from good to bad. The implex fable is thought the moſt perfect; I ſuppoſe, becauſe it is more proper to ſtir up the paſſions of the reader, and to ſurpriſe him with a greater variety of accidents.

The implex fable is therefore of two kinds: In the firſt the chief actor makes his way through a long ſeries of dangers and difficulties, till he arrives at honor and proſperity, as we ſee in the ſtory of Ulyſſes. In the ſecond, the chief actor in the poem falls from ſome eminent pitch of honor and proſperity, into miſery and diſgrace. Thus we ſee Adam and Eve ſinking from a ſtate of innocence and happineſs, into the moſt abject condition of ſin and ſorrow.

The moſt taking tragedies among the Ancients were built on this laſt ſort of implex fable, particularly the tragedy of OEdipus, which proceeds upon a ſtory, if we may believe Ariſtotle, the moſt proper for tragedy that could be invented by the wit of man. I have taken ſome pains in a former paper to ſhow, that this kind of implex fable, wherein the event is unhappy, is more apt to affect an audience than that of the firſt kind; notwithſtanding many excellent pieces among the Ancients, as well as moſt of thoſe which have been written of late years in our own country, are raiſed upon contrary plans. I muſt however own, that I think this kind of fable, which is the moſt perfect in tragedy, is not ſo proper for an heroic poem.

Milton ſeems to have been ſenſible of this imperfection in his fable, and has therefore endevored to cure it by ſeveral expedients; particularly by the mortification which the great adverſary of mankind meets with upon his return to the aſſembly of infernal Spirits, as it is deſcribed in a beautiful paſſage of the tenth

book; and likewiſe by the viſion, wherein Adam at the cloſe of the poem ſees his ofspring triumphing over his great enemy, and himſelf reſtored to a happier Paradiſe than that from which he fell.

There is another objection againſt Milton's fable, which is indeed almoſt the ſame with the former, tho' placed in a different light, namely, That the hero in the Paradiſe Loſt is unſucceſsful, and by no means a match for his enemies. This gave occaſion to Mr. Dryden's reflection, that the Devil was in reality Milton's hero. I think I have obviated this objection in my firſt paper. The Paradiſe Loſt is an epic, or a narrative poem, and he that looks for an hero in it, ſearches for that which Milton never intended; but if he will needs fix the name of an hero upon any perſon in it, 'tis certainly the Meſſiah is the hero, both in the principal action, and in the chief epiſodes. Paganiſm could not furniſh out a real action for a fable greater than that of the Iliad or Æneid, and therefore an heathen could not form a higher notion of a poem than one of that kind which they call an heroic. Whether Milton's is not of a ſublimer nature I will not preſume to determin: It is ſufficient that I ſhow there is in the Paradiſe Loſt all the greatneſs of plan, regularity of deſign, and maſterly beauties which we diſcover in Homer and Virgil.

I muſt in the next place obſerve, that Milton has interwoven in the texture of his fable ſome particulars which do not ſeem to have probability enough for an epic poem, particularly in the actions which he aſcribes to Sin and Death, and the picture which he draws of the Limbo of Vanity, with other paſſages in the ſecond book. Such allegories rather ſavor of the ſpirit of Spenſer and Arioſto, than of Homer and Virgil.

In the ſtructure of this poem he has likewiſe admitted of too many digreſſions. It is finely obſerved by Ariſtotle, that the author of an heroic poem ſhould ſeldom ſpeak himſelf, but throw as much of his work as he can into the mouths of thoſe who are his principal actors. Ariſtotle has given no reaſon for this precept; but I preſume it is becauſe the mind of the reader is more awed and elevated when he hears Æneas or Achilles ſpeak, than when Virgil or Homer talk in their own perſons. Beſides that aſſuming the character of an eminent man is apt to fire the imagination, and raiſe the ideas of the author. Tully tells us, mentioning his dialogue of old age, in which Cato is the chief ſpeaker, that upon a review of it he was agreeably impoſed upon, and fancied that it was Cato, and not he himſelf, who uttered his thoughts on that ſubject.

If the reader would be at the pains to ſee how the ſtory of the Iliad and Æneid is delivered by thoſe perſons who act in it, he will be ſurpriſed to find how little in either of theſe poems proceeds from the authors. Milton has, in the general diſpoſition of his fable, very finely obſerved this great rule; inſomuch, that there is ſcarce a third part of it which comes from the poet; the reſt is ſpoken either by Adam and Eve, or by ſome good or evil Spirit who is engaged either in their deſtruction or defenſe.

From what has been here obſerved, it appears, that digreſſions are by no means to be allowed of in an epic poem. If the poet, even in the ordinary courſe of his narration, ſhould ſpeak as little as poſſible, he ſhould certainly never let his narration ſleep for the ſake of any reflections of his own. I have often obſerved, with a ſecret admiration, that the longeſt reflection in the Æneid is in that paſſage of the tenth book, where Turnus is repreſented as dreſſing himſelf in the ſpoils of Pallas, whom he had ſlain. Virgil here lets his fable ſtand ſtill for the ſake of the following remark. "How is the mind of man ignorant of futu-
"rity, and unable to bear proſperous fortune
"with moderation? The time will come when
"Turnus ſhall wiſh that he had left the body
"of Pallas untouched, and curſe the day on
"which he dreſſed himſelf in theſe ſpoils." As

the

the great event of the Æneid, and the death of Turnus, whom Æneas ſlew, becauſe he ſaw him adorned with the ſpoils of Pallas, turns upon this incident, Virgil went out of his way to make this reflection upon it, without which ſo ſmall a circumſtance might poſſibly have ſlipped out of his reader's memory. Lucan, who was an injudicious poet, lets drop his ſtory very frequently for the ſake of his unneceſſary digreſſions, or his diverticula, as Scaliger calls them. If he gives us an account of the prodigies which preceded the civil war, he declames upon the occaſion, and ſhows how much happier it would be for man, if he did not feel his evil fortune before it comes to paſs, and ſuffer not only by its real weight, but by the apprehenſion of it. Milton's complaint of his blindneſs, his panegyric on marriage, his reflections on Adam and Eve's going naked, of the Angels eating, and ſeveral other paſſages in his poem, are liable to the ſame exception, tho' I muſt confeſs there is ſo great a beauty in theſe very digreſſions that I would not wiſh them out of his poem.

I have, in a former paper, ſpoken of the characters of Milton's Paradiſe Loſt, and declared my opinion, as to the allegorical perſons who are introduced in it.

If we look into the ſentiments, I think they are ſometimes defective under the following heads; Firſt, as there are ſeveral of them too much pointed, and ſome that degenerate even into punns. Of this laſt kind, I am afraid is that in the firſt book, where ſpeaking of the pigmies, he calls them

—— the ſmall *infantry*
Warr'd on by cranes ——

Another blemiſh that appears in ſome of his thoughts, is his frequent alluſion to heathen fables, which are not certainly of a piece with the divine ſubject, of which he treats. I do not find fault with theſe alluſions, where the poet himſelf repreſents them as fabulous, as he does in ſome places, but where he mentions them as truths and matters of fact. The limits of my paper will not give me leave to be particular in inſtances of this kind: The reader will eaſily remark them in his peruſal of the poem.

A third fault in his ſentiments, is an unneceſſary oſtentation of learning, which likewiſe occurs very frequently. It is certain, that both Homer and Virgil were maſters of all the learning of their times, but it ſhows itſelf in their works, after an indirect and concealed manner. Milton ſeems ambitious of letting us know, by his excurſions on free-will and predeſtination, and his many glances upon hiſtory, aſtronomy, geography, and the like, as well as by the terms and phraſes he ſometimes makes uſe of, that he was acquainted with the whole circle of arts and ſciences.

If, in the laſt place, we conſider the language of this great poet, we muſt allow what I have hinted in a former paper, that it is often too much labored, and ſometimes obſcured by old words, tranſpoſitions, and foreign idioms. Seneca's objection to the ſtile of a great author, Riget ejus oratio, nihil in ea placidum, nihil lene, is what many critics make to Milton: As I cannot wholly refute it, ſo I have already apologized for it in another paper; to which I may further add, that Milton's ſentiments and ideas were ſo wonderfully ſublime, that it would have been impoſſible for him to have repreſented them in their full ſtrength and beauty, without having recourſe to theſe foreign aſſiſtances. Our language ſunk under him, and was unequal to that greatneſs of ſoul, which furniſhed him with ſuch glorious conceptions.

A ſecond fault in his language is, that he often affects a kind of jingle in his words, as in the following paſſages, and many others:

That brought into this *world* a *world* of woe.
——— Begirt th' almighty throne
Beſeeching or *beſieging* ———
This *tempted* our *attempt* ———
At one ſlight *bound* high over-leapt all *bound*.

I know

I know there are figures for this kind of ſpeech, that ſome of the greateſt Ancients have been guilty of it, and that Ariſtotle himſelf has given it a place in his Rhetoric among the beauties of that art. But as it is in itſelf poor and trifling, it is I think at preſent univerſally exploded by all the maſters of polite writing.

The laſt fault which I ſhall take notice of in Milton's ſtile, is the frequent uſe of what the learned call technical words, or terms of art. It is one of the great beauties of poetry, to make hard things intelligible, and to deliver what is abſtruſe of itſelf in ſuch eaſy language as may be underſtood by ordinary readers: Beſides that the knowledge of a poet ſhould rather ſeem born with him, or inſpired, than drawn from books and ſyſtems. I have often wondered, how Mr. Dryden could tranſlate a paſſage out of Virgil, after the following manner,

Tack to the larboard, and ſtand off to ſea,
Veer ſtar-board ſea and land. ——

Milton makes uſe of *larboard* in the ſame manner. When he is upon building, he mentions *Doric pillars, pilaſters, cornice, freeze, architrave.* When he talks of heavenly bodies, you meet with *ecliptic*, and *eccentric*, the *trepidation, ſtars dropping from the zenith, rays culminating from the equator.* To which might be added many inſtances of the like kind in ſeveral other arts and ſciences.

I ſhall in my next papers give an account of the many particular beauties in Milton, which would have been too long to inſert under thoſe general heads I have already treated of, and with which I intend to conclude this piece of criticiſm.

I HAVE ſeen in the works of a modern philoſopher, a map of the ſpots in the ſun. My laſt paper of the faults and blemiſhes in Milton's Paradiſe Loſt, may be conſidered as a piece of the ſame nature. To purſue the alluſion: As it is obſerved, that among the bright parts of the luminous body abovementioned, there are ſome which glow more intenſely, and dart a ſtronger light than others; ſo, notwithſtanding I have already ſhown Milton's poem to be very beautiful in general, I ſhall now proceed to take notice of ſuch beauties as appear to me more exquiſite than the reſt.

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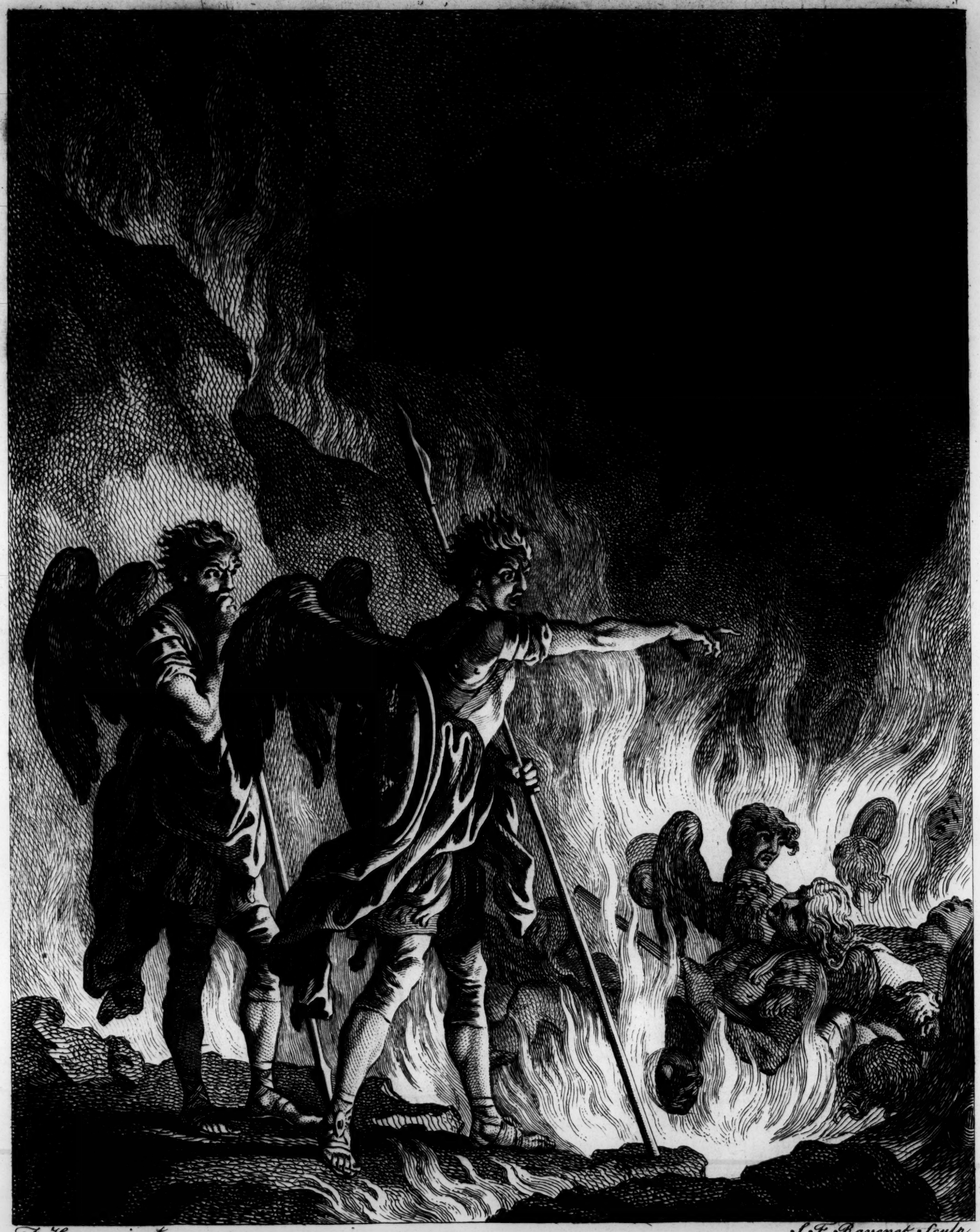
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THE

FIRST BOOK

OF

PARADISE LOST.

THE ARGUMENT.

This firſt book propoſes, firſt in brief, the whole ſubject, Man's diſobedience, and the loſs thereupon of Paradiſe wherein he was plac'd: Then touches the prime cauſe of his fall, the Serpent, or rather Satan in the ſerpent; who revolting from God, and drawing to his ſide many legions of Angels, was by the command of God driven out of Heaven with all his crew into the great deep. Which action paſs'd over, the poem haſtes into the midſt of things, preſenting Satan with his Angels now fallen into Hell, deſcrib'd here, not in the center (for Heaven and Earth may be ſuppos'd as yet not made, certainly not yet accurs'd) but in a place of utter darkneſs, fitlieſt call'd Chaos: Here Satan with his Angels lying on the burning lake, thunder-ſtruck and aſtoniſh'd, after a certain ſpace recovers, as from confuſion, calls up him who next in order and dignity lay by him; they confer of their miſerable fall. Satan awakens all his legions, who lay till then in the ſame manner confounded; They riſe, their numbers, array of battel, their chief leaders nam'd, according to the idols known afterwards in Canaan and the countries adjoining. To theſe Satan directs his ſpeech, comforts them with hope yet of regaining Heaven, but tells them laſtly of a new world and new kind of creature to be created, according to an ancient propheey or report in Heaven; for that Angels were long before this viſible creation, was the opinion of many ancient Fathers. To find out the truth of this prophecy, and what to determin thereon he refers to a full council. What his aſſociates thence attempt. Pandemonium the palace of Satan riſes, ſuddenly built out of the deep: The infernal peers there ſit in council.

PARADISE LOST.

BOOK I.

OF Man's firſt diſobedience, and the fruit
Of that forbidden tree, whoſe mortal taſte
Brought death into the world, and all our woe,
With

1. *Of Man's firſt diſobedience*, &c.] Milton has propoſed the ſubject of his poem in the following verſes. Theſe lines are perhaps as plain, ſimple, and unadorned as any of the whole poem, in which particular the author has conformed himſelf to the example of Homer and the precept of Horace. His invocation to a work, which turns in a great meaſure upon the creation of the world, is very properly made to the Muſe who inſpired Moſes in thoſe books from whence our author drew his ſubject, and to the Holy Spirit who is therein repreſented as operating after a particular manner in the firſt production of nature. This whole exordium riſes very happily into noble language and ſentiment, as I think the tranſition to the fable is exquiſitely beautiful and natural. *Addiſon.*

Beſides the plainneſs and ſimplicity of theſe lines, there is a farther beauty in the variety of the numbers, which of themſelves charm every reader without any ſublimity of thought or pomp of expreſſion: and this variety of the numbers conſiſts chiefly in the pauſe being ſo artfully varied, that it falls upon a different ſyllable in almoſt every line, as it may eaſily be perceived by diſtinguiſhing the verſes thus;

Of Man's firſt diſobedience, | and the fruit
Of that forbidden tree, | whoſe mortal taſte
Brought death into the world, | and all our woe,
With loſs of Eden, | till one greater Man
Reſtore us, | and regain the bliſsful ſeat,
Sing heav'nly Muſe, |

Mr. Pope, in a letter to Mr. Walſh containing ſome critical obſervations on Engliſh verſification, remarks that in any ſmooth Engliſh verſe of ten ſyllables, there is naturally a pauſe at the fourth, fifth, or ſixth ſyllable, and upon the judicious change and management of theſe depends the variety of verſification. But Milton varies the pauſe according to the ſenſe, and varies it through all the ten ſyllables, by which means he is a maſter of greater harmony than any other Engliſh poet: and he is continually varying the pauſe, and ſcarce ever ſuffers it to reſt upon the ſame ſyllable in more than two, and ſeldom in ſo many as two, verſes together. Here it is upon the firſt ſyllable of the verſe,

——— others on the graſs
Couch'd, | and now fill'd with paſture gazing ſat.
IV. 351.

——— ſuch as in their ſouls infix'd
Plagues; | they aſtoniſh'd all reſiſtance loſt.
VI. 838.

 Upon

With loſs of Eden, 'till one greater Man
Reſtore

Upon the ſecond,

——— theſe to their neſts
Were ſlunk, | all but the wakeful nightingale
IV. 602.

——Down thither prone in flight
He ſpeeds, | and through the vaſt ethereal ſky
V. 267.

Upon the third,

——— what in me is dark
Illumin, | what is low raiſe and ſupport; I. 23.

——— as the wakeful bird
Sings darkling, | and in ſhadieſt covert hid
III. 39.

Upon the fourth,

——on he led his radiant files,
Dazling the moon; | theſe to the bow'r direct
IV. 798.

——at his right hand victory
Sat eagle-wing'd; | beſide him hung his bow,
VI. 763.

Upon the fifth,

—— bears, tigers, ounces, pards,
Gambol'd before them; | th'unwieldy elephant
IV. 345.

——— and in the air
Made horrid circles; | two broad ſuns their ſhields
VI. 305.

Upon the ſixth,

His ſtature reach'd the ſky, | and on his creſt
IV. 988.

Girt with omnipotence, | with radiance crown'd.
VII. 194.

Upon the ſeventh,

Majeſtic though in ruin: | ſage he ſtood
II. 305.

Birds on the branches warbling; | all things ſmil'd
VIII. 265.

Upon the eighth,

Hung on his ſhoulders like the moon, | whoſe orb
I. 287.

A fairer perſon loſt not Heav'n; | he ſeem'd
II. 110.

Upon the ninth,

Jehovah thundring out of Sion, | thron'd
Between the Cherubim I. 386.

And buſh with friſled hair implicit; | laſt
Roſe as in dance the ſtately trees, VII. 323.

And here upon the end,

——— thou that day
Thy Father's dreadful thunder did'ſt not ſpare |
III. 393.

Attended with ten thouſand thouſand ſaints |
VI. 767.

And ſometimes to give the greater variety to the verſe, there are two or more pauſes in the ſame line: as

——— on the ground
Outſtretch'd he lay, | on the cold ground, | and oft
Curs'd his creation X. 851.

And ſwims, | or ſinks, | or wades, | or creeps, | or flies: |
II. 950.

Exhauſted, | ſpiritleſs, | afflicted, | fall'n. |
VI. 852.

But beſides this variety of the pauſes, there are other excellencies in Milton's verſification. The Engliſh heroic verſe approaches neareſt to the Iambic of the Ancients, of which it wants only a foot; but then it is to be meaſur'd by the tone and accent, as well as by the time and quantity. An Iambic foot is one ſhort and one long ſyllable ˘ ¯, and ſix ſuch feet conſtitute an Iambic verſe: but the Ancients ſeldom made uſe of the pure Iambic, eſpecially in works of any conſiderable length, but oftner of the mix'd Iambic, that is with a proper intermixture of other meaſures; and of theſe perhaps Milton has expreſs'd as happy a variety as any poet whatever, or indeed as the nature of a verſe will admit, that conſiſts only of five feet, and ten ſyllables for the moſt part. Sometimes he gives us almoſt pure Iambics, as in I. 314.

Hĕ cāll'd ſō loūd, thăt āll thĕ hōllŏw dēēp
Ŏf Hēll rĕſoūnded.

Sometimes he intermixes the Trochee or foot of

Reſtore us, and regain the bliſsful ſeat, 5

Sing

of one long and one ſhort ſyllable ¯ ˘, as in v. 49.

Who durſt defy th' Omnipotent to arms.

Sometimes the Spondee or foot of two long ſyllables ¯ ¯, as in v. 21.

Dove-like sātſt brooding on the vaſt abyſs.

Sometimes the Pyrrichius or foot of two ſhort ſyllables ˘ ˘, as in v. 64.

Serv'd only tŏ diſcover ſights of woe.

Sometimes the Dactyle or foot of one long and two ſhort ſyllables ¯ ˘ ˘, as in v. 45.

Hurl'd headlong flaming from th' ēthĕrĕal sky.

Sometimes the Anapæſt or foot of two ſhort and one long ſyllable ˘ ˘ ¯, as in v. 87.

Mȳrĭāds though bright! If he whom mutual league

Sometimes the Tribrachus or foot of three ſhort ſyllables ˘ ˘ ˘, as in v. 709.

Tŏ mănў a row of pipes the ſound-board breathes.

And ſometimes there is variety of theſe meaſures in the ſame verſe, and ſeldom or never the ſame meaſures in two verſes together. And theſe changes are not only rung for the ſake of the greater variety, but are ſo contriv'd as to make the ſound more expreſſive of the ſenſe. And this is another great art of verſification, the adapting of the very ſounds, as well as words, to the ſubject matter, the ſtile of ſound, as Mr. Pope calls it: and in this Milton is excellent as in all the reſt, and we ſhall give ſeveral inſtances of it in the courſe of theſe remarks. So that he has abundantly exemplified in his own practice the rules laid down by himſelf in his preface, his verſification having all the requiſites of *true muſical delight, which* as he ſays *conſiſts only in apt numbers, fit quantity of ſyllables, and the ſenſe variouſly drawn out from one verſe into another.*

1. *Of Man's firſt diſobedience* ----]

Μηνιν αειδε. Iliad.

Ανδρα μοι εννεπε. Odyſſ.

Arma virumque cano. Æneid.

In all theſe inſtances, as in Milton, the ſubject of the poem is the very firſt thing offer'd to us, and precedes the verb with which it is connected. It muſt be confeſſed that Horace did not regard this, when he tranſlated the firſt line of the Odyſſey, Dic mihi Muſa virum, &c. De Art. Poet. 141. And Lucian, if I remember right, makes a jeſt of this obſervation, where he introduces the ſhade of Homer as expreſsly declaring that he had no other reaſon for making the word μηνιν the firſt in his poem, but that it was the firſt which came into his head. However the uniform practice of Homer, Virgil, and Milton in this particular, ſeems to prove that it was not accidental, but a thing really deſign'd by them.

4. *With loſs of Eden,*] But Eden was not loſt, and the laſt that we read of our firſt parents is that they were ſtill in Eden,

Through Eden took their ſolitary way.

With loſs of Eden therefore means no more than *with loſs of Paradiſe*, which was planted in Eden, which word *Eden* ſignifies delight or pleaſure, and the country is ſuppoſed to be the ſame that was afterwards called Meſopotamia; particularly by our author in IV. 210. *&c.* Here the whole is put for a part, as ſometimes a part for the whole, by a figure called Synecdoche.

4. ------- *till one greater Man*

Reſtore us, and regain the bliſsful ſeat,]

As it is a *greater Man*, ſo it is a happier Paradiſe which our Saviour promis'd to the penitent thief, Luke XXIII. 43. *This day ſhalt thou be with me in Paradiſe.* But Milton had a notion that after the conflagration and the general judgment

Sing heav'nly Muſe, that on the ſecret top
Of Oreb, or of Sinai, didſt inſpire
That ſhepherd, who firſt taught the choſen ſeed,
In the beginning how the Heav'ns and Earth
Roſe out of Chaos: Or if Sion hill 10

Delight

judgment the whole Earth would be made a Paradiſe XII. 463.

-------- for then the Earth
Shall all be Paradiſe, far happier place
Than this of Eden, and far happier days.

It ſhould ſeem that the author, ſpeaking here of *regaining the bliſsful ſeat*, had at this time formed ſome deſign of his poem of *Paradiſe Regain'd*. But however that be, in the beginning of that poem he manifeſtly alludes to the beginning of this, and there makes Paradiſe to be regain'd by our Saviour's foiling the tempter in the wilderneſs.

I who ere-while the happy garden ſung,
By one Man's diſobedience loſt, now ſing
Recover'd Paradiſe to all mankind,
By one Man's firm obedience fully try'd,--
And Eden rais'd in the waſte wilderneſs.

6. -------- *that on the ſecret top*
Of Oreb, or of Sinai, -----]

Dr. Bentley ſays that Milton dictated *ſacred top*: his reaſons are ſuch as follow: The ground of Horeb is ſaid to be *holy*, Exod. III. 5. and Horeb is called the *mountain of God* 1 Kings XIX. 8. But it may be anſwer'd, that tho' that place of Horeb, on which Moſes ſtood, was *holy*, it does not follow that the top of the mountain was then *holy* too: and by the *mountain of God* (Dr. Bentley knows) may be meant only, in the Jewiſh ſtile, a very great mountain: Beſides let the mountain be never ſo *holy*, yet according to the rules of good poetry, when Milton ſpeaks of the *top* of the mountain, he ſhould give us an epithet peculiar to the *top* only, and not to the whole mountain. Dr. Bentley ſays farther that the epithet *ſecret* will not do here, becauſe the top of this mountain is viſible ſeveral leagues off. But Sinai and Horeb are the ſame mountain, with two ſeveral eminences, the higher of them called Sinai: and of Sinai Joſephus in his Jewiſh Antiquit. Book 3. Chap. 5. ſays that *it is ſo high, that the top of it cannot be ſeen without ſtraining the eyes*. In this ſenſe therefore (tho' I believe it is not Milton's ſenſe) the top of it may be well ſaid to be *ſecret*. In Exod. XVII. it is ſaid that the Iſraelites, when incamp'd at the foot of Horeb, could find no water; from whence Dr. Bentley concludes, that Horeb had no clouds or miſts about its *top*; and that therefore *ſecret top* cannot be here meant as *implying that high mountains againſt rainy weather have their heads ſurrounded with miſts*. I never thought that any reader of Milton would have underſtood *ſecret top* in this ſenſe. The words *of Horeb or of Sinai* imply a doubt of the poet, which name was propereſt to be given to that mountain, on the top of which Moſes receiv'd his inſpiration; becauſe Horeb and Sinai are uſed for one another in Scripture, as may be ſeen by comparing Exod. III. 1. with Acts VII. 30. but by naming Sinai laſt, he ſeems to incline rather to that. Now it is well known from Exod. XIX. 16. Ecclus. XLV. 5. and other places of Scripture, that when God gave his laws

Delight thee more, and Siloa's brook that flow'd
Faſt by the oracle of God; I thence
Invoke thy aid to my adventrous ſong,
That with no middle flight intends to ſoar
Above th' Aonian mount, while it purſues 15
Things

laws to Moſes on the top of Sinai, it was cover'd with *clouds*, *dark clouds*, and *thick ſmoke*; it was therefore *ſecret* at that time in a peculiar ſenſe: and the ſame thing ſeems intended by the epithet which our poet uſes upon the very ſame occaſion in XII. 227.

God from the mount of Sinai, whoſe *gray top*
Shall tremble, he deſcending, *&c.*

Dr. Bentley ſhows that *ſacred hill* is common among the poets in ſeveral languages; from whence I ſhould conclude that *ſacred* is a general epithet: whereas *ſecret*, in the ſenſe which I have given it, is the moſt peculiar one that can be: and therefore (to uſe Dr. Bentley's words) *if, as the beſt poets have adjudg'd, a proper epithet is to be preferr'd to a general one, I have ſuch an eſteem for our poet, that which of the two words is the better, That I ſay (viz. ſecret) was dictated by Milton.* Pearce.

We have given this excellent note at length, as we have met with ſeveral perſons who have approved of Dr. Bentley's emendation. It may be too that the poet had a farther meaning in the uſe of this epithet in this place; for being accuſtomed to make uſe of words in the ſignification that they bear in the learned languages, he may very well be ſuppoſed to uſe the word *ſecret* in the ſame ſenſe as the Latin *ſecretus*, *ſet apart* or *ſeparate*, like the *ſecretoſque pios* in Virgil, Æn. VIII. 670. and it appears from Scripture, that while Moſes was with God in the mount, the people were not to come near it or touch it, till after a ſignal given, and then they were only to approach, and not to aſcend it, nor paſs the bounds ſet for them upon pain of death. Exod. XIX. So that upon all accounts *ſecret* is the moſt proper epithet, that could have been choſen.

8. *That ſhepherd, who firſt*, &c.] For *Moſes kept the flock of Jethro his father-in-law.* Exod. III. 1. And he is very properly ſaid to have *firſt taught the choſen ſeed*, being the moſt ancient writer among the Jews, and indeed the moſt ancient that is now extant in the world.

9. *In the beginning how the Heav'ns and Earth*] Alluding to the firſt words of Geneſis.

11. *and Siloa's brook*] Siloa was a ſmall river that flow'd near the temple at Jeruſalem. It is mention'd Iſai. VIII. 6. So that in effect he invokes the heavenly Muſe, that inſpir'd David and the Prophets on mount Sion, and at Jeruſalem, as well as Moſes on mount Sinai.

15. *Above th' Aonian mount,*] A poetical expreſſion for ſoaring to a highth above other poets. The mountains of Bœotia, anciently called Aonia, were the haunt of the Muſes, and thus Virgil, Ecl. VI. 65.

Aonas in *montes* ut duxerit una ſororum,

And again Georg. III. 11.

Aonio rediens deducam *vertice* Muſas;

though afterwards, I know not by what fatality, that country was famous for the dulneſs of its inhabitants.

16. *Things*

Things unattempted yet in proſe or rhime.
And chiefly Thou, O Spi'rit, that doſt prefer
Before all temples th' upright heart and pure,
Inſtruct me, for Thou know'ſt; Thou from the firſt
Waſt preſent, and with mighty wings outſpread
Dove-

16. *Things unattempted yet in proſe or rhime.*] Milton appears to have meant a different thing by *rhime* here, from *rime* in his preface, where it is ſix times mention'd, and always ſpell'd without an *h*; whereas in all the editions, till Dr. Bentley's appear'd, *rhime* in this place of the poem was ſpell'd with an *h*. Milton probably meant a difference in the thing, by making ſo conſtant a difference in the ſpelling; and intended that we ſhould here underſtand by *rhime* not the *jingling ſound of like endings*, but verſe in general; the word being deriv'd from rythmus, ρυθμος. Arioſto had ſaid

Coſa, non detta in *proſa* mai, ne in *rima*,

which is word for word the ſame with what Milton ſays here. *Pearce.*

It is evident enough that by *rhime* in this place is meant verſe in general; but I ſuppoſe Milton thought it would ſound too low and familiar to the ear to ſay *in proſe or verſe*, and therefore choſe rather to ſay *in proſe or rhime*. When he ſays *in proſe or verſe*, he adds an epithet to take off from the commonneſs of the expreſſion, as in V. 150.

-------- ſuch prompt eloquence
Flow'd from their lips, *in proſe or numerous verſe.*

It is ſaid that Milton took the firſt hint of this poem from an Italian tragedy called *Il Paradiſo perſo*; and it is pretended that he has borrow'd largely from Maſenius, a German Jeſuit, and other modern authors; but it is all a pretence, he made uſe of all authors, ſuch was his learning; but ſuch is his genius, he is no copyer, his poem is plainly an original, if ever there was one. His ſubject indeed of the fall of Man together with the principal epiſodes may be ſaid to be as old as Scripture, but his manner of handling them is entirely new, with new illuſtrations and new beauties of his own; and he may as juſtly boaſt of the novelty of his poem, as any of the ancient poets beſtow that recommendation upon their works; as Lucretius I. 925.

Avia Pieridum peragro loca, nullius ante
Trita ſolo: &c.

and Virgil Georg. III. 3.

Cætera quæ vacuas tenuiſſent carmina mentes
Omnia jam vulgata. -------
Primus ego in patriam &c.

292. --- Juvat ire jugis, quà nulla priorum
Caſtaliam molli divertitur orbita clivo.

17. *And chiefly Thou, O Spi'rit*, &c.] Invoking the Muſe is commonly a matter of mere form, wherein the poets neither mean, nor deſire to be thought to mean any thing ſeriouſly. But the Holy Ghoſt here invok'd is too ſolemn a name to be uſed inſignificantly: and

Dove-like ſatſt brooding on the vaſt abyſs,
And mad'ſt it pregnant: what in me is dark
Illumin, what is low raiſe and ſupport;
That to the highth of this great argument
I may aſſert eternal Providence,

And

and beſides our author, in the beginning of his next work Paradiſe Regain'd, ſcruples not to ſay to the ſame divine perſon

------- Inſpire,
As thou art wont, my prompted ſong, elſe mute.

This addreſs therefore is no mere formality. Yet ſome may think that he incurs a worſe charge of enthuſiaſm, or even profaneneſs in vouching inſpiration for his performance: but the Scriptures r preſent inſpiration as of a much larger extent than is commonly apprehended, teaching that *every good gift*, in naturals as well as in morals, *deſcendeth from the great Father of lights*, Jam. I. 17. And an extraordinary ſkill even in mechanical arts is there aſcribed to the illumination of the Holy Ghoſt. It is ſaid of Bezaleël who was to make the furniture of the tabernacle, that *the Lord had filled him with the Spirit of God, in wiſdom, in underſtanding, and in knowledge, and in all manner of workmanſhip, and to deviſe curious works*, &c. Exod. XXXV. 31. Heylin.

But I conceive that Milton intended ſomething more than this, for I have been informed by thoſe, who had opportunities of converſing with his widow, that ſhe was wont to ſay that he did really look upon himſelf as inſpir'd, and I think his works are not without a ſpirit of enthuſiaſm. In the beginning of his 2d book of *The Reaſon of Church government*, ſpeaking of his deſign of writing a poem in the Engliſh language, he ſays, " It was not to be " obtained by the invocation of Dame Me- " mory and her Siren daughters, but by de- " vout prayer to that eternal Spirit who can " enrich with all utterance and knowledge, " and ſends out his Seraphim, with the hal- " low'd fire of his altar, to touch and purify " the lips of whom he pleaſes. p. 61. Edit. 1738.

19. *Inſtruct me, for Thou know'ſt*;] Theocrit. Idyl. XXII. 116.

Ειπε θεα, συ γαρ οιδα.

21. *Dove-like ſatſt brooding*,] Alluding to Gen. I. 2. *the Spirit of God moved on the face of the waters*; for the word that we tranſlate *moved* ſignifies properly *brooded*, as a bird doth upon her eggs; and he ſays like a *dove* rather than any other bird, becauſe the deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt is compared to a dove in Scripture, Luke III. 22. As Milton ſtudied the Scriptures in the original languages, his images and expreſſions are oftner copied from them, than from our tranſlation.

And juſtify the ways of God to Men.
Say firſt, for Heav'n hides nothing from thy view,
Nor the deep tract of Hell, ſay firſt what cauſe
Mov'd our grand parents, in that happy ſtate,
Favor'd of Heav'n ſo highly, to fall off
From their Creator, and tranſgreſs his will
For one reſtraint, lords of the world beſides?
Who firſt ſeduc'd them to that foul revolt?
Th' infernal Serpent; he it was, whoſe guile,
Stirr'd

26. *And juſtify the ways of God to Men.*] A verſe, which Mr. Pope has thought fit to borrow with ſome little variation, in the beginning of his Eſſay on Man,

But vindicate the ways of God to Man.

It is not eaſy to conceive any good reaſon for Mr. Pope's preferring the word *vindicate*, but Milton makes uſe of the word *juſtify*, as it is the Scripture word, *That thou mighteſt be juſtified in thy ſayings*, Rom. III. 4. And *the ways of God to Men* are juſtified in the many argumentative diſcourſes throughout the poem, and particularly in the conferences between God the Father and the Son.

27. *Say firſt, for Heav'n hides nothing from thy view,*
Nor the deep tract of Hell, -----] The poets attribute a kind of omniſcience to the Muſe, and very rightly, as it enables them to ſpeak of things which could not otherwiſe be ſuppoſed to come to their knowledge. Thus Homer, Iliad. II. 485.

Υμεις γαρ θεαι εστε, παρεστε τε, ιστε τε παντα.

And Virgil Æn. VII. 645.

Et meminiſtis enim, Divæ, et memorare poteſtis.

And the mention of *Heaven* and *Hell* is very proper in this place, as the ſcene of ſo great a part of the poem is laid ſometimes in Hell, and ſometimes in Heaven.

32. *For one reſtraint,*] For one thing that was reſtrain'd, every thing elſe being freely indulged to them, and only the tree of knowledge forbidden.

33. *Who firſt ſeduc'd them to that foul revolt?*
Th' infernal Serpent;] An imitation of Homer, Iliad. I. 8. where the queſtion is aſk'd, and the anſwer return'd much in the ſame manner.

Τις τ' αρ σφωε θεων εριδι ξυνεηκε μαχεσθαι;
Λητος και Διος υιος.

38. ----- *by whoſe aid aſpiring*
To ſet himſelf in glory' above his peers,] Here Dr. Bentley objects, that Satan's crime was not, his aiming *above his peers:* he was *in place high above them* before, as the Doctor proves from V. 812.

Stirr'd up with envy and revenge, deceiv'd
The mother of mankind, what time his pride
Had caſt him out from Heav'n, with all his hoſt
Of rebel Angels, by whoſe aid aſpiring
To ſet himſelf in glory' above his peers,
He truſted to have equal'd the moſt High,
If he oppos'd; and with ambitious aim
Againſt the throne and monarchy of God
Rais'd impious war in Heav'n and battel proud

With

V. 812. But tho' this be true, yet Milton may be right here; for the force of the words ſeems, not that Satan *aſpir'd to ſet himſelf above his peers*, but that he *aſpir'd to ſet himſelf in glory*, &c. that is in divine glory, in ſuch glory as God and his Son were ſet in. Here was his crime: and this is what God charges him with in V. 725.

--- who intends to' erect his throne
Equal to ours, ----

And in VI. 88. Milton ſays that the rebel Angels hop'd

To win the mount of God, and on his throne
To ſet the envier of his ſtate, the proud
Aſpirer.

See alſo to the ſame purpoſe VII. 140. *&c.* From theſe paſſages it appears that there is no occaſion for Dr. Bentley's alteration, which is this,

----- aſpiring
To *place* and glory' above *the Son of God.*
Pearce.

Beſides the other methods which Milton has employ'd to diverſify and improve his numbers, he takes the ſame liberties as Shakeſpear and others of our old poets, and in imitation of the Greeks and Latins often cuts off the vowel at the end of a word, when the next word begins with a vowel; though he does not like the Greeks wholly drop the vowel, but ſtill retains it in writing like the Latins. Another liberty, that he takes likewiſe for the greater improvement and variety of his verſification, is pronouncing the ſame word ſometimes as two ſyllables, and ſometimes as only one ſyllable or two ſhort ones. We have frequent inſtances in *ſpirit*, *ruin*, *riot*, *reaſon*, *higheſt*, and ſeveral other words. But then theſe excellencies in Milton's verſe are attended with this inconvenience, that his numbers ſeem embaraſs'd to ſuch readers, as know not, or know not readily, where ſuch eliſion or abbreviation of vowels is to take place; and therefore for their ſakes we ſhall take care throughout this edition to mark ſuch vowels as are to be cut off, and ſuch as are to be contracted and abbreviated, thus '.

With vain attempt. Him the almighty Power
Hurl'd headlong flaming from th' ethereal sky,
With hideous ruin and combuſtion, down
To bottomleſs perdition, there to dwell
In adamantin chains and penal fire,
Who durſt defy th' Omnipotent to arms.
Nine times the ſpace that meaſures day and night
To mortal men, he with his horrid crew
Lay vanquiſh'd, rolling in the fiery gulf,
Confounded though immortal: But his doom
Reſerv'd him to more wrath; for now the thought
Both of loſt happineſs and laſting pain
Torments him; round he throws his baleful eyes,

That

45. *Hurl'd headlong flaming from th' ethereal ſky*, Hom. Iliad. I. 591.

Ριψε, ποδ' τελαγων, απο βηλε θεσπεσιοιο.

Hurl'd headlong downward from th' ethereal height. Pope.

46. *With hideous ruin and combuſtion,*] *Ruin* is deriv'd from *ruo*, and includes the idea of falling with violence and precipitation, and *combuſtion* is more than *flaming* in the foregoing verſe, it is burning in a dreadful manner. So that he was not only *hurl'd headlong flaming*, but he was hurl'd headlong flaming *with hideous ruin and combuſtion*; and what occaſion is there then for reading with Dr. Bentley *confuſion* inſtead of *combuſtion?*

48. *In adamantin chains*] Æſchylus Prometh. 6.

Αδαμαντιναις πεδησιν.

50. *Nine times*, &c.] The nine days aſtoniſhment, in which the Angels lay intranced after their dreadful overthrow and fall from Heaven, before they could recover either the uſe of thought or ſpeech, is a noble *circumſtance*, and very finely imagined. The diviſion of Hell into ſeas of fire, and into firm ground impregnant

That witneſs'd huge affliction and diſmay
Mix'd with obdurate pride and ſtedfaſt hate:
At once, as far as Angels ken, he views
The diſmal ſituation waſte and wild;
A dungeon horrible on all ſides round
As one great furnace flam'd, yet from thoſe flames
No light, but rather darkneſs viſible
Serv'd only to diſcover ſights of woe,
Regions of ſorrow, doleful ſhades, where peace
And reſt can never dwell, hope never comes
That comes to all; but torture without end
Still urges, and a fiery deluge, fed
With ever-burning ſulphur unconſum'd:

Such

impregnant with the ſame furious element, with that particular circumſtance of the excluſion of *hope* from thoſe infernal regions, are inſtances of the ſame great and fruitful invention. *Addiſon.*

63. *darkneſs viſible*] Milton ſeems to have uſed theſe words to ſignify *gloom:* Abſolute darkneſs is ſtrictly ſpeaking inviſible; but where there is a gloom only, there there is ſo much light remaining as ſerves to ſhow that there are objects, and yet that thoſe objects cannot be diſtinctly ſeen: In this ſenſe Milton ſeems to uſe the ſtrong and bold expreſſion, *darkneſs viſible.* *Pearce.*

Seneca has a like expreſſion, ſpeaking of the Grotta of Pauſilypo, Senec. Epiſt. LVII. Nihil illo carcere longius, nihil illis faucibus obſcurius, quæ nobis præſtant, non ut *per tenebras* videamus, ſed ut *ipſas.* And, as Monſ. Voltaire obſerves, Antonio de Solis, in his excellent Hiſtory of Mexico hath ventur'd on the ſame thought, when ſpeaking of the place wherein Montezuma was wont to conſult his Deities; " 'Twas a large dark ſubterraneous " vault, ſays he, where ſome diſmal tapers af- " forded juſt light enough to ſee the obſcu- " rity." See his Eſſay on Epic Poetry, p. 44.

72. *In*

Such place eternal Juſtice had prepar'd
For thoſe rebellious, here their priſ'on ordain'd
In utter darkneſs, and their portion ſet
As far remov'd from God and light of Heaven,
As from the center thrice to th' utmoſt pole.
O how unlike the place from whence they fell!
There the companions of his fall, o'erwhelm'd
With floods and whirlwinds of tempeſtuous fire,
He ſoon diſcerns, and welt'ring by his ſide

One

72. *In utter darkneſs,*] Dr. Bentley reads *outer* here and in many other places of this poem, becauſe it is in Scripture, το σκοτος το εξωτερον: But my dictionaries tell me that *utter* and *outer* are both the ſame word, differently ſpell'd and pronounc'd. Milton, in the argument of this book, ſays *in a place of utter darkneſs*, and no where throughout the poem does the poet uſe *outer*. Pearce.

74. *As from the center thrice to th' utmoſt pole.*] Thrice as far as it is from the center of the earth (which is the center of the world according to Milton's ſyſtem, IX. 103. and X. 671.) to the pole of the world; for it is the pole of the univerſe, far beyond the pole of the earth, which is here call'd the *utmoſt pole*. It is obſervable that Homer makes the ſeat of Hell as far beneath the deepeſt pit of earth, as the Heaven is above the earth,

Τοσσον ενερθ' αϊδεω, οσσον ουρανος εστ' απο γαιης.
Iliad. VIII. 16.

Virgil makes it *twice* as far,

------- Tum Tartarus ipſe
Bis patet in præceps tantum tenditque ſub umbras,
Quantus ad æthereum cœli ſuſpectus Olympum.
Æn. VI. 577.

And Milton *thrice* as far,

As far remov'd from God and light of Heaven,
As from the center *thrice* to th' utmoſt pole:

As if theſe three great poets had ſtretched their utmoſt genius, and vied with each other, who ſhould extend his idea of the depth of Hell fartheſt. But Milton's whole deſcription of Hell as much exceeds theirs, as in this ſingle circumſtance of the depth of it. And how cool and unaffecting is the ταρταρον ηεροεντα, the σιδηραιαι πυλαι κ' χαλκεον ουδος of Homer, and the *lugentes campi*, the *ferrea turris*, and *horriſono ſtridentes cardine portæ* of Virgil, in compariſon with this deſcription by Milton, concluding with that artful contraſt,

O how unlike the place from whence they fell!

81. *Beël-*

One next himſelf in pow'r, and next in crime,
Long after known in Paleſtine, and nam'd
Beëlzebub. To whom th' Arch-Enemy,
And thence in Heav'n call'd Satan, with bold words
Breaking the horrid ſilence thus began.

If thou beeſt he; but O how fall'n! how chang'd
From him, who in the happy realms of light
Cloth'd with tranſcendent brightneſs didſt outſhine
Myriads though bright! If he whom mutual league,
United

81. *Beëlzebub*] The lord of flies, an idol worſhipped at Ecron, a city of the Philiſtines, 2 Kings I. 2. He is called *prince of the Devils*, Mat. XII. 24. therefore deſervedly here made ſecond to Satan himſelf. *Hume.*

82. *And thence in Heav'n call'd Satan,*] For the word *Satan* in Hebrew ſignifies an enemy: he is the enemy by way of eminence, the chief enemy of God and Man.

84. *If thou beeſt he*; &c.] The thoughts in the firſt ſpeech and deſcription of Satan, who is one of the principal actors in this poem, are wonderfully proper to give us a full idea of him. His pride envy and revenge, obſtinacy deſpair and impenitence, are all of them very artfully interwoven. In ſhort, his firſt ſpeech is a complication of all thoſe paſſions, which diſcover themſelves ſeparately in ſeveral other of his ſpeeches in the poem. *Addiſon.*

The change and confuſion of theſe enemies of God is moſt artfully expreſs'd in the abruptneſs of the beginning of this ſpeech: If thou art he, that Beëlzebub ---- He ſtops, and falls into a bitter reflection on their preſent condition, compared with that in which they lately were. He attempts again to open his mind; cannot proceed on what he intends to ſay, but returns to thoſe ſad thoughts; ſtill doubting whether 'tis really his aſſociate in the revolt, as now in miſery and ruin; by that time he had expatiated on this (his heart was oppreſs'd with it) he is aſſured to whom he ſpeaks, and goes on to declare his proud unrelenting mind.
Richardſon.

84. --- *but O how fall'n! how chang'd*
From him,] He imitates Iſaiah and Virgil at the ſame time. Iſ. XIV. 12. *How art thou fallen*, &c. and Virgil's Æn. II. 274.

Hei mihi qualis erat! quantum mutatus ab illo!

86. *Cloth'd with tranſcendent brightneſs didſt outſhine*
Myriads though bright!] Imitated from Homer, Odyſ. VI. 110. where Diana excels all her nymphs

United thoughts and counſels, equal hope
And hazard in the glorious enterpriſe,
Join'd with me once, now miſery hath join'd
In equal ru'in: into what pit thou ſeeſt
From what highth fall'n, ſo much the ſtronger prov'd
He with his thunder: and till then who knew
The force of thoſe dire arms? yet not for thoſe,
Nor what the potent victor in his rage
Can elſe inflict, do I repent or change,
Though chang'd in outward luſtre, that fix'd mind,
And high diſdain from ſenſe of injur'd merit,
That with the Mightieſt rais'd me to contend,
And to the fierce contention brought along
Innu-

nymphs in beauty, though all of them be beautiful.

Ρεια δ' αριγνωτη τελεται, καλαι δε τε πασαι.
Bentley.

91. *In equal ruin:*] So it is in all the editions. *And equal ruin* is Dr. Bentley's emendation, which Dr. Pearce allows (and I believe every body muſt allow) to be juſt and proper; it being very eaſy to miſtake one of theſe words for the other; and other inſtances perhaps may occur in the courſe of this work. *Equal ruin* hath join'd now, as *equal hope* join'd before; ſomewhat like that in Ovid's Metamorphoſis, I. 351.

O ſoror, O conjux, O fœmina ſola ſuperſtes,
Quam commune mihi genus, et patruelis origo,
Deinde torus junxit, nunc ipſa pericula jungunt.

In equal ruin cannot anſwer to *in the glorious enterpriſe*, becauſe Milton places a comma after *enterpriſe*, and in conſtruction it follows after *hazard*, and not after *join'd*.

93. *He with his thunder:*] There is an uncommon beauty in this expreſſion. Satan diſdains to utter the name of God, tho' he cannot but acknowledge his ſuperiority. So again ver. 257.

------ all but leſs than he
Whom thunder hath made greater.

105. --- *what*

Innumerable force of Spirits arm'd,
That durſt diſlike his reign, and me preferring,
His utmoſt pow'r with adverſe pow'r oppos'd
In dubious battel on the plains of Heaven,
And ſhook his throne. What though the field be loſt?
All is not loſt; th' unconquerable will,
And ſtudy of revenge, immortal hate,
And courage never to ſubmit or yield,
And what is elſe not to be overcome;
That glory never ſhall his wrath or might
Extort from me. To bow and ſue for grace
With ſuppliant knee, and deify his power,
Who from the terror of this arm ſo late

/ Doubted

105. ---- *What though the field be loſt?*] *All is not loſt*; &c.] This paſſage is an excellent improvement upon Satan's ſpeech to the infernal Spirits in Taſſo, Cant. 4. St. 15. but ſeems to be expreſs'd from Fairfax his tranſlation rather than from the original.

We loſt the field, yet loſt we not our heart.

109. *And what is elſe not to be overcome*;] Here ſhould be no note of interrogation, but only a ſemi-colon. The words *And what is elſe not to be overcome* ſignify *Et ſi quid ſit aliud quod ſuperari nequeat*, and if there be any thing elſe (beſides the particulars mention'd) which is not to be overcome. *Pearce.*

110. *That glory*, &c.] *That* refers to what went before; his *unconquerable will and ſtudy of revenge*, his *immortal hate and courage never to ſubmit or yield, and what beſides is not to be overcome*; theſe Satan eſteems his glory, and *that glory* he ſays God never ſhould extort from him. And then begins a new ſentence according to all the beſt editions, *To bow and ſue for grace*, &c.---*that were low indeed*, &c. *that* ſtill referring to what went before; and by obſerving this punctuation, this whole paſſage, which has perplex'd and confounded ſo many readers and writers, is render'd plain and eaſy to be underſtood.

Doubted his empire; that were low indeed,
That were an ignominy and ſhame beneath
This downfall; ſince by fate the ſtrength of Gods
And this empyreal ſubſtance cannot fail,
Since through experience of this great event
In arms not worſe, in foreſight much advanc'd,
We may with more ſucceſsful hope reſolve
To wage by force or guile eternal war,
Irreconcileable to our grand foe,
Who now triumphs, and in th' exceſs of joy
Sole reigning holds the tyranny of Heaven.

So ſpake th' apoſtate Angel, though in pain,
Vaunting aloud, but rack'd with deep deſpair:
And him thus anſwer'd ſoon his bold compeer.

O

116. --- *ſince by fate*, &c.] For Satan ſuppoſes the Angels to ſubſiſt by fate and neceſſity, and he repreſents them of an *empyreal*, that is a *fiery* ſubſtance, as the Scripture itſelf doth; *He maketh his Angels ſpirits, and his miniſters a flame of fire.* Pſal. CIV. 4. Heb. i. 7. Satan diſdains to ſubmit, ſince the Angels (as he ſays) are neceſſarily immortal and cannot be deſtroy'd, and ſince too they are now improved in experience, and may hope to carry on the war more ſucceſsfully, notwithſtanding the preſent triumph of their adverſary in Heaven.

125. *So ſpake th' apoſtate Angel, tho' in pain,*
Vaunting aloud, but rack'd with deep deſpair:] The ſenſe of the laſt verſe riſes finely above that of the former: In the firſt verſe it is only ſaid, that he *ſpake though in pain:* In the laſt the poet expreſſes a great deal more; for Satan not only *ſpake* but he *vaunted aloud*, and yet at the ſame time he was not only *in pain*, but was *rack'd with deep deſpair*. Pearce.
The poet had probably in view this paſſage of Virgil, Æn. I. 208.

Talia

O Prince, O Chief of many throned Powers,
That led th' imbattel'd Seraphim to war
Under thy conduct, and in dreadful deeds
Fearleſs, indanger'd Heav'n's perpetual king,
And put to proof his high ſupremacy,
Whether upheld by ſtrength, or chance, or fate;
Too well I ſee and rue the dire event,
That with ſad overthrow and foul defeat
Hath loſt us Heav'n, and all this mighty hoſt
In horrible deſtruction laid thus low,
As far as Gods and heav'nly eſſences
Can periſh: for the mind and ſpi'rit remains
Invincible, and vigor ſoon returns,
Though all our glory extinct, and happy ſtate

Here

Talia voce refert; curiſque ingentibus æger
Spem vultu ſimulat, premit altum corde dolorem.

131. ---- *indanger'd Heav'n's perpetual king*,] The reader ſhould remark here the propriety of the word *perpetual*. *Beëlzebub* doth not ſay *eternal king*, for then he could not have boaſted of *indangering* his kingdom: but he endevors to detract as much as he can from God's everlaſting dominion, and calls him only *perpetual king*, king from time immemorial or without interruption, as Ovid ſays *perpetuum carmen*, Met. I. 4.

---- primaque ab origine mundi
Ad mea perpetuum deducite tempora carmen.

What Beëlzebub means here is expreſs'd more at large afterwards by Satan, ver. 637.

---- But he who reigns
Monarch in Heav'n, till then as one ſecure
Sat on his throne, upheld by old repute,
Conſent or cuſtom, &c.

Here ſwallow'd up in endleſs miſery.
But what if he our conqu'ror (whom I now
Of force believe almighty, ſince no leſs
Than ſuch could have o'er-pow'r'd ſuch force as ours)
Have left us this our ſpi'rit and ſtrength entire
Strongly to ſuffer and ſupport our pains,
That we may ſo ſuffice his vengeful ire,
Or do him mightier ſervice as his thralls
By right of war, whate'er his buſineſs be
Here in the heart of Hell to work in fire,
Or do his errands in the gloomy deep;
What can it then avail, though yet we feel
Strength undiminiſh'd, or eternal being
To undergo eternal puniſhment?
Whereto with ſpeedy words th' Arch-Fiend reply'd.
Fall'n

150. --- *whate'er his buſineſs be*] The buſineſs which God hath appointed for us to do. So in II. 70. *His torments* are the torments which he hath appointed for us to ſuffer. Many inſtances of this way of ſpeaking may be found in this poem. *Pearce.*

156. *Whereto* ---] To what he had ſaid laſt, which had ſtartled Satan, and to which he thinks it proper to make a *ſpeedy* reply. *Speedy words* are better applied here than επεα πτεροεντα are always in Homer.

157. ---- *to be weak is miſerable*
Doing or ſuffering:] Satan having in his ſpeech boaſted that the *ſtrength of Gods could not fail*, ver. 116. and Beëlzebub having ſaid, ver. 146. *if God has left us this our ſtrength entire, to ſuffer pain ſtrongly, or to do him mightier ſervice as his thralls, what then can our ſtrength avail us?* Satan here replies very properly, whether we are to *ſuffer* or to *work*, yet ſtill it is ſome comfort to have our ſtrength undiminiſh'd; for it is a *miſerable* thing, (ſays he) *to be*

Fall'n Cherub, to be weak is miſerable
Doing or ſuffering: but of this be ſure,
To do ought good never will be our task,
But ever to do ill our ſole delight,
As bei'ng the contrary to his high will
Whom we reſiſt. If then his providence
Out of our evil ſeek to bring forth good,
Our labor muſt be to pervert that end,
And out of good ſtill to find means of evil;
Which ofttimes may ſucceed, ſo as perhaps
Shall grieve him, if I fail not, and diſturb
His inmoſt counſels from their deſtin'd aim.
But ſee the angry victor hath recall'd
His miniſters of vengeance and purſuit
Back to the gates of Heav'n: the ſulphurous hail
Shot

be weak and without ſtrength, whether we are doing or ſuffering. This is the ſenſe of the place; and this is farther confirm'd by what Belial ſays in II. 199.

---- To *ſuffer* as to *do*
Our *ſtrength* is equal ---- *Pearce.*

159. *To do ought good never will be our taſk,*] Dr. Bentley would read it thus,

To do ought good *will never* be our taſk,

as of a ſmoother and ſtronger accent: but I conceive that Milton intended to vary the accent of *never* and *ever* in the next verſe.

169. *But ſee the angry victor hath recall'd,* &c.] Dr. Bentley hath really made a very material objection to this and ſome other paſſages of the poem, wherein the good Angels are repreſented, as purſuing the rebel hoſt with fire and thunderbolts down through Chaos even to the gates of Hell; as being contrary to the account, which the Angel Raphael gives to Adam in the 6th book. And it is certain that there the good

Shot after us in ſtorm, o'erblown hath laid
The fiery ſurge, that from the precipice
Of Heav'n receiv'd us falling; and the thunder,
Wing'd with red lightning and impetuous rage,
Perhaps hath ſpent his ſhafts, and ceaſes now
To bellow through the vaſt and boundleſs deep.
Let us not ſlip th' occaſion, whether ſcorn,
Or ſatiate fury yield it from our foe.
Seeſt thou yon dreary plain, forlorn and wild,
The ſeat of deſolation, void of light,
Save what the glimmering of theſe livid flames

Caſts

good Angels are order'd to *ſtand ſtill only and behold*, and the Meſſiah alone expels them out of Heaven, and after he has expelled them, and Hell has clos'd upon them, VI. 880.

Sole victor from th' expulſion of his foes
Meſſiah his triumphal chariot turn'd:
To meet him all his Saints, who ſilent ſtood
Eye-witneſſes of his almighty acts,
With jubilee advanc'd.

Theſe accounts are plainly contrary the one to the other: but the author doth not therefore contradict himſelf, nor is one part of his ſcheme inconſiſtent with another. For it ſhould be conſidered, who are the perſons that give theſe different accounts. In book the 6th the Angel Raphael is the ſpeaker, and therefore his account may be depended upon as the genuin and exact truth of the matter. But in the other paſſages Satan himſelf or ſome of his Angels are the ſpeakers; and they were too proud and obſtinate ever to acknowledge the Meſſiah for their conqueror; as their rebellion was rais'd on his account, they would never own his ſuperiority; they would rather aſcribe their defeat to the whole hoſt of Heaven than to *him alone*; or if they did indeed imagin their purſuers to be ſo many in number, their fears multiplied them, and it ſerves admirably to expreſs how much they were terrified and confounded. In book the 6th, 830. the noiſe of his chariot is compar'd to the *ſound of a numerous hoſt*; and perhaps they might think that a numerous hoſt were really purſuing. In one place indeed we have Chaos ſpeaking thus, II. 996.

--- and

Caſts pale and dreadful? Thither let us tend
From off the toſſing of theſe fiery waves,
There reſt, if any reſt can harbour there,
And re-aſſembling our afflicted Powers,
Conſult how we may henceforth moſt offend
Our enemy, our own loſs how repair,
How overcome this dire calamity,
What reinforcement we may gain from hope,
If not what reſolution from deſpair.
Thus Satan talking to his neareſt mate
With head up-lift above the wave, and eyes

That

---- and Heav'n gates
Pour'd out by millions her victorious bands
Purſuing;

But what a condition was Chaos in during the fall of the rebel Angels? See VI. 871.

Nine days they fell; confounded Chaos roar'd,
And felt tenfold confuſion in their fall
Through his wild anarchy, ſo huge a rout
Enc' mber'd him with ruin.

We muſt ſuppoſe him therefore to ſpeak according to his own frighted and diſturb'd imagination; he might conceive that ſo much

Ruin upon ruin, rout on rout,
Confuſion worſe confounded

could not all be effected by a ſingle hand: and what a ſublime idea muſt it give us of the terrors of the Meſſiah, that he alone ſhould be as formidable as if the whole hoſt of Heaven were purſuing! So that this ſeeming contradiction, upon examination, proves rather a beauty than any blemiſh to the poem.

186. --- *our afflicted Powers,*] The word *afflicted* here is intended to be underſtood in the Latin ſenſe, routed, ruin'd, utterly broken. *Richardſon.*

191. *If not what reſolution*] *What* reinforcement; to which is return'd *If not:* a vicious ſyntax: but the poet gave it *If none.* Bentley.

193. *With head up-lift above the wave, and eyes*
That ſparkling blaz'd, his other parts beſides
Prone on the flood,] Somewhat like thoſe lines in Virgil of two monſtrous ſerpents, Æn. II. 206.

Pectora

That ſparkling blaz'd, his other parts beſides
Prone on the flood, extended long and large
Lay floting many a rood, in bulk as huge
As whom the fables name of monſtrous ſize,
Titanian, or Earth-born, that warr'd on Jove,
Briareos or Typhon, whom the den
By ancient Tarſus held, or that ſea-beaſt
Leviathan, which God of all his works
Created hugeſt that ſwim th' ocean ſtream:

Him

Pectora quorum inter fluctus arrecta, jubæque
Sanguineæ exuperant undas; pars cætera pontum
Pone legit.

196. *Lay floting many a rood,*] A *rood* is the fourth part of an acre, ſo that the bulk of Satan is expreſs'd by the ſame ſort of meaſure, as that of one of the giants in Virgil, Æn. VI. 596.

Per tota novem cui *jugera* corpus
Porrigitur.

198. *Titanian, or Earth-born,*]
Genus antiquum terræ, Titania pubes.
Æn. VI. 580.

199. *Briareos*] So Milton writes it, that it may be pronounced as *four* ſyllables; and not *Briareus*, which is pronounced as *three*.

Et centumgeminus Briareus.
Virg. Æn. VI. 287.

And Briareus with all his hundred hands.
Dryden.

199 --- *or Typhon, whom the den*
By ancient Tarſus held,] Typhon is the ſame with Typhoëus. That the den of Typhoëus was in Cilicia, of which Tarſus was a celebrated city, we are told by Pindar and Pomponius Mela. I am much miſtaken, if Milton did not make uſe of Farnaby's note on Ovid Met. V. 347. to which I refer the reader. He took *ancient* Tarſus perhaps from Nonnus:

Ταρσος αειδομενη πρωτοπολις

which is quoted in Lloyd's Dictionary. *Jortin.*

200. ------ *that ſea-beaſt*
Leviathan,] The beſt critics ſeem now to be agreed, that the author of the book of Job by the *leviathan* meant the *crocodile*; and Milton deſcribes it in the ſame manner partly as a *fiſh* and partly as a *beaſt*, and attributes *ſcales* to it: and yet by ſome things one would think that he took it rather for a *whale* (as was the general opinion) there being no crocodiles upon the coaſts of Norway, and what follows being related of the whale, but never, as I have heard, of the crocodile.

202. *Created hugeſt*, &c.] This verſe is found fault with as being too rough and abſonous,

but

Him haply ſlumb'ring on the Norway foam
The pilot of ſome ſmall night-founder'd skiff
Deeming ſome iland, oft, as ſea-men tell,
With fixed anchor in his skaly rind
Moors by his ſide under the lee, while night
Inveſts the ſea, and wiſhed morn delays:
So ſtretch'd out huge in length the Arch-Fiend lay
Chain'd on the burning lake, nor ever thence
Had ris'n or heav'd his head, but that the will

And

but that is not a fault but a beauty here, as it better expreſſes the hugeneſs and unwieldineſs of the creature, and no doubt was deſign'd by the author.

203. *Him haply ſlumb'ring*, &c.] I have been inform'd that in the Orlando Furioſo one of the heroes caſts anchor in this manner, but cannot recollect the paſſage.

204. ----- *night-founder'd ſkiff*] Some little boat, whoſe pilot dares not proceed in his courſe for fear of the dark night; a metaphor taken from a founder'd horſe that can go no farther. *Hume.*

Dr. Bentley reads *nigh-founder'd*; but the common reading is better, becauſe if (as the Doctor ſays) foundering is ſinking by a leaking in the ſhip, it would be of little uſe to the pilot to fix his anchor on an iland, the ſkiff would ſink notwithſtanding, if leaky. By *night-founder'd* Milton means overtaken by the night, and thence at a loſs which way to ſail. That the poet ſpeaks of what befel the pilot by night, appears from ver. 207. *while night inveſts the ſea.* Milton, in his poem call'd the Maſk, uſes the ſame phraſe: the two brothers having loſt their way in the wood, one of them ſays

---- for certain
Either ſome one, like us, *night-founder'd* here &c.
Pearce.

205. --- *as ſea-men tell*,] Words well added to obviate the incredibility of caſting anchor in this manner. *Hume.*

207. *Moors by his ſide under the lee*,] Anchors by his ſide under wind. *Mooring* at ſea is the laying out of anchors in a proper place for the ſecure riding of a ſhip. The *lee* or lee-ſhore is that on which the wind blows, ſo that to be *under the lee* of the ſhore is to be cloſe under the weather-ſhore or under wind. See Chambers's Dict. An inſtance this among others of our author's affectation in the uſe of technical terms.

209. *So ſtretch'd out huge in lengh the Arch-Fiend lay*,] The length of this verſe, conſiſting of ſo many monoſyllables, and pronounc'd ſo ſlowly, is excellently adapted to the ſubject

And high permiſſion of all-ruling Heaven
Left him at large to his own dark deſigns,
That with reiterated crimes he might
Heap on himſelf damnation, while he ſought
Evil to others, and enrag'd might ſee
How all his malice ſerv'd but to bring forth
Infinite goodneſs, grace and mercy ſhown
On Man by him ſeduc'd, but on himſelf
Treble confuſion, wrath and vengeance pour'd.
Forthwith upright he rears from off the pool
His mighty ſtature; on each hand the flames
Driv'n backward ſlope their pointing ſpires, and roll'd
In billows, leave i'th' midſt a horrid vale.
Then with expanded wings he ſteers his flight
Aloft,

ſubject that it would deſcribe. The tone is upon the firſt ſyllable in this line, *the Arch-Fiend lay*; whereas it was upon the laſt ſyllable of the word in ver. 156. the *Arch-Fiend reply'd*; a liberty that Milton ſometimes takes to pronounce the ſame word with a different accent in different places. We ſhall mark ſuch words as are to be pronounced with an accent different from the common uſe.

221. *Forthwith upright he rears*, &c.] The whole part of this great enemy of mankind is filled with ſuch incidents as are very apt to raiſe and terrify the reader's imagination. Of this nature is his being the firſt that awakens out of the general trance, with his poſture on the burning lake, his riſing from it, and the deſcription of his ſhield and ſpear. To which we may add his call to the fallen Angels, that lay plung'd and ſtupified in the ſea of fire.

He call'd ſo loud that all the hollow deep
Of Hell reſounded. -----

But there is no ſingle paſſage in the whole poem worked up to a greater ſublimity, than that

Aloft, incumbent on the dusky air
That felt unuſual weight, 'till on dry land
He lights, if it were land that ever burn'd
With ſolid, as the lake with liquid fire;
And ſuch appear'd in hue, as when the force
Of ſubterranean wind tranſports a hill
Torn from Pelorus, or the ſhatter'd ſide
Of thund'ring Ætna, whoſe combuſtible
And fuel'd entrails thence conceiving fire,
Sublim'd with mineral fury, aid the winds,
And leave a ſinged bottom all involv'd
With ſtench and ſmoke: Such reſting found the ſole
Of unbleſt feet. Him follow'd his next mate,
Both glorying to have 'ſcap'd the Stygian flood

As

that wherein his perſon is deſcribed in thoſe celebrated lines

---- He above the reſt
In ſhape and geſture proudly eminent
Stood like a tow'r, &c. *Addiſon.*

229. --- *liquid fire*;] Virg. Ecl. VI. 33.
Et liquidi ſimul ignis.

231. *Of ſubterranean wind*] Dr. Pearce conjectures that it ſhould be read *ſubterranean winds*, becauſe it is ſaid *aid the winds* afterwards, and the conjecture ſeems probable and ingenious: the *fuel'd entrails*, *ſublim'd with mineral fury*, *aid* and increaſe *the winds* which firſt blew up the fire.

232. *Pelorus*,] A promontory of Sicily, now Cape di Faro, about a mile and half from Italy, whence Virgil *anguſta a ſede Pelori*, Æn. III. 687. *Hume.*

238. *Of unbleſt feet.*] Dr. Bentley to make the accent ſmoother reads *Of feet unbleſt*; but Milton could have done the ſame thing, if he thought proper: On the contrary he chooſes almoſt always to put the epithet before the ſub-

As Gods, and by their own recover'd ſtrength,
Not by the ſufferance of ſupernal Power.
Is this the region, this the ſoil, the clime,
Said then the loſt Arch-Angel, this the ſeat
That we muſt change for Heav'n, this mournful gloom
For that celeſtial light? Be' it ſo, ſince he
Who now is Sovran can diſpoſe and bid
What ſhall be right: fartheſt from him is beſt,
Whom reas'on hath equal'd, force hath made ſupreme
Above his equals. Farewel happy fields,
Where joy for ever dwells: Hail horrors, hail
Infernal

ſtantive (excepting at the end of a verſe) even tho' the verſe be the rougher for it. A plain ſign that he thought it poetical to do ſo.
Pearce.

246. *Sovran*] So Milton ſpells it after the Italian *Sovrano*. It is not eaſy to account for the formation of our word *Sovereign*.

247. ---*fartheſt from him is beſt*,] This is expreſs'd from the Greek proverb πορρω Διος τε κ' κεραυνε, Far from Jupiter but far too from thunder. *Bentley.*

248. *Whom reaſon hath equal'd*,] *Reaſon* is to be pronounced here as one ſyllable, or two ſhort ones, as it is likewiſe in VIII. 591. and IX. 559. See the note on ver. 39.

250. ---- *Hail horrors, hail* &c.] His ſentiments are every way anſwerable to his character, and ſuitable to a created being of the moſt exalted and moſt depraved nature. Such is that in which he takes poſſeſſion of his place of torments.

---- Hail horrors, hail *&c.*

And afterwards

---- Here at leaſt
We ſhall be free; *&c.*

Amidſt thoſe impieties which this enraged Spirit utters in other places of the poem, the author has taken care to introduce none that is not big with abſurdity, and incapable of ſhocking a religious reader; his words, as the poet himſelf deſcribes them, bearing only a *ſemblance of worth, not ſubſtance.* He is likewiſe with great art deſcribed as owning his adverſary to be almighty. Whatever perverſe interpretation he puts on the juſtice, mercy and other attributes

Infernal world, and thou profoundeſt Hell
Receive thy new poſſeſſor; one who brings
A mind not to be chang'd by place or time.
The mind is its own place, and in itſelf
Can make a Heav'n of Hell, a Hell of Heav'n.
What matter where, if I be ſtill the ſame,
And what I ſhould be, all but leſs than he
Whom thunder hath made greater? Here at leaſt
We ſhall be free; th' Almighty hath not built
Here for his envy, will not drive us hence:
Here we may reign ſecure, and in my choice

To

butes of the Supreme Being, he frequently confeſſes his omnipotence, that being the perfection he was forced to allow him, and the only conſideration which could ſupport his pride under the ſhame of his defeat. Nor muſt I omit that beautiful circumſtance of his burſting out into tears, upon his ſurvey of thoſe innumerable Spirits whom he had involved in the ſame guilt and ruin with himſelf. *Addiſon.*

252. *Receive thy new poſſeſſor;*] This paſſage ſeems to be an improvement upon Sophocles, Ajax 395, where Ajax, before he kills himſelf, cries out much in the ſame manner.

Ιω σκοτος, εμον φαος, ερεμβος
Ω φαενον ως εμοι,
Ελεῦ' ελεῦ' οικητορα,
Ελεῦε με.

253. --- *by place or time.*] Milton is excellent in placing his words: invert them only, and ſay *by time or place*, and if the reader has any ear, he will perceive how much the alteration is for the worſe. For the pauſe falling upon *place* in the firſt line *by time or place*, and again upon *place* in the next line *The mind is its own place*, would offend the ear, and therefore is artfully varied

A mind not to be chang'd by place or time.
The mind is its own place.

257. --- *all but*] I have heard it propos'd to read *albeit*, that is although; but prefer the common reading.

259. --- *th' Almighty hath not built*
Here for his envy,] This is not a place that God ſhould envy us, or think it too good for

us;

To reign is worth ambition though in Hell:
Better to reign in Hell, than ſerve in Heaven.
But wherefore let we then our faithful friends,
Th' aſſociates and copartners of our loſs,
Lie thus aſtoniſh'd on th' oblivious pool,
And call them not to ſhare with us their part
In this unhappy manſion, or once more
With rallied arms to try what may be yet
Regain'd in Heav'n, or what more loſt in Hell?
So Satan ſpake, and him Beëlzebub
Thus anſwer'd. Leader of thoſe armies bright,
Which but th' Omnipotent none could have foil'd,
If

us; and in this ſenſe the word *envy* is uſed in ſeveral places of the poem, and particularly in IV. 517. VIII. 494. and IX. 770.

263. *Better to reign in Hell, than ſerve in Heaven.*] It was a memorable ſaying of Julius Cæſar, that he had rather be the firſt man in a country-village than the ſecond at Rome. The reader will obſerve how properly the ſaying is here applied and accommodated to the ſpeaker. It is here made a ſentiment worthy of Satan, and of him only;

--- nam te nec ſperent Tartara regem,
Nec tibi regnandi veniat tam dira cupido.
Virg. Geor. I. 36.

Grotius hath aſcribed the ſame ſentiment to Satan in his *Adamus Exul*, a tragedy which our author ſeems to have imitated in ſome few places, and has tranſlated the following lines; but how much better is the ſenſe of the two laſt verſes expreſs'd in one by Milton!

---- Nam, me judice,
Regnare dignum eſt ambitu, etſi in Tartaro;
Alto præeſſe Tartaro ſiquidem juvat,
Cœlis quam in ipſis ſervi obire munia.

276. ---- *on the perilous edge*
Of battel] Perhaps he had in mind Virgil, Æn. IX. 528.

Et mecum ingentes *oras* evolvite belli. *Jortin.*

It has been obſerv'd to me by a perſon of very fine

If once they hear that voice, their livelieſt pledge
Of hope in fears and dangers, heard ſo oft
In worſt extremes, and on the perilous edge
Of battel when it rag'd, in all aſſaults
Their ſureſt ſignal, they will ſoon reſume
New courage and revive, though now they lie
Groveling and proſtrate on yon lake of fire,
As we erewhile, aſtounded and amaz'd,
No wonder, fall'n ſuch a pernicious highth.
He ſcarce had ceas'd when the ſuperior Fiend
Was moving tow'ard the ſhore; his pond'rous ſhield,
Ethereal temper, maſſy, large and round,
Behind

fine taſte, that Shakeſpear has an expreſſion very like this in 2 Hen. IV. Act. I.

You knew, he walk'd o'er perils, on an edge
More likely to fall in, than to get o'er:

and ſomething like it in 1 Hen. IV. Act. I.

I'll read you matter, deep and dangerous;
As full of peril and adventrous ſpirit,
As to o'erwalk a current, roaring loud,
On the unſtedfaſt footing of a ſpear.
Hot. If he fall in, good night, or ſink or ſwim.

Or after all may not *the edge of battel* be expreſs'd from the Latin *acies*, which ſignifies both the edge of a weapon, and alſo an army in battel array? The author himſelf would incline one to think ſo by his uſe of this metaphor in another place, VI. 108.

On the rough edge of battel ere it join'd.

282. ----- *fall'n ſuch a pernicious highth.*] Dr. Bentley reads *fall'n* from *ſuch* prodigious *highth:* but the epithet *pernicious* is much ſtronger, and as for the want of a præpoſition, that is common in this poem; for thus in I. 723.

Stood fix'd her ſtately highth,

And in II. 409.

---- ere he arrive
The happy ile? *Pearce.*

287. --- *like*

Behind him caſt; the broad circumference
Hung on his ſhoulders like the moon, whoſe orb
Through optic glaſs the Tuſcan artiſt views
At evening from the top of Feſolé,
Or in Valdarno, to deſcry new lands,
Rivers or mountains in her ſpotty globe.
His ſpear, to equal which the talleſt pine
Hewn on Norwegian hills, to be the maſt
Of ſome great ammiral, were but a wand,
He walk'd with to ſupport uneaſy ſteps
Over

287. ---- *like the moon, whoſe orb* &c.] Homer compares the ſplendor of Achilles ſhield to the moon, Iliad. XIX. 373.

αὐλαῤ ἐπειτα σακος μεγα τε, ϛιβαρον τε,
Ἐιλετο, τοῦ δ' ἀπανευθε σελας γενετ', ἠυτε μηνης:

but the ſhield of Satan was large as the moon ſeen through a teleſcope, an inſtrument firſt applied to celeſtial obſervations by Galileo, a native of Tuſcany, whom he means here by *the Tuſcan artiſt*, and afterwards mentions by name in V. 262. a teſtimony of his honor for ſo great a man, whom he had known and viſited in Italy, as himſelf informs us in his *Areopagitica*.

289. *Feſolé*,] Is a city in Tuſcany; *Valdarno*, or the valley of Arno, a valley there.
Richardſon.

292. *His ſpear, to equal which the talleſt pine* &c.] He walk'd with his ſpear, in compariſon of which the talleſt pine was but a wand. For when Homer Odyſſ. IX. 322. makes the club of Polyphemus as big as the maſt of a ſhip

Οσσον Θ' ἰσον νηος ----

and Virgil gives him a pine to walk with, Æn. III. 659.

Trunca manu pinus regit et veſtigia firmat.

and Taſſo arms Tancred and Argantes with two ſpears as big as maſts, Cant. 6. St. 40.

Poſero in reſta, e dirizzaro in alto
I duo guerrier le noderoſe antenne.

Theſe ſons of Mavors bore (inſtead of ſpears)
Two knotty maſts which none but they could lift.
Fairfax.

well might Milton aſſign a ſpear ſo much larger to ſo ſuperior a being.

293. *Norwegian hills*] The hills of Norway, barren and rocky, but abounding in vaſt woods, from

Over the burning marle; not like thoſe ſteps
On Heaven's azure, and the torrid clime
Smote on him ſore beſides, vaulted with fire;
Nathleſs he ſo indur'd, till on the beach
Of that inflamed ſea he ſtood, and call'd
His legions, Angel forms, who lay intranc'd
Thick as autumnal leaves that ſtrow the brooks
In Vallombroſa, where th' Etrurian ſhades
High over-arch'd imbow'r; or ſcatter'd ſedge
Aflote, when with fierce winds Orion arm'd
Hath

from whence are brought maſts of the largeſt ſize. *Hume.*

294. *ammiral*] According to its German extraction *amiral* or *amirael*, ſays Hume; from the Italian *ammiraglio*, ſays Richardſon more probably. Our author made choice of this, as thinking it of a better ſound than *admiral:* and in Latin he writes *ammiralatûs curia*, the court of admiralty.

299. *Nathleſs*] Nevertheleſs, of which it ſeems to be a contracted diminutive. *Hume.* This word is frequently uſed by Spenſer, and the old poets.

302. *Thick as autumnal leaves*] Virg. Æn. VI. 309.

Quam multa in ſylvis autumni frigore primo
Lapſa cadunt folia.

Thick as the leaves in autumn ſtrow the woods.
Dryden.

But Milton's compariſon is by far the exacteſt; for it not only expreſſes a multitude, but alſo the poſture and ſituation of the Angels. Their lying confuſedly in heaps, covering the lake, is finely repreſented by this image of the leaves in the brooks. And beſides the propriety of the application, if we compare the ſimiles themſelves, Milton's is by far ſuperior to the other, as it exhibits a real landſkip. See *An Eſſay upon Milton's imitations of the Ancients*, p. 23.

303. *Vallombroſa,*] A famous valley in *Etruria* or Tuſcany, ſo named of *Vallis* and *Umbra*, remarkable for the continual cool ſhades, which the vaſt number of trees that overſpread it afford. *Hume.*

305. --- *when with fierce winds Orion arm'd* &c.] *Orion* is a conſtellation repreſented in the figure of an armed man, and ſuppoſed to be attended with ſtormy weather, *aſſurgens fluctu nimboſus Orion.* Virg. Æn. I. 539. And the Red-Sea abounds

Hath vex'd the Red-Sea coaſt, whoſe waves o'erthrew
Buſiris and his Memphian chivalry,
While with perfidious hatred they purſued
The ſojourners of Goſhen, who beheld
From the ſafe ſhore their floting carcaſes
And broken chariot wheels: ſo thick beſtrown
Abject and loſt lay theſe, covering the flood,
Under amazement of their hideous change.
He call'd ſo loud, that all the hollow deep
Of Hell reſounded. Princes, Potentates,
Warriors, the flow'r of Heav'n, once yours, now loſt,
If ſuch aſtoniſhment as this can ſeiſe

Eternal

abounds ſo much with ſedge, that in the Hebrew Scripture it is called the *Sedgy Sea*. And he ſays *hath vex'd the Red-Sea coaſt* particularly, becauſe the wind uſually drives the ſedge in great quantities towards the ſhore.

306. --- *whoſe waves o'erthrew*
Buſiris and his Memphian chivalry,] Dr. Bentley throws out ſix lines here, as the Editor's, not Milton's: His chief reaſon is, That that ſingle event of Moſes's paſſing the Red-Sea has no relation to a conſtant quality of it, that in ſtormy weather it is ſtrow'd with ſedge. But it is very uſual with Homer and Virgil (and therefore may be allow'd to Milton) in a compariſon, after they have ſhown the reſemblance, to go off from the main purpoſe and finiſh with ſome other image, which was occaſion'd by the compariſon, but is itſelf very different from it. Milton has done thus in almoſt all his ſimilitudes; and therefore what he does ſo frequently, cannot be allow'd to be an objection to the genuinneſs of this paſſage before us. As to Milton's making Pharoah to be *Buſiris* (which is another of the Doctor's objections to the paſſage) there is authority enough for to juſtify a poet in doing ſo, tho' not an hiſtorian: It has been ſuppos'd by ſome, and therefore Milton might follow that opinion. *Chivalry* for *cavalry*, and *cavalry* (ſays Dr. Bentley) for *chariotry*, is twice wrong. But it is rather *twice right*: for *chivalry* (from the French *chevalerie*) ſignifies not only *knighthood*, but thoſe who

Eternal Spi'rits; or have ye chos'n this place
After the toil of battel to repoſe
Your wearied virtue, for the eaſe you find
To ſlumber here, as in the vales of Heaven?
Or in this abject poſture have ye ſworn
To' adore the conqueror? who now beholds
Cherub and Seraph rolling in the flood
With ſcatter'd arms and enſigns, till anon
His ſwift purſuers from Heav'n gates diſcern
Th' advantage, and deſcending tread us down
Thus drooping, or with linked thunderbolts
Transfix us to the bottom of this gulf.

Awake,

who uſe horſes in fight, both ſuch as ride on horſes and ſuch as ride in chariots drawn by them: In the ſenſe of riding and fighting on horſeback this word *chivalry* is uſed in ver. 765. and in many places of Fairfax's Taſſo, as in Cant. 5. St. 9. Cant. 8. St. 67. Cant. 20. St. 61. In the ſenſe of riding and fighting in chariots drawn by horſes, Milton uſes the word *chivalry* in Parad. Reg. III. ver. 343. compar'd with ver. 328. *Pearce.*

308. *perfidious hatred*] Becauſe Pharaoh, after leave given to the Iſraelites to depart, follow'd after them like fugitives. *Hume.*

310. *From the ſafe ſhore their floting carcaſes* &c.] Much has been ſaid of the long ſimilitudes of Homer, Virgil, and our author, wherein they fetch a compaſs as it were to draw in new images, beſides thoſe in which the direct point of likeneſs conſiſts. I think they have been ſufficiently juſtify'd in the general: but in this before us, while the poet is digreſſing, he raiſes a new ſimilitude from the floting carcaſes of the Egyptians. *Heylin.*

328. *--- with linked thunderbolts*
Transfix us to the bottom of this gulf.] This alludes to the fate of Ajax Oileus,

Illum expirantem transfixo pectore flammas
Turbine corripuit, ſcopuloque infixit acuto.
Virg. Æn. I. 44, 45.

Who pleaſeth to read the Devil's ſpeech to his damned aſſembly in Taſſo, Cant. 4. from Stanza 9 to Stanza 18, will find our author has ſeen him, tho' borrow'd little of him. *Hume.*

Awake, ariſe, or be for ever fall'n.
They heard, and were abaſh'd, and up they ſprung
Upon the wing, as when men wont to watch
On duty, ſleeping found by whom they dread,
Rouſe and beſtir themſelves ere well awake.
Nor did they not perceive the evil plight
In which they were, or the fierce pains not feel;
Yet to their general's voice they ſoon obey'd
Innumerable. As when the potent rod
Of Amram's ſon, in Egypt's evil day,
Wav'd round the coaſt, up call'd a pitchy cloud
Of locuſts, warping on the eaſtern wind,
That o'er the realm of impious Pharaoh hung
Like night, and darken'd all the land of Nile:
So numberleſs were thoſe bad Angels ſeen

Hovering

338. *As when the potent rod* &c.] See Exod. X. 13. *Moſes ſtretched forth his rod over the land of Egypt, and the Lord brought an eaſt-wind upon the land, and the eaſt-wind brought the locuſts: and the locuſts went up over all the land of Egypt---ſo that the land was darken'd.*

341. *warping*] Working themſelves forward, a ſea term. *Hume* and *Richardſon.*

351. *A multitude, like which* &c.] This compariſon doth not fall below the reſt, as ſome have imagin'd. They were *thick* as the *leaves*, and *numberleſs* as the *locuſts*, but ſuch a multitude the north *never* pour'd forth; and we may obſerve that the ſubject of this compariſon riſes very much above the others, *leaves* and *locuſts*. *The populous north*, as the northern parts of the world are obſerved to be more fruitful of people, than the hotter countries: Sir William Temple calls it *the northern hive*. *Pour'd never*, a very proper word to expreſs the

Hovering on wing under the cope of Hell
'Twixt upper, nether, and ſurrounding fires;
Till, as a ſignal giv'n, th' up-lifted ſpear
Of their great Sultan waving to direct
Their courſe, in even balance down they light
On the firm brimſtone, and fill all the plain;
A multitude, like which the populous north
Pour'd never from her frozen loins, to paſs
Rhene or the Danaw, when her barbarous ſons
Came like a deluge on the ſouth, and ſpread
Beneath Gibralter to the Lybian ſands.
Forthwith from every ſquadron and each band
The heads and leaders thither haſte where ſtood
Their great commander; Godlike ſhapes and forms
Excelling human, princely Dignities,

And

the inundations of theſe northern nations. *From her frozen loins*, it is the Scripture expreſſion of children and deſcendents *coming out of the loins*, as Gen. XXXV. 11. *Kings ſhall come out of thy loins*; and theſe are call'd *frozen loins* only on account of the coldneſs of the climate. *To paſs Rhene or the Danaw*, He might have ſaid conſiſtently with his verſe *The Rhine or Danube*, but he choſe the more uncommon names *Rhene* of the Latin, and *Danaw* of the German, both which words are uſed too in Spenſer. *When her barbarous ſons* &c. They were truly *barbarous*; for beſides exerciſing ſeveral cruelties they deſtroy'd all the monuments of learning and politeneſs wherever they came. They were the Goths, and Huns, and Vandals, who overrun all the ſouthern provinces of Europe, and croſſing the Mediterranean *beneath Gibralter* landed in Africa, and ſpread themſelves as far as the ſandy country of Libya.

Beneath

And Pow'rs that erſt in Heaven ſat on thrones;
Though of their names in heav'nly records now
Be no memorial, blotted out and ras'd
By their rebellion from the books of life.
Nor had they yet among the ſons of Eve
Got them new names, till wand'ring o'er the earth,
Through God's high ſufferance for the tri'al of man,
By falſities and lies the greateſt part
Of mankind they corrupted to forſake
God their Creator, and th' inviſible
Glory of him that made them to transform
Oft

Beneath Gibralter that is more ſouthward, the north being uppermoſt in the globe.

363. --- *the books of life.*] Dr. Bentley reads *the book of life*, that being the Scripture expreſſion. And Shakeſpear ſays likewiſe *blotted from the book of life*, Richard II. Act I.

My name be blotted from the *book* of life.

But the author might write *books* in the plural as well as *records* juſt before; and the plural agrees better with the idea that he would give of the great number of Angels.

369. ---- *and th' inviſible*
Glory of him that made them to transform
Oft to the image of a brute,] Alluding to Rom. I. 23. *And changed the glory of the uncorruptible God, into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four-footed beaſts, and creeping things.*

372. *With gay religions full of pomp and gold,*] By *religions* Milton means *religious rites*, as Cicero uſes the word, when he joins *religiones et ceremonias*. De Legib. lib. 1. c. 15. and elſewhere. *Pearce.*

376. *Say, Muſe,* &c.] The catalogue of evil Spirits has abundance of learning in it, and a very agreeable turn of poetry, which riſes in a great meaſure from its deſcribing the places where they were worſhipped, by thoſe beautiful marks of rivers, ſo frequent among the ancient poets. The author had doubtleſs in this place Homer's catalogue of ſhips, and Virgil's liſt of warriors in his view. *Addiſon.*

Dr. Bentley ſays that this is not the fineſt part of the poem: but I think it is, in the deſign and drawing, if not in the coloring; for the Paradiſe Loſt being a religious epic, nothing

Oft to the image of a brute, adorn'd
With gay religions full of pomp and gold,
And Devils to adore for Deities:
Then were they known to men by various names,
And various idols through the Heathen world.
Say, Muſe, their names then known, who firſt, who laſt,
Rous'd from the ſlumber, on that fiery couch,
At their great emperors call, as next in worth
Came ſingly where he ſtood on the bare ſtrand,
While the promiſcuous croud ſtood yet aloof.
The chief were thoſe who from the pit of Hell
Roaming

thing could be more artful than thus deducing the original of ſuperſtition. This gives it a great advantage over the catalogues he has imitated, for Milton's becomes thereby a neceſſary part of the work, as the original of ſuperſtition, an eſſential part of a religious epic, could not have been ſhown without it. Had Virgil's or Homer's been omitted, their poems would not have ſuffered materially, becauſe in their relations of the following actions we find the ſoldiers, who were before catalogued: but by no following hiſtory of ſuperſtition that Milton could have brought in, could we find out theſe Devils agency, it was therefore neceſſary he ſhould inform us of the fact. *Warburton.*

Say, Muſe, &c. Homer at the beginning of his catalogue invokes his Muſe afreſh in a very pompous manner. Virgil does the like, and Milton follows both ſo far as to make a freſh invocation, though ſhort; becauſe he had already made a large and ſolemn addreſs in this very book, at the beginning of his poem.

376. --- *their names then known*,] When they had got them new names. Milton finely conſider'd that the names he was obliged to apply to theſe evil Angels carry a bad ſignification, and therefore could not be thoſe they had in their ſtate of innocence and glory; he has therefore ſaid their former names are now loſt, ras'd from amongſt thoſe of their old aſſociates who retain their purity and happineſs. *Richardſon.*

376. --- *who firſt, who laſt*,]

Quem telo primum, quem poſtremum &c.
Virg. Æn. XI. 664.

386. --- *thron'd*

Roaming to ſeek their prey on earth, durſt fix
Their ſeats long after next the ſeat of God,
Their altars by his altar, Gods ador'd
Among the nations round, and durſt abide
Jehovah thund'ring out of Sion, thron'd
Between the Cherubim; yea, often plac'd
Within his ſanctuary itſelf their ſhrines,
Abominations; and with curſed things
His holy rites and ſolemn feaſts profan'd,
And with their darkneſs durſt affront his light.
Firſt Moloch, horrid king, beſmear'd with blood

Of

386. ---- *thron'd*

Between the Cherubim;] This relates to the ark being placed between the two golden Cherubim, 1 Kings VI. 23. 1 Kings VIII. 6 and 7. See alſo 2 Kings XIX. 15. *O Lord God of Iſrael which dwelleſt between the Cherubim.* Hezekiah's prayer. *Hume.*

387. ---- *yea, often plac'd*
Within his ſanctuary itſelf their ſhrines,

Abominations;] This is complain'd of by the prophet Jeremiah VII. 30. *For the children of Judah have done evil in my ſight, ſaith the Lord; they have ſet their abominations in the houſe which is called by my name, to pollute it.* And we read of Manaſſeh, 2 Kings XXI. 4 and 5. that *He built altars in the houſe of the Lord, of which the Lord ſaid, In Jeruſalem will I put my name: And he built altars for all the hoſt of Heaven, in the two courts of the houſe of the Lord.* See alſo Ezek. VII. 20. and VIII. 5, 6.

392. *Firſt Moloch, horrid king,*] *Firſt* after Satan and Beëlzebub. The name *Moloch* ſignifies *king*, and he is call'd *horrid* king, becauſe of the human ſacrifices which were made to him. This idol is ſuppoſed by ſome to be the ſame as Saturn, to whom the Heathens ſacrificed their children, and by others to be the Sun. It is ſaid in Scripture that the children *paſſed through the fire to Moloch*, and our author employs the ſame expreſſion, by which we muſt underſtand not that they always actually burnt their children in honor of this idol, but ſometimes made them only leap over the flames, or paſs nimbly between two fires, to purify them by that luſtration, and conſecrate them to this falſe deity. The Rabbins aſſure us that the idol *Moloch* was of braſs, ſitting on a throne of the ſame metal and wearing a

royal

Of human ſacrifice, and parents tears,
Though for the noiſe of drums and timbrels loud
Their childrens cries unheard, that paſs'd through fire
To his grim idol. Him the Ammonite
Worſhipt in Rabba and her watry plain,
In Argob and in Baſan, to the ſtream
Of utmoſt Arnon. Nor content with ſuch
Audacious neighbourhood, the wiſeſt heart
Of Solomon he led by fraud to build
His temple right againſt the temple of God
On that opprobrious hill, and made his grove

The

royal crown, having the head of a calf and his arms extended to receive the miſerable victims which were to be conſumed in the flames; and therefore is very properly ſtiled here *his grim idol.* He was the God of the *Ammonites*, and is called *the abomination of the children of Ammon*, 1 Kings XI. 7. and was worſhipped in *Rabba*, the capital city of the Ammonites, which David conquer'd, and took from thence the crown of their God *Milcom* as ſome render the words 2 Sam. XII. 30. and this *Rabba* being called *the city of waters*, 2 Sam. XII. 27. it is here ſaid *Rabba and her watry plain:* and likewiſe *in Argob and in Baſan*, neighbouring countries to *Rabba* and ſubject to the *Ammonites*, as far as *to the ſtream of utmoſt Arnon*, which river was the boundary of their country on the ſouth. *Solomon* built a temple to *Moloch* on the mount of Olives, 1 Kings XI. 7. therefore called *that opprobrious hill*; and high places and ſacrifices were made to him *in the pleaſant valley of Hinnom*, Jer. VII. 31. which lay ſouth-eaſt of Jeruſalem, and was called likewiſe *Tophet* from the Hebrew *Toph* a drum, drums and ſuch like noiſy inſtruments being uſed to drown the cries of the miſerable children who were offer'd to this idol, and *Gehenna* or *the valley of Hinnom* is in ſeveral places of the New Teſtament, and by our Saviour himſelf made *the name and type of Hell*, by reaſon of the fire that was kept up there to *Moloch*, and of the horrid groans and outcries of human ſacrifices. We might inlarge much more upon each of theſe idols, and produce a heap of learned authorities and quotations; but we endevor to be as ſhort as we can, and ſay no more than may ſerve as a ſufficient commentary to explain and illuſtrate our author.

The pleaſant valley of Hinnom, Tophet thence
And black Gehenna call'd, the type of Hell.
Next Chemos, th' óbſcene dread of Moab's ſons,
From Aroar to Nebo, and the wild
Of ſouthmoſt Abarim; in Heſebon
And Horonaim, Seon's realm, beyond
The flow'ry dale of Sibma clad with vines,
And Eleälé to th' Aſphaltic pool.
Peor his other name, when he entic'd
Iſrael in Sittim on their march from Nile

To

406. *Next Chemos*, &c.] He is rightly mention'd next after *Moloch*, as their names are join'd together in Scripture 1 Kings XI. 7. and it was a natural tranſition from the God of the Ammonites to the God of their neighbours the Moabites. St. Jerom and ſeveral learned men aſſert *Chemos* and *Baal Peor* to be only different names for the ſame idol, and ſuppoſe him to be the ſame with Priapus or the idol of turpitude, and therefore called here *th' obſcene dread of Moab's ſons*, *from Aroar* a city upon the river Arnon, the boundary of their country to the north, afterwards belonging to the tribe of Gad, *to Nebo*, a city eaſtward, afterwards belonging to the tribe of Reuben, *and the wild of ſouthmoſt Abarim*, a ridge of mountains the boundary of their country to the ſouth; *in Heſebon* or Heſhbon, *and Horonaim*, *Seon's realm*, two cities of the Moabites, taken from them by Sihon king of the Amorites, Numb. XXI. 26. *beyond the flow'ry dale of Sibma clad with vines*, a place famous for vineyards, as appears from Jer. XLVIII. 32. *O vine of Sibmah I will weep for thee*, and *Eleälé* another city of the Moabites not far from Heſhbon, *to th' Aſphaltic pool* the Dead Sea ſo call'd from the *Aſphaltus* or bitumen abounding in it; the river Jordan empties itſelf into it, and that river and this ſea were the boundary of the Moabites to the weſt. It was this God under the name of *Baal Peor*, that the Iſraelites were induced to worſhip in *Sittim*, and committed whoredom with the daughters of Moab, for which there died of the plague twenty and four thouſand, as we read in Numb. XXV. His high places were adjoining to thoſe of *Moloch* on the mount of Olives, therefore called here *that hill of ſcandal* as before *that opprobrious hill*, for *Solomon did build an high place for Chemoſh the abomination of Moab in the hill that is before Jeruſalem, and for Moloch the abomination of the children of Ammon*, 1 Kings XI. 7. But

good

To do him wanton rites, which coſt them woe.
Yet thence his luſtful orgies he inlarg'd
Ev'n to that hill of ſcandal, by the grove
Of Moloch homicide, luſt hard by hate;
Till good Joſiah drove them thence to Hell.
With theſe came they, who from the bord'ring flood
Of old Euphrates to the brook that parts
Egypt from Syrian ground, had general names
Of Baälim and Aſhtaroth, thoſe male,
Theſe feminine. For Spirits when they pleaſe

Can

good Joſiah brake in pieces their images, and cut down their groves. See 2 Kings XXIII. 13, 14.

415. *orgies*] Wild frantic rites; generally by *orgies* are underſtood the feaſts of Bacchus becauſe they were ſuch, but any other mad ceremonies may be ſo call'd, as here the lewd ones of Chemos or Peor. *Richardſon.*

419. --- *from the bord'ring flood*
Of old Euphrates &c.] It is rightly called *old*, being mention'd by the oldeſt hiſtorian in the earlieſt accounts of time, Gen. II. 14. And it is likewiſe called *the bord'ring flood*, being the utmoſt limit or border eaſtward of the promis'd land, according to Gen. XV. 18. *Unto thy ſeed have I given this land from the river of Egypt unto the great river, the river Euphrates:* and the Pſalmiſt ſpeaking of *the vine that was brought out of Egypt* ſays Pſal. LXXX. 11. *ſhe ſent out her boughs unto the ſea, and her branches unto the river*, that is from the Mediterranean to the river Euphrates: *to the brook that parts Egypt from Syrian ground*, moſt probably the brook Beſor mention'd in Scripture, near Rhinocolura, which city is aſſign'd ſometimes to Syria and ſometimes to Egypt.

422. *Baälim and Aſhtaroth*,] Theſe are properly named together, as they frequently are in Scripture; and there were many *Baälim* and many *Aſhtaroth*; they were the general names of the Gods and Goddeſſes of Syria, Paleſtine, and the neighbouring countries. It is ſuppoſed that by them is meant the ſun and the hoſt of Heaven.

423. *For Spirits when they pleaſe* &c.] Theſe notions about Spirits ſeem to have been borrow'd from Michael Pſellus his dialogue about the operation of Demons, where a ſtory is related of a Demon's appearing in the ſhape of a woman; and upon this a doubt is rais'd whether ſome Demons are males, and others females; and it is aſſerted that they can aſſume either ſex, and take what ſhape and color they

Can either ſex aſſume, or both; ſo ſoft
And uncompounded is their eſſence pure,
Not ty'd or manacled with joint or limb,
Nor founded on the brittle ſtrength of bones,
Like cumbrous fleſh; but in what ſhape they chooſe
Dilated or condens'd, bright or obſcure,
Can execute their aery purpoſes,
And works of love or enmity fulfil.
For thoſe the race of Iſrael oft forſook
Their living ſtrength, and unfrequented left
His righteous altar, bowing lowly down
To beſtial Gods; for which their heads as low
Bow'd

pleaſe, and contract or dilate themſelves at pleaſure, as they are of an aery nature. διο και εκας@ γε αυτων, τοτε σωμα περος ο αν αιροιτο σχημα μετατυπωσας, και χρωματ@ τιν@ ειδ@ περ@ το τε σωματος εξανισχων περας, ποτε μεν ως ανηρ εμφανιζεται, ποτε δε περος γυναικ μεταβαλλει μορφην &c. See Μιχαηλις τε Ψελλε περι ενεργειας δαιμονων διαλογος. p. 70.--- 77. Edit. Lutet. Pariſ. 1615. Such an extraordinary ſcholar was Milton, and ſuch uſe he made of all ſorts of authors.

437. *With theſe in troop* &c.] *Aſtoreth* or *Aſtarte* was the Goddeſs of the *Phœnicians*, and the moon was adored under this name. She is rightly ſaid to *come in troop* with Aſhtaroth, as ſhe was one of them, the moon with the ſtars. Sometimes ſhe is called *queen of Heaven*, Jer. VII. 18. and XLIV. 17, 18. She is likewiſe called *the Goddeſs of the Zidonians*, 1 Kings XI. 5. *and the abomination of the Zidonians*, 2 Kings XXIII. 13. as ſhe was worſhipped very much in *Zidon* or *Sidon*, a famous city of the *Phœnicians*, ſituated upon the Mediterranean. Solomon, who had many wives that were foreigners, was prevail'd upon by them to introduce the worſhip of this Goddeſs into Iſrael, 1 Kings XI. 5. and built her temple on the mount of Olives, which on account of this and other idols is called *the mountain of corruption*, 2 Kings XXIII. 13. as here by the poet *th' offenſive mountain*, and before *that opprobrious hill*, and *that hill of ſcandal*.

446. *Thammuz came next* &c.] The account of *Thammuz* is finely romantic, and ſuitable to

Bow'd down in battel, ſunk before the ſpear
Of deſpicable foes. With theſe in troop
Came Aſtoreth, whom the Phœnicians call'd
Aſtarte, queen of Heav'n, with crefcent horns;
To whoſe bright image nightly by the moon
Sidonian virgins paid their vows and ſongs,
In Sion alſo not unſung, where ſtood
Her temple on th' offenſive mountain, built
By that uxorious king, whoſe heart though large,
Beguil'd by fair idolatreſſes, fell
To idols foul. Thammuz came next behind,
Whoſe annual wound in Lebanon allur'd

The

to what we read among the Ancients of the worſhip which was paid to that idol. The reader will pardon me, if I inſert as a note on this beautiful paſſage, the account given us by the late ingenious Mr. Maundrel of this ancient piece of worſhip, and probably the firſt occaſion of ſuch a ſuperſtition. "We came "to a fair large river --- doubtleſs the ancient "river Adonis, ſo famous for the idolatrous "rites performed here in lamentation of "Adonis. We had the fortune to ſee what "may be ſuppoſed to be the occaſion of that "opinion which Lucian relates, *viz.* that this "ſtream at certain ſeaſons of the year, eſpe-"cially about the feaſt of Adonis, is of a "bloody color; which the Heathens looked "upon as proceeding from a kind of ſym-"pathy in the river for the death of Adonis, "who was kill'd by a wild boar in the moun-"tains, out of which this ſtream riſes. Some-"thing like this we ſaw actually come to paſs; "for the water was ſtain'd to a ſurpriſing red-"neſs; and as we obſerved in traveling, had "diſcolor'd the ſea a great way into a reddiſh "hue, occaſion'd doubtleſs by a ſort of mi-"nium or red earth, waſh'd into the river by "the violence of the rain, and not by any "ſtain from Adonis's blood." *Addiſon.* *Thammuz* was the God of the Syrians, the ſame with Adonis, who according to the traditions died every year and reviv'd again. He was ſlain by a wild boar in mount *Lebanon*, from whence the river Adonis deſcends: and when this river began to be of a reddiſh hue,

as

The Syrian Damſels to lament his fate
In amorous ditties all a ſummer's day,
While ſmooth Adonis from his native rock
Ran purple to the ſea, ſuppos'd with blood
Of Thammuz yearly wounded: the love-tale
Infected Sion's daughters with like heat,
Whoſe wanton paſſions in the ſacred porch
Ezekiel ſaw, when by the viſion led
His eye ſurvey'd the dark idolatries
Of alienated Judah. Next came one

Who

as it did at a certain ſeaſon of the year, this was their ſignal for celebrating their Adonia or feaſts of Adonis, and the women made loud lamentations for him, ſuppoſing the river was diſcolor'd with his blood. The like idolatrous rites were transferred to Jeruſalem, where Ezekiel ſaw the women lamenting *Tammuz*, Ezek. VIII. 13, 14. *He ſaid alſo unto me, Turn thee yet again, and thou ſhalt ſee greater abominations that they do. Then he brought me to the door of the gate of the Lord's houſe, which was towards the north, and behold there ſat women weeping for Tammuz.* Dr. Pemberton in his Obſervations upon poetry quotes ſome of theſe verſes upon *Thammuz* as diſtinguiſhably melodious; and they are obſerved to be not unlike thoſe beautiful lines in Shakeſpear 1 Hen. IV. Act. III. and particularly in the ſweetneſs of the numbers;

As ſweet as ditties highly penn'd,
Sung by a fair queen in a ſummer's bower,
With raviſhing diviſion to her lute.

457. ---- *Next came one*
Who mourn'd in earneſt, &c.] The lamentations for Adonis were without reaſon, but there was real occaſion for *Dagon*'s mourning, when the ark of God was taken by the Philiſtines, and being placed in the temple of *Dagon*, the next morning *behold Dagon was fallen upon his face to the ground before the ark of the Lord; and the head of Dagon and both the palms of his hands were cut off upon the threſhold* (*upon the grunſel* or groundſil *edge*, as Milton expreſſes it, on the edge of the footpoſt of his temple gate) *only the ſtump of Dagon was left to him* as we read 1 Sam. V. 4. Learned men are by no means agreed in their accounts of this idol. Some derive the name from *Dagan* which ſignifies corn, as if he was the inventor of it; others

Who mourn'd in earneſt, when the captive ark
Maim'd his brute image, head and hands lopt off
In his own temple, on the grunſel edge,
Where he fell flat, and ſham'd his worſhippers:
Dagon his name, ſea monſter, upward man
And downward fiſh: yet had his temple high
Rear'd in Azotus, dreaded through the coaſt
Of Paleſtine, in Gath and Aſcalon,
And Accaron and Gaza's frontier bounds.
Him follow'd Rimmon, whoſe delightful ſeat

Was

others from *Dag*, which ſignifies a fiſh, and repreſent him accordingly with the upper part of a man, and the lower part of a fiſh. Our author follows the latter opinion, which is that commonly receiv'd, and has beſides the authority of the learned Selden. This *Dagon* is called in Scripture the God of the Philiſtines, and was worſhipped in the five principal cities of the Philiſtines, mention'd 1 Sam. VI. 17. *Azotus* or Aſhdod where he had a temple as we read in 1 Sam. V. *Gath*, and *Aſcalon*, and *Accaron*, or Ekron, and *Gaza* where they had ſacrifices and feaſtings in honor of him. Judg. XVI. *Gaza's frontier bounds*, ſays the poet, as it was the ſouthern extremity of the promis'd land toward Egypt. It is mention'd by Moſes as the ſouthern point of the land of Canaan. Gen. X. 19.

467. *Him follow'd Rimmon*, &c.] *Rimmon* was a God of the Syrians, but it is not certain what he was, or why ſo call'd. We only know that he had a temple at *Damaſcus*, 2 Kings V. 18. the moſt celebrated city of Syria, *on the banks of Abbana and Pharphar, rivers of Damaſcus*, as they are called 2 Kings V. 12. *A leper once he loſt*, Naaman the Syrian who was cur'd of his leproſy by Eliſha, and who for that reaſon reſolv'd thenceforth to *offer neither burnt-offering nor ſacrifice to any other God, but unto the Lord*, 2 Kings V. 17. *And gain'd a king, Ahaz his ſottiſh conqu'ror*, who with the aſſiſtance of the king of Aſſyria having taken Damaſcus, ſaw there an altar, and ſent a pattern of it to Jeruſalem to have another made by it, directly contrary to the command of God, who had appointed what kind of altar he would have (Exod. XXVII. 1, 2, &c.) and had order'd that no other ſhould be made of any matter or figure whatſoever. Ahaz however upon his return remov'd the altar of the

Lord

Was fair Damaſcus, on the fertil banks
Of Abbana and Pharphar, lucid ſtreams.
He alſo' againſt the houſe of God was bold:
A leper once he loſt, and gain'd a king,
Ahaz his ſottiſh conqu'ror, whom he drew
God's altar to diſparage and diſplace
For one of Syrian mode, whereon to burn
His odious offerings, and adore the Gods
Whom he had vanquiſh'd. After theſe appear'd
A crew who under names of old renown,
Oſiris, Iſis, Orus, and their train,

With

Lord from its place, and ſet up this new altar in its ſtead, *and offer'd thereon*, 2 Kings XVI. 10. &c. and thenceforth gave himſelf up to idolatry, and inſtead of the God of Iſrael *he ſacrific'd unto the Gods of Damaſcus*, 2 Chron. XXVIII. 23. whom he had ſubdued.

478. *Oſiris, Iſis, Orus, and their train*, &c.] *Oſiris* and *Iſis* were the principal deities of the Egyptians, by which it is moſt probable they originally meant the ſun and moon. *Orus* was the ſon of Oſiris and Iſis, frequently confounded with Apollo: and theſe and the other Gods of the Egyptians were worſhipped *in monſtrous ſhapes*, bulls, cats, dogs, *&c.* and the reaſon alledged for this monſtrous worſhip is deriv'd from the fabulous tradition, that when the giants invaded Heaven, the Gods were ſo affrighted that they fled into Egypt, and there concealed themſelves in the ſhapes of various animals; and the Egyptians afterwards out of gratitude worſhipped the creatures, whoſe ſhapes the Gods had aſſum'd. Ovid. Met. V. 319. &c. where is an account of their tranſformations: and therefore Milton here calls them

Their wand'ring Gods diſguis'd in brutiſh forms
Rather than human.

482. --- *Nor did Iſrael 'ſcape*
Th' infection, &c.] The Iſraelites by dwelling ſo long in Egypt were infected with the ſuperſtitions of the Egyptians, and in all probability made the golden calf, or ox (for ſo it is differently call'd, Pſal. CVI. 19, 20.) in imitation of that which repreſented Oſiris, and out of the golden earings, which it is moſt likely they borrow'd of the Egyptians, Exod. XII. 35. *The calf in Oreb*, and ſo the Pſalmiſt,

They

With monſtrous ſhapes and ſorceries abus'd
Fanatic Egypt and her prieſts, to ſeek
Their wand'ring Gods diſguis'd in brutiſh forms
Rather than human. Nor did Iſrael 'ſcape
Th' infection, when their borrow'd gold compos'd
The calf in Oreb; and the rebel king
Doubled that ſin in Bethel and in Dan,
Likening his Maker to the grazed ox,
Jehovah, who in one night when he paſs'd
From Egypt marching, equal'd with one ſtroke
Both her firſt-born and all her bleating Gods.

Belial

They made a calf in Horeb, Pſal. CVI. 19. while Moſes was upon the mount with God. *And the rebel king*, Jeroboam made king by the Iſraelites who rebelled againſt Rehoboam, 1 Kings XII. *doubled that ſin* by making two golden calves, probably in imitation of the Egyptians with whom he had converſed, who had a couple of oxen which they worſhipped, one called Apis at Memphis the metropolis of the upper Egypt, and the other Mnevis at Hierapolis the chief city of the lower Egypt: and he ſet them up *in Bethel and in Dan*, the two extremities of the kingdom of Iſrael, the former in the ſouth, the latter in the north. *Likening his Maker to the grazed ox*, alluding to Pſal. CVI. 20. *Thus they changed their glory into the ſimilitude of an ox that eateth graſs: Jehovah, who in one night when he paſs'd from Egypt marching*, for the children of Iſrael not only *paſs'd* from Egypt, but *march'd* in a warlike manner, and the Lord brought them out, the Lord went before them: *equal'd with one ſtroke both her firſt-born and all her bleating Gods*, for the Lord ſlew *all the firſt-born in the land of Egypt both man and beaſt, and upon their Gods alſo the Lord executed judgments.* Exod. XII. 12. Num. XXXIII. 4. and Milton means all their Gods in general, tho' he ſays *bleating Gods* in particular, borrowing the metaphor from ſheep, and uſing it for the cry of any ſort of beaſts. Dr. Bentley ſays indeed that the Egyptians did not worſhip ſheep, they only abſtain'd from eating them: but (as Dr. Pearce replies) was not Jupiter Ammon worſhipped under a ram, hence *corniger Ammon?* Clemens Alexandrinus tells us that the people of Sais and Thebes worſhipped ſheep; and R. Jarchi upon Gen. XLVI. 34. ſays that

Belial came laſt, than whom a Spi'rit more lewd
Fell not from Heaven, or more groſs to love
Vice for itſelf: to him no temple ſtood
Or altar ſmok'd; yet who more oft than he
In temples and at altars, when the prieſt
Turns atheiſt, as did Eli's ſons, who fill'd
With luſt and violence the houſe of God?
In courts and palaces he alſo reigns
And in luxurious cities, where the noiſe

Of

a ſhepherd was therefore an abomination to the Egyptians, becauſe the Egyptians worſhipped ſheep as Gods. We may farther add, that Onkelos, Jonathan, and ſeveral others are of the ſame opinion, and ſay that ſhepherds were an abomination to the Egyptians, becauſe they had no greater regard to thoſe creatures which the Egyptians worſhipped, than to breed them up to be eaten. Theſe authorities are ſufficient to juſtify our poet for calling them *bleating Gods*; he might make uſe of that epithet as one of the moſt inſignificant and contemptible, with the ſame air of diſdain as Virgil ſays Æn. VIII. 698.

Omnigenûmque deûm monſtra & *latrator* Anubis;

and ſo returns to his ſubject, and ends the paſſage as he began it, with the Gods of Egypt.

490. *Belial came laſt*, &c.] The characters of *Moloch* and *Belial* prepare the reader's mind for their reſpective ſpeeches and behaviour in the ſecond and ſixth book. *Addiſon.* And they are very properly made, one the firſt, and the other the laſt, in this catalogue, as they both make ſo great a figure afterwards in the poem. *Moloch* the firſt, as he was *the fierceſt Spirit that fought in Heaven*, II. 44. and *Belial* the laſt, as he is repreſented as the moſt *timorous and ſlothful*, II. 117. It doth not appear that he was ever worſhipped; but lewd profligate fellows, ſuch as regard neither God nor Man, are called in Scripture *the children of Belial*, Deut. XIII. 13. So the ſons of Eli are call'd 1 Sam. II. 12. *Now the ſons of Eli were ſons of Belial, they knew not the Lord.* So the men of Gibeah, who abus'd the Levite's wife, Judg. XIX. 22. are called likwiſe *ſons of Belial*; which are the particular inſtances here given by our author.

502. --- *flown with inſolence and wine.*] I have heard a conjecture of ſome body propoſing to read *blown* inſtead of *flown*, blown with inſolence and wine, as there is in Virgil *inflatus Iaccho*, Ecl. VI. 15.

Inflatum heſterno venas, ut ſemper, *Iaccho.*

But

Of ri'ot aſcends above their loftieſt towers,
And injury and outrage: And when night
Darkens the ſtreets, then wander forth the ſons
Of Belial, flown with inſolence and wine.
Witneſs the ſtreets of Sodom, and that night
In Gibeah, when the hoſpitable door
Expos'd a matron to avoid worſe rape.
Theſe were the prime in order and in might;
The reſt were long to tell, though far renown'd,
Th' Ionian

But *flown* I conceive is a participle from the verb *fly*, and the meaning is that they were raiſed and highten'd with inſolence and wine, inſolence and wine made them *fly out* into theſe extravagances. Or as others think, it may be a participle from the verb *flow*, as *overflown* is ſometimes uſed for overflow'd.

504. --- *when the hoſpitable door*
Expos'd a matron to avoid worſe rape.] So Milton caus'd it to be printed in the ſecond edition; the firſt ran thus,

---- when hoſpitable *doors*
Yielded their matrons to prevent worſe rape.

And Milton did well in altering the paſſage: for it was not true of *Sodom*, that any *matron* was yielded there; the women *had not known man*, Gen. XIX. 8. and as they were only offer'd not accepted, it is not proper to ſay that they were *yielded*. But obſerve that Milton in the ſecond edition changed *yielded* into *expos'd*, becauſe in what was done at Gibeah, Judg. XIX. 25. the Levite's wife was not only *yielded*, but put out of doors and *expos'd* to the men's lewdneſs. Why then does Dr. Bentley prefer Milton's firſt reading to his ſecond, when he alter'd the paſſage to make it more agreeable to the Scriptural ſtory? *Pearce.*

506. *Theſe were the prime*] It is obſerved by Macrobius and others, in commendation of Homer's catalogue of ſhips and warriors, that he hath therein mention'd every body who doth, and no body who doth not afterwards make his appearance in the poem: whereas it is otherwiſe in Virgil; ſome have a place in the liſt, who are never heard of in the battels, and others make a figure in the battels, who are not taken notice of in the liſt. Neither hath Milton in this reſpect attain'd Homer's excellence and beauty; but then it ſhould be conſider'd what was his intent and purpoſe in this catalogue. It was not poſſible for him to exhibit as complete a catalogue of the fallen Angels, as Homer hath given us of the Grecian and Trojan commanders; and as it was not poſſible or indeed proper, ſo neither was it at

Th' Ionian Gods, of Javan's iſſue held
Gods, yet confeſs'd later than Heav'n and Earth,
Their boaſted parents; Titan Heav'n's firſt-born,
With his enormous brood, and birthright ſeis'd
By younger Saturn; he from mightier Jove
His own and Rhea's ſon like meaſure found;
So Jove uſurping reign'd: theſe firſt in Crete
And Ida known, thence on the ſnowy top
Of cold Olympus rul'd the middle air,
Their higheſt Heav'n; or on the Delphian cliff,
Or in Dodona, and through all the bounds
Of Doric land; or who with Saturn old
Fled over Adria to th' Heſperian fields,

And

all his intention. He propos'd only to mention the chief, and ſuch who were known in Paleſtine and the neighbouring countries, and had encroach'd upon the worſhip of the God of Iſrael: and what he propos'd he hath executed with wonderful learning and judgment. He hath inlarg'd very much upon each of theſe idols, as he drew moſt of his materials from Scripture: *The reſt were long to tell*, the reſt he ſlightly paſſes over, as our knowledge of them is deriv'd only from fabulous antiquity.

508. *Th' Ionian Gods, of Javan's iſſue held Gods*, &c.] *Javan*, the fourth ſon of Japhet, and grandſon of Noah, is ſuppoſed to have ſettled in the ſouth-weſt part of Aſia Minor, about *Ionia*, which contains the radical letters of his name. His deſcendents were the *Ionians* and Grecians; and the principal of their Gods were Heaven and Earth; *Titan* was their eldeſt ſon, he was father of the giants, and his empire was ſeiſed by his younger brother *Saturn*, as Saturn's was by *Jupiter* ſon of Saturn and Rhea. Theſe firſt were known in the iland *Crete*, now Candia, in which is mount *Ida*, where Jupiter is ſaid to have been born; thence paſſed over into Greece, and reſided on mount *Olympus* in Theſſaly, *the ſnowy top of cold Olympus*, as Homer calls it, Ολυμπον αγαν-

νιφαν,

And o'er the Celtic roam'd the utmoſt iles.
All theſe and more came flocking; but with looks
Down caſt and damp, yet ſuch wherein appear'd
Obſcure ſome glimpſe of joy, to' have found their chief
Not in deſpair, to' have found themſelves not loſt
In loſs itſelf; which on his count'nance caſt
Like doubtful hue: but he his wonted pride
Soon recollecting, with high words, that bore
Semblance of worth not ſubſtance, gently rais'd
Their fainting courage, and diſpell'd their fears.
Then ſtrait commands that at the warlike ſound
Of trumpets loud and clarions be uprear'd
His mighty ſtandard: that proud honor clam'd

Azazel

νιφον, Iliad. I. 420. which mountain afterwards became the name of Heaven among their worſhippers; *or on the Delphian cliff*, Parnaſſus, whereon was ſeated the city Delphi famous for the temple and oracle of Apollo; *or in Dodona*, a city and wood adjoining ſacred to Jupiter; *and through all the bounds of Doric land*, that is of Greece, Doris being a part of Greece; *or fled over Adria*, the Adriatic, *to th' Heſperian fields*, to Italy; *and o'er the Celtic*, France and the other countries overrun by the Celtes, *roam'd the utmoſt iles*, Great Britain, Ireland, the Orkneys, Thule or Iceland, *Ultima Thule*, as it is call'd, the utmoſt boundary of the world. Such explications are needleſs to thoſe who are converſant with the claſſic authors; they are written for thoſe who are not.

530. *Their fainting courage*,] In the firſt edition he gave it *Their fainted courage*, if that be not an error of the preſs.

532. *Of trumpets loud and clarions*] A clarion is a ſmall ſhrill treble trumpet, a claro quem edit ſono. *Hume.* So Fairfax mentions and diſtinguiſhes them; Cant. I. St. 71.

When trumpets loud and clarions ſhrill were heard.

533. --- *that proud honor clam'd*
Azazel as his right, a Cherub tall;] *Azazel* is not

Azazel as his right, a Cherub tall;
Who forthwith from the glittering ſtaff unfurl'd
Th' imperial enſign, which full high advanc'd
Shone like a meteor ſtreaming to the wind,
With gems and golden luſtre rich imblaz'd,
Seraphic arms and trophies; all the while
Sonorous metal blowing martial ſounds:
At which the univerſal hoſt up ſent
A ſhout, that tore Hell's concave, and beyond
Frighted the reign of Chaos and old Night.
All in a moment through the gloom were ſeen
Ten thouſand banners riſe into the air
With orient colors waving: with them roſe

A

not the *ſcape-goat*, as it is commonly call'd, but ſignifies ſome Demon, as the learned Dr. Spencer hath abundantly proved in his diſſertation *De hirco emiſſario*. He ſhows that this name is uſed for ſome Demon or Devil by ſeveral ancient authors Jewiſh and Chriſtian, and derives it from two Hebrew words *Az* and *Azel* ſignifying *brave in retreating*, a proper appellation for the ſtandard-bearer to the fall'n Angels. We ſee Milton gives *Azazel* a *right* to be ſtandard-bearer on account of his ſtature; he had no notion of a dapper enſign who can hardly carry his colors.

535. *Who forthwith* &c.] There are ſeveral other ſtrokes in the firſt book wonderfully poetical, and inſtances of that ſublime genius ſo peculiar to the author. Such is the deſcription of Azazel's ſtature, and of the infernal ſtandard which he unfurls; as alſo of that ghaſtly light, by which the fiends appear to one another in their place of torments: the ſhout of the whole hoſt of fallen Angels when drawn up in battel array: the review which the leader makes of his infernal army: the flaſh of light which appear'd upon the drawing of their ſwords: the ſudden production of the Pandemonium: and the artificial illuminations made in it. *Addiſon.*

543. *Frighted*

A foreſt huge of ſpears; and thronging helms
Appear'd, and ferried ſhields in thick array
Of depth immeaſurable: anon they move
In perfect phalanx to the Dorian mood
Of flutes and ſoft recorders; ſuch as rais'd
To highth of nobleſt temper heroes old
Arming to battel, and inſtead of rage
Deliberate valor breath'd, firm and unmov'd
With dread of death to flight or foul retreat;
Nor wanting pow'r to mitigate and ſwage
With ſolemn touches troubled thoughts, and chaſe
Anguiſh and doubt and fear and ſorr'ow and pain
From mortal or immortal minds. Thus they
Breathing

543. *Frighted the reign of Chaos and old Night.*] *Reign* is uſed like the Latin *regnum* for kingdom: and ſo in Spenſer's Fairy Queen, B. 2. Cant. 7. St. 21.

That ſtrait did lead to Pluto's griſly *reign.*

548. --- *ferried ſhields*] Lock'd one within another, link'd and claſp'd together, from the French *ferrer*, to lock, to ſhut cloſe. *Hume.*

550. --- *to the Dorian mood* &c.] All accounts of the muſic of the Ancients are very uncertain and confus'd. There ſeem to have been three principal modes or meaſures among them, the *Lydian*, the *Phrygian*, and the *Dorian.* The *Lydian* was the moſt doleful, the *Phrygian* the moſt ſprightly, and the *Dorian* the moſt grave and majeſtic. And Milton in another part of his works uſes *grave* and *Doric* almoſt as ſynonymous terms. "If we think "to regulate printing, thereby to rectify "manners, we muſt regulate all recreations "and paſtimes, all that is delightful to man. "No muſic muſt be heard, no ſong be ſet or "ſung, but what is *grave and Doric.*" (See his Speech for the liberty of unlicenc'd Printing. Vol. I. p. 149. Edit. 1738.) This therefore was the meaſure beſt adapted to the fall'n Angels at this juncture; and their inſtruments were *flutes* and

Breathing united force with fixed thought
Mov'd on in ſilence to ſoft pipes, that charm'd
Their painful ſteps o'er the burnt ſoil; and now
Advanc'd in view they ſtand, a horrid front
Of dreadful length and dazling arms, in guiſe
Of warriors old with order'd ſpear and ſhield,
Awaiting what command their mighty chief
Had to impoſe: He through the armed files
Darts his experienc'd eye, and ſoon traverſe
The whole battalion views, their order due,
Their viſages and ſtature as of Gods,
Their

and *pipes* and *ſoft recorders*, for the ſame reaſon that Thucydides and other ancient hiſtorians aſſign for the Lacedemonians making uſe of theſe inſtruments, becauſe they inſpir'd them with a more cool and deliberate courage, whereas trumpets and other martial muſic incited and inflam'd them more to rage. See Aulus Gellius, Lib. I. cap. 11. and Thucyd. L. 5.

560. *Breathing united force with fixed thought Mov'd on in ſilence*] Thus Homer makes the Grecians march on in ſilence breathing force, Iliad. III. 8.

Οι δ' αρ ισαν στηη μενεα πνειοντες Αχαιοι,
Εν Θυμω κ. τ. λ.

567. ---- *He through the armed files Darts his experienc'd eye,* ---] Not unlike that in Shakeſpear, Anth. & Cleop. Act I.

---- thoſe his goodly eyes
That o'er the files and muſters of the war
Have glow'd like plated Mars.

575. ---- *that ſmall infantry Warr'd on by cranes*;] All the heroes and armies that ever were aſſembled were no more than pygmies in compariſon with theſe Angels; *though all the giant brood of Phlegra*, a city of Macedonia, where the giants fought with the Gods, *with th' heroic race were join'd that fought at Thebes*, a city in Bœotia, famous for the war between the ſons of Oedipus, celebrated by Statius in his Thebaid, *and Ilium* made ſtill more famous by Homer's Iliad, where *on each ſide* the heroes were aſſiſted by the Gods, therefore call'd *auxiliar Gods*; *and what reſounds* even *in fable or romance of Uther's ſon*, king Arthur, ſon of Uther Pendragon, whoſe exploits are

Their number laſt he ſums. And now his heart
Diſtends with pride, and hard'ning in his ſtrength
Glories: for never ſince created man,
Met ſuch imbodied force, as nam'd with theſe
Could merit more than that ſmall infantry
Warr'd on by cranes; though all the giant brood
Of Phlegra with th' heroic race were join'd
That fought at Thebes and Ilium, on each ſide
Mix'd with auxiliar Gods; and what reſounds
In fable or romance of Uther's ſon
Begirt with Britiſh and Armoric knights;

And

are romanticly extoll'd by Geoffry of Monmouth, *begirt with Britiſh and Armoric knights*, for he was often in alliance with the king of Armorica, ſince called Bretagne, of the Britons who ſettled there; *and all who ſince jouſted in Aſpramont or Montalban*, romantic names of places mention'd in Orlando Furioſo, the latter perhaps Montauban in France, *Damaſco or Marocco*, Damaſcus or Morocco, but he calls them as they are call'd in romances, or *Trebiſond*, a city of Cappadocia in the leſſer Aſia, all theſe places are famous in romances for jouſtings between the *baptiz'd and infidels*; *or whom Biſerta*, formerly call'd Utica, *ſent from Afric ſhore*, that is the Saracens who paſs'd from Biſerta in Africa to Spain, *when Charlemain with all his peerage fell by Fontarabbia*, Charlemain king of France and emperor of Germany about the year 800 undertook a war againſt the Saracens in Spain, and Mariana and the Spaniſh hiſtorians are Milton's authors for ſaying that he and his army were routed in this manner at Fontarabbia (which is a ſtrong town in Biſcay at the very entrance into Spain, and eſteem'd the key of the kingdom): but Mezeray and the French writers give a quite different and more probable account of him, that he was at laſt victorious over his enemies and died in peace. And tho' we cannot agree with Dr. Bentley in rejecting ſome of theſe lines as ſpurious, yet it is much to be wiſh'd that our poet had not ſo far indulged his taſte for romances, of which he profeſſes himſelf to have been fond in his younger years, and had not been oſtentatious of ſuch reading, as perhaps had better never have been read.

And all who ſince, baptiz'd or infidel,
Jouſted in Aſpramont or Montalban,
Damaſco, or Marocco, or Trebiſond,
Or whom Biſerta ſent from Afric ſhore,
When Charlemain with all his peerage fell
By Fontarabbia. Thus far theſe beyond
Compare of mortal proweſs, yet obſerv'd
Their dread commander: he above the reſt
In ſhape and geſture proudly eminent
Stood like a tow'r; his form had yet not loſt
All her original brightneſs, nor appear'd
Leſs than Arch-Angel ruin'd, and th' exceſs
Of glory' obſcur'd: as when the ſun new riſen
Looks through the horizontal miſty air
Shorn of his beams, or from behind the moon

In

589. *he above the reſt*, &c.] What a noble deſcription is here of Satan's perſon! and how different from the common and ridiculous repreſentations of him, with horns and a tail and cloven feet! and yet Taſſo hath ſo deſcrib'd him, Cant. IV. The greateſt maſters in painting had not ſuch ſublime ideas as Milton, and among all their Devils have drawn no portrait comparable to this; as every body muſt allow who hath ſeen the pictures or the prints of Michael and the Devil by Raphael, and of the ſame by Guido, and of the laſt judgment by Michael Angelo.

598. --- *and with fear of change*
Perplexes monarchs.] It is ſaid that this noble poem was in danger of being ſuppreſs'd by the Licencer on account of this ſimile, as if it contain'd ſome latent treaſon in it: but it is ſaying little more than poets have ſaid under the moſt abſolute monarchies; as Virgil Georg. I. 464.

--- Ille etiam cæcos inſtare tumultus
Sæpe

In dim eclipſe diſaſtrous twilight ſheds
On half the nations, and with fear of change
Perplexes monarchs. Darken'd ſo, yet ſhone
Above them all th' Arch-Angel: but his face
Deep ſcars of thunder had intrench'd, and care
Sat on his faded cheek, but under brows
Of dauntleſs courage, and conſiderate pride
Waiting revenge: cruel his eye, but caſt
Signs of remorſe and paſſion to behold
The fellows of his crime, the followers rather
(Far other once beheld in bliſs) condemn'd
For ever now to have their lot in pain,
Millions of Spirits for his fault amerc'd
Of Heav'n, and from eternal ſplendors flung
For his revolt, yet faithful how they ſtood,
Their

Sæpe monet, fraudemque, et operta tumeſcere bella.

600. ---- *his face*

Deep ſcars of thunder had intrench'd,] Had cut into, had made trenches there, of the French *trencher* to cut. Shakeſpear uſes the ſame word ſpeaking of a ſcar, *It was this very ſword* intrench'd *it*. All's well that ends well, Act II.

609. ---- *amerc'd*] This word is not uſed here in its proper law-ſenſe, of mulct'd, fin'd, *&c.* but as Mr. Hume rightly obſerves has a ſtrange affinity with the Greek αμερδω, to deprive, to take away, as Homer has uſed it much to our purpoſe.

Οφθαλμων μεν αμερσε, διδου δ' ηδειαν αοιδην.

The Muſe amerc'd him of his eyes, but gave him the faculty of ſinging ſweetly. Odyſſ. VIII. 64. And I very well remember to have read the word uſed in the ſame ſenſe ſomewhere in Spenſer, but cannot at preſent turn to the place.

611. --- *yet faithful how they ſtood,*] To ſee

Their glory wither'd: as when Heaven's fire
Hath ſcath'd the foreſt oaks, or mountain pines,
With ſinged top their ſtately growth though bare
Stands on the blaſted heath. He now prepar'd
To ſpeak; whereat their doubled ranks they bend
From wing to wing, and half incloſe him round
With all his peers: attention held them mute.
Thrice he aſſay'd, and thrice in ſpite of ſcorn
Tears, ſuch as Angels weep, burſt forth: at laſt
Words interwove with ſighs found out their way.

O Myriads of immortal Spi'rits, O Powers
Matchleſs, but with th' Almighty, and that ſtrife
Was not inglorious, though th' event was dire,
As this place teſtifies, and this dire change
Hateful to utter: but what pow'r of mind

Fore-

the true conſtruction of this we muſt go back to ver. 605 for the verb. The ſenſe then is this, to *behold* the fellows of his crime, condemned &c. yet how they ſtood faithful.

Richardſon.

612. --- *as when Heaven's fire*

Had ſcath'd &c.] Hath hurt, hath damag'd; a word frequently uſed in Chaucer, Spenſer, Shakeſpear, and our old writers. This is a very beautiful and cloſe ſimile; it repreſents the majeſtic ſtature, and wither'd glory of the Angels; and the laſt with great propriety, ſince their luſtre was impair'd by thunder, as well as that of the trees in the ſimile: and beſides, the blaſted heath gives us ſome idea of that ſinged burning ſoil, on which the Angels were ſtanding. Homer and Virgil frequently uſe compariſons from trees, to expreſs the ſtature or falling of a hero, but none of them are apply'd with ſuch variety and propriety of circumſtances as this of Milton. See *An Eſſay upon Milton's imitations of the Ancients*, p. 24.

619. *Thrice*

Foreſeeing or preſaging, from the depth
Of knowledge paſt or preſent, could have fear'd,
How ſuch united force of Gods, how ſuch
As ſtood like theſe, could ever know repulſe?
For who can yet believe, though after loſs,
That all theſe puiſſant legions, whoſe exile
Hath emptied Heav'n, ſhall fail to re-aſcend
Self-rais'd, and repoſſeſs their native ſeat?
For me be witneſs all the hoſt of Heaven,
If counſels different, or danger ſhunn'd
By me, have loſt our hopes. But he who reigns
Monarch in Heav'n, till then as one ſecure
Sat on his throne, upheld by old repute,
Conſent or cuſtom, and his regal ſtate
Put forth at full, but ſtill his ſtrength conceal'd,
Which

619. *Thrice he aſſay'd, and thrice ----- Tears burſt forth*] He had Ovid in his thought, Metam. XI. 419.

Ter conata loqui, ter fletibus ora rigavit. *Bentley.*

Tears ſuch as Angels weep, Like Homer's Ichor of the Gods which was different from the blood of mortals. This weeping of Satan on ſurveying his numerous hoſt, and the thoughts of their wretched ſtate, puts one in mind of the ſtory of Xerxes weeping on ſeeing his vaſt army, and reflecting that they were mortal, at the time that he was haſt'ning them to their fate, and to the intended deſtruction of the greateſt people in the world, to gratify his own vain glory.

623. ---- *and that ſtrife*
Was not inglorious,] Ovid. Met. IX. 6.

---- nec tam
Turpe fuit vinci, quam contendiſſe decorum eſt.

633. *Hath emptied Heav'n*,] It is conceiv'd that a third part of the Angels fell with Satan, according

Which tempted our attempt, and wrought our fall.
Henceforth his might we know, and know our own,
So as not either to provoke, or dread
New war, provok'd; our better part remains
To work in close design, by fraud or guile,
What force effected not: that he no less
At length from us may find, who overcomes
By force, hath overcome but half his foe.
Space may produce new worlds; whereof so rife
There went a fame in Heav'n that he ere long
Intended to create, and therein plant
A generation, whom his choice regard
Should favor equal to the sons of Heaven:
Thither, if but to pry, shall be perhaps
Our

according to Rev. XII. 4. *And his tail drew the third part of the stars of Heaven, and cast them to the earth*; and this opinion Milton hath express'd in several places, II. 692. V. 710. VI. 156: but Satan here talks big and magnifies their number, as if their *exile had emptied Heaven.*

642. *Which tempted our attempt,*] Words tho' well chosen and significative enough, yet of jingling and unpleasant sound, and like marriages between persons too near of kin, to be avoided. *Hume.* This kind of jingle was undoubtedly thought an elegance by Milton, and many instances of it may be shown not only in his works, but I believe in all the best poets both ancient and modern, tho' the latter I am afraid have been sometimes too liberal of them.

647. --- *that he no less* &c.] Satan had own'd just before, ver. 642. that they had been deceiv'd by God's concealing his strength; He now says, He also shall find himself mistaken in his turn; He shall find our cunning such as that tho' we have been overpower'd, we are not more than half subdued. *Richardson.*

662. *understood*] Not express'd, not openly declar'd,

Our firſt eruption, thither or elſewhere:
For this infernal pit ſhall never hold
Celeſtial Spirits in bondage, nor th' abyſs
Long under darkneſs cover. But theſe thoughts
Full counſel muſt mature: Peace is deſpair'd,
For who can think ſubmiſſion? War then, War
Open or underſtood muſt be reſolv'd.
He ſpake: and to confirm his words, out-flew
Millions of flaming ſwords, drawn from the thighs
Of mighty Cherubim; the ſudden blaze
Far round illumin'd Hell: highly they rag'd
Againſt the High'eſt, and fierce with graſped arms
Claſh'd on their ſounding ſhields the din of war,
Hurling defiance tow'ard the vault of Heaven.

There

declar'd, and yet imply'd: as when we ſay that a ſubſtantive or verb is *underſtood* in a ſentence. *Pearce.*

667. ---- *with graſped arms*] The known cuſtom of the Roman ſoldiers, when they applauded a ſpeech of their general, was to ſmite their ſhields with their ſwords. *Bentley.* And the epithet *graſped* join'd to *arms* determins the expreſſion to mean *ſwords* only, which were ſpoken of a little before, ver. 664. *Pearce.*

669. *Hurling defiance tow'ard the vault of Heaven.*] Dr. Bentley reads *the walls of Heaven*, Heaven the habitation of God and Angels being never deſcribed as *vaulted*; and Dr. Pearce approves the emendation; and without doubt the *wall* or *walls* of Heaven is a common expreſſion with our author. But may we not by *the vault of Heaven* underſtand *cæli convexa*, our viſible Heaven, which is often deſcribed as vaulted, the ſphere of the fixed ſtars above which God and Angels inhabit? Hurling defiance toward the *viſible* Heaven is in effect hurling defiance toward the *inviſible* Heaven, the ſeat of God and Angels.

671. *Belch'd*]

There ſtood a hill not far, whoſe griſly top
Belch'd fire and rolling ſmoke; the reſt entire
Shone with a gloſſy ſcurf, undoubted ſign
That in his womb was hid metallic ore,
The work of ſulphur. Thither wing'd with ſpeed
A numerous brigad haſten'd: as when bands
Of pioneers with ſpade and pickax arm'd
Forerun the royal camp, to trench a field,
Or caſt a rampart. Mammon led them on,
Mammon, the leaſt erected Spi'rit that fell
From Heav'n, for e'en in Heav'n his looks and thoughts
Were

671. *Belch'd*] So Virgil, Æn. III. 576. ſays *eructans* of Ætna, from which, or from mount Veſuvius, or the like, our poet took the idea of this mountain.

673. *That in his womb*] A very great man was obſerving one day a little inaccuracy of expreſſion in the poet's making this mountain a perſon and a male perſon, and at the ſame time attributing a *womb* to it: And perhaps it would have been better if he had written *its womb*; but *womb* is uſed in as large a ſenſe as the Latin *uterus*, which Virgil applies to a ſtag, Æn. VII. 490.

Ille manum patiens, menſæque aſſuetus herili,

but afterwards Aſcanius wounds him, ver. 499.

Perque *uterum* ſonitu, perque ilia venit arundo.

Virgil makes uſe of the ſame word again in ſpeaking of a wolf, Æn. XI. 809.

Ac velut ille ——
Occiſo paſtore lupus ——
—— caudamque remulcens
Subjecit pavitantem *utero*, ſylvaſque petivit.

674. *The work of ſulphur.*] For metals are ſuppoſed to conſiſt of two eſſential parts or principles; mercury, as the baſis or metallic matter; and ſulphur as the binder or cement, which fixes the fluid mercury into a coherent malleable maſs. See Chambers's Dict. of Sulphur.

678. *Mammon*] This name is Syriac, and ſignifies riches. *Ye cannot ſerve God and Mammon*, ſays our Saviour, Mat. VI. 24. and bids us *make to ourſelves friends of the Mammon of unrighteouſneſs*, Luke XVI. 9. and ver. 11. *If ye have not been faithful in the unrighteous Mammon, who will commit to your truſt the true?* Some look upon *Mammon* as the God of riches,

and

Were always downward bent, admiring more
The riches of Heav'n's pavement, trodden gold,
Than ought divine or holy elſe enjoy'd
In viſion beatific: by him firſt
Men alſo, and by his ſuggeſtion taught,
Ranſack'd the center, and with impious hands
Rifled the bowels of their mother earth
For treaſures better hid. Soon had his crew
Open'd into the hill a ſpacious wound,
And digg'd out ribs of gold. Let none admire
That riches grow in Hell; that ſoil may beſt

Deſerve

and *Mammon* is accordingly made a perſon by our poet, and was ſo by Spenſer before him, whoſe deſcription of *Mammon* and his cave our poet ſeems to have had his eye upon in ſeveral places.

682. *The riches of Heav'n's pavement, trodden gold,*] So Homer ſpeaks of the pavement of Heaven, as if it was of gold, χρυσεῳ εν δαπεδῳ, Iliad. IV. 2. And ſo the heavenly Jeruſalem is deſcribed by St. John, Rev. XXI. 21. *and the ſtreet of the city is pure gold.*

684. ---- *by him firſt*
Men alſo, and by his ſuggeſtion taught,] Dr. Bentley ſays, the poet aſſigns as *two* cauſes *him* and *his ſuggeſtion*, which are one and the ſame thing. This obſervation has the appearance of accuracy. But Milton is exact, and alludes in a beautiful manner to a ſuperſtitious opinion, generally believed amongſt the miners: That there are a ſort of Devils which converſe much in minerals, where they are frequently ſeen to buſy and employ themſelves in all the operations of the workmen; they will dig, cleanſe, melt, and ſeparate the metals. See G. Agricola de Animantibus ſubterraneis. So that Milton poetically ſuppoſes *Mammon* and his clan to have taught the ſons of earth by example and practical inſtruction, as well as precept and mental ſuggeſtion. *Warburton.*

687. *Rifled the bowels of their mother earth*]
--- Itum eſt in viſcera terræ,
Quaſque recondiderat, Stygiiſque admoverat umbris,
Effodiuntur opes. Ov. Met. I. 138, &c.
Hume.

688. *For treaſures better hid.*] Hor. Od. III. III. 49.
Aurum irrepertum, et ſic meliùs ſitum.

Deſerve the precious bane. And here let thoſe
Who boaſt in mortal things, and wond'ring tell
Of Babel, and the works of Memphian kings,
Learn how their greateſt monuments of fame,
And ſtrength and art are eaſily out-done
By Spirits reprobate, and in an hour
What in an age they with inceſſant toil
And hands innumerable ſcarce perform.
Nigh on the plain in many cells prepar'd,
That underneath had veins of liquid fire
Sluc'd from the lake, a ſecond multitude

With

694. ---- *and the works of Memphian kings,*] He ſeems to allude particularly to the famous Pyramids of Egypt, which were near Memphis.

Barbara Pyramidum ſileat miracula Memphis.
Mart.

695. *Learn how their greateſt monuments of fame,*
And ſtrength and art &c.] This paſſage has been miſunderſtood by Dr. Bentley and others. *Strength and art* are not to be conſtrued in the genitive caſe with *fame*, but in the nominative with *monuments*. And then the meaning is plainly thus, *Learn how their greateſt monuments of fame, and* how their *ſtrength and art are eaſily outdone* &c.

669. *And hands innumerable*] There were 360000 men employ'd for near twenty years upon one of the Pyramids, according to Diodorus Siculus, Lib. 1. and Pliny Lib. 36. cap. 12.

702. ---- *a ſecond multitude*
With wondrous art founded the maſſy ore,] The firſt band dug the metal out of the mountain, *a ſecond multitude on the plain hard by founded* or melted it; for *founded* it ſhould be read as in the firſt edition, and not *found out* as it is in the ſubſequent ones; *founded* from *fundere*, to melt, to caſt metal.

704. --- *and ſcumm'd the bullion droſs:*] Dr. Bentley ſays that *bullion droſs* is a ſtrange blunder to paſs thro' all editions: He ſuppoſes that the author gave it, *and ſcumm'd from bullion droſs.* But I believe that the common reading may be defended. The word *bullion* does not ſignify *purify'd ore*, as the Doctor ſays; but ore boiled or boiling; and when the droſs is taken off,

With wondrous art founded the maſſy ore,
Severing each kind, and ſcumm'd the bullion droſs:
A third as ſoon had form'd within the ground
A various mold, and from the boiling cells
By ſtrange conveyance fill'd each hollow nook,
As in an organ from one blaſt of wind
To many a row of pipes the ſound-board breathes.
Anon out of the earth a fabric huge
Roſe like an exhalation, with the ſound
Of dulcet ſymphonies and voices ſweet,
Built like a temple, where pilaſters round

Were

off, then it is purify'd ore. Agreeably to this Milton in his tract called *Of the Reformation of England*, ſays ----- *to extract heaps of gold and ſilver out of the droſſy bullion of the people's ſins.* And Milton makes *bullion* an adjective here, tho' commonly it is a ſubſtantive; juſt as in V. 140. we have *ocean brim*, and in III. 284. *virgin ſeed.* And ſo *bullion droſs* may ſignify *the droſs that came from the metal*, as Spenſer expreſſes it, or the droſs that ſwam on the ſurface of the boiling ore. The ſenſe of the paſſage is this; They *founded* or melted the *ore* that was in the *maſs*, by ſeparating or *ſevering* each kind, that is, the ſulphur, earth, *&c.* from the metal; and after that, they *ſcumm'd* the *droſs* that floted on the top of the boiling ore. *Pearce.* *Bullion droſs*, as one would ſay gold-droſs or ſilver-droſs, the droſs which aroſe from the melted metal in refining it. *Richardſon.*

708. *As in an Organ* &c.] This ſimile is as exact, as it is new. And we may obſerve, that our author frequently fetches his images from muſic more than any other Engliſh poet, as he was very fond of it, and was himſelf a performer upon the organ and other inſtruments.

711. *Roſe like an exhalation,*] The ſudden riſing of Pandemonium is ſuppoſed, and with great probability, to be a hint taken from ſome of the moving ſcenes and machines invented for the ſtage by the famous Inigo Jones.

712. *Of dulcet ſymphonies*] This word is uſed likewiſe by Shakeſpear, Midſummer Night's Dream, Act II.

Uttering ſuch *dulcet* and harmonious breath.

713. ----- *where pilaſters round* &c.] One of the greateſt faults of Milton is his affectation of ſhowing his learning and knowledge upon

Were ſet, and Doric pillars overlaid
With golden architrave; nor did there want
Cornice or freeze, with boſſy ſculptures graven;
The roof was fretted gold. Not Babylon,
Nor great Alcairo ſuch magnificence
Equal'd in all their glories, to inſhrine
Belus or Serapis their Gods, or ſeat
Their kings, when Egypt with Aſſyria ſtrove
In wealth and luxury. Th' aſcending pile
Stood fix'd her ſtately highth, and ſtrait the doors
Opening

every occaſion. He could not ſo much as deſcribe this ſtructure without bringing in I know not how many terms of architecture, which it will be proper for the ſake of many readers to explain. *Pilaſters round*, pillars jutting out of the wall, *were ſet*, *and Doric pillars*, pillars of the Doric order; as their muſic was *to the Dorian mood*, ver. 550, ſo their architecture was of the Doric order; *overlaid with golden architrave*, that part of a column above the capital; *nor did there want cornice*, the uppermoſt member of the intablature of the column, *or freeze*, that part of the intablature of columns between the architrave and cornice, ſo denominated of the Latin *phrygio* an imbroiderer, becauſe it is commonly adorn'd with ſculptures in baſſo relievo, imitating imbroidery, and therefore the poet adds, *with boſſy ſculptures graven*; *the roof was fretted gold*, fret-work is fillets interwoven at parallel diſtances. This kind of work has uſually flowers in the ſpaces, and muſt glitter much eſpecially by lamp-light, as Mr. Richardſon obſerves.

717. *Not Babylon*, &c.] It muſt be confeſs'd there is ſome weight in Dr. Bentley's objection, that in this ſame narration the author had challeng'd Babylon and Memphis, ver. 694. Babylon the capital of Aſſyria, and Memphis of old Egypt; and now as quite forgetful he reiterates it, *Babylon and Alcairo*: and this latter the worſe; becauſe Alcairo is the modern name of Memphis, and not ſo fit to join with *Belus or Serapis*. But tho' theſe lines may poſſibly be faulty, yet that is not authority ſufficient for an editor to reject them as ſpurious.

720. *Belus or Serapis*] *Belus* the ſon of Nimrod, ſecond king of Babylon, and the firſt man worſhipped for a God, by the Chaldæans ſtiled Bel, by the Phœnicians Baal. *Serapis* the ſame with Apis the God of the Egyptians.

Opening their brazen folds diſcover wide
Within, her ample ſpaces, o'er the ſmooth
And level pavement: from the arched roof
Pendent by ſubtle magic many a row
Of ſtarry lamps and blazing creſſets fed
With Naphtha and Aſphaltus yielded light
As from a sky. The haſty multitude
Admiring enter'd, and the work ſome praiſe
And ſome the architect: his hand was known
In Heav'n by many a towred ſtructure high,

Where

tians. *Hume.* Dr. Bentley objects, that Sérapis has the accent upon the firſt ſyllable, whereas he quotes authorities to ſhow that it ſhould have it upon the ſecond, as Martial,

Vincebat nec quæ turba Serápin amat,

and another from Callimachus. But there are other authorities, which may ſerve to juſtify Milton; for we read in Martianus Capella, *Te Serăpin Nilus* &c. and in Prudentius *Iſis enim et Serăpis* &c. *Pearce.*

725. *Within,*] An adverb here and not a præpoſition: and therefore Milton puts a comma after it, that it may not be join'd in conſtruction with *her ample ſpaces.* So Virgil Æn. II. 483.

Apparet domus *intus*, et atria longa pateſcunt.

726. ---- *from the arched roof* &c.] How much ſuperior is this to that in Virgil Æn. I. 726.

--- dependent lychni laquearibus aureis
Incenſi, et noctem flammis funalia vincunt.

From gilded roofs depending lamps diſplay
Nocturnal beams, that emulate the day.
Dryden.

728. --- *and blazing creſſets fed*
With Naphtha and Aſphaltus] A *creſſet* is any great blazing light, as a beacon. *Naphtha* is of ſo unctuous and fiery a nature, that it kindles at approaching the fire, or the ſun-beams. *Aſphaltus* or bitumen, another pitchy ſubſtance. *Richardſon.* And the word *creſſet* I find uſed likewiſe in Shakeſpear, 1 Hen. IV. Act III. Glendower ſpeaks,

---- at my nativity
The front of Heav'n was full of fiery ſhapes,
Of burning creſſets.

738. *Nor*

Where ſcepter'd Angels held their reſidence,
And ſat as princes, whom the ſúpreme King
Exalted to ſuch pow'r, and gave to rule,
Each in his hierarchy, the orders bright.
Nor was his name unheard or unador'd
In ancient Greece; and in Auſonian land
Men call'd him Mulciber; and how he fell
From Heav'n, they fabled, thrown by angry Jove
Sheer o'er the cryſtal battlements; from morn
To noon he fell, from noon to dewy eve,

A

738. *Nor was his name unheard* &c.] Dr. Bentley ſays, "This is careleſly expreſs'd. "Why does he not tell his name in Greece, "as well as his Latin name? and *Mulciber* "was not ſo common a name as *Vulcan*." I think it is very exactly expreſs'd. Milton is here ſpeaking of a Devil exerciſing the *founder*'s art: and ſays he was not unknown in Greece and Italy. The poet has his choice of three names to tell us what they called him in the claſſic world, *Hephæſtos*, *Vulcan*, and *Mulciber*, the laſt only of which deſigning the office of a *founder*, he has very judiciouſly choſen that. *Warburton.*

740. --- *and how he fell*
From Heav'n, &c.] Alluding to theſe lines in Homer's Iliad. I. 590.

Ηδη γαρ με και αλλοτ' αλεξεμεναι μεμαωτα,
Ῥιψε, ποδ' τεταγων, απο βηλε θεσπεσιοιο·
Παν δ' ημαρ φερομην, αμα δ' ηελιῳ καταδυντι
Καππεσον εν Λημνῳ· ολιγος δ' ετι θυμος ενηεν·
Ενθα με Σιντιες ανδρες αφαρ κομισαντο πεσοντα.

Once in your cauſe I felt his matchleſs might,
Hurl'd headlong downward, from th'ethereal height,
Toſt all the day in rapid circles round;
Nor till the ſun deſcended, touch'd the ground:
Breathleſs I fell, in giddy motion loſt;
The Sinthians rais'd me on the Lemnian coaſt.
Pope.

It is worth obſerving how Milton lengthens out the time of Vulcan's fall. He not only ſays with Homer, that it was all day long, but we are led through the parts of the day, *from morn to noon*, *from noon to evening*, and this *a ſummer's day*. There is a ſimilar paſſage in the Odyſſey, where Ulyſſes deſcribes his ſleeping twenty four hours together, and to make the time ſeem the longer, divides it into ſeveral parts,

A ſummer's day; and with the ſetting ſun
Dropt from the zenith like a falling ſtar,
On Lemnos th' Æ'gean ile: thus they relate,
Erring; for he with this rebellious rout
Fell long before; nor ought avail'd him now
T' have built in Heav'n high tow'rs; nor did he 'ſcape
By all his engins, but was headlong ſent
With his induſtrious crew to build in Hell.

Mean while the winged heralds by command
Of ſovran pow'r, with awful ceremony

And

parts, and points them out diſtinctly to us, Odyſſ. VII. 288.

Ευδον παννυχιῳ, και επ' ηω, και μεσον ημαρ,
Δυσετο τ' ηελιῳ, και με γλυκυς υπνος ανηκεν.

746. *On Lemnos th' Ægean ile:*] Dr. Bentley reads, *On Lemnos thence his ile*, and calls it a ſcandalous fault, to write *Æ'gean* with a wrong accent for *Ægéan*. But Milton in the ſame manner pronounces *Thyéſtean* for *Thyeſtéan* in X. 688. and in Paradiſe Regain'd, IV. 238, we read in the firſt edition, which Dr. Bentley pronounces to be without faults,

Where on the *Æ'gean* ſhore a city ſtands.

And Fairfax led the way to this manner of pronouncing the word, or rather to this poetical liberty; for in his tranſlation of Taſſo, C. 1. St. 60. he ſays

O'er *Æ'gean* ſeas thro' many a Greekiſh hold;

and in C. 12. St. 63.

As Ægean ſeas &c. *Pearce.*

748. ---- *nor ought avail'd him now* &c.] Hom. Iliad. V. 53.

Αλλ' ου οι τοτε γε χερσιμ' Αρτεμις ιοχεαιρα,
Ουδ' εκηβολιαι.

Virg. Æn. XI. 843.

Nec tibi deſertæ in dumis coluiſſe Dianam
Profuit.

750. *By all his engins,*] An ingenious gentleman obſerves that this word in the old Engliſh was often uſed for devices, wit, contrivance; ſo in the gloſſary to Chaucer and in the Statute of Mortmain, 7 Edw. I. the words aut alio quovis modo, arte, vel *ingenio*, are Engliſh'd in our ſtatute books, or by any other craft or *engin*.

752. *the winged heralds*] He has given them wings not only as Angels, but to expreſs their ſpeed. *Hume.* *Herald* is ſpelt like the French *herault*, the Daniſh *herold*, and the Spaniſh

And trumpet's ſound, throughout the hoſt proclame
A ſolemn council forthwith to be held
At Pandemonium, the high capital
Of Satan and his peers: their ſummons call'd
From every band and ſquared regiment
By place or choice the worthieſt; they anon
With hundreds and with thouſands trooping came
Attended: all acceſs was throng'd, the gates
And porches wide, but chief the ſpacious hall
(Though like a cover'd field, where champions bold
Wont ride in arm'd, and at the Soldan's chair
Defy'd

Spaniſh *heraldo*, but Milton ſpells it *harald* after the Italian *araldo*.

763. *Though like a cover'd field,*] Cover'd here ſignifies inclos'd; *Champ clos*; the field for combat, the liſts. The hall of Pandemonium, one room only is like a field for martial exerciſes on horſeback. *Richardſon.*

764. --- *and at the Soldan's chair* &c.] Milton frequently affects the uſe of uncommon words, when the common ones would ſuit the meaſure of the verſe as well, believing I ſuppoſe that it added to the dignity of his language. So here he ſays *the Soldan's chair* inſtead of the *Sultan*'s chair, and *Panim chivalry* inſtead of *Pagan* chivalry; as before he ſaid *Rhene or the Danaw*, ver. 353. when he might have ſaid *the Rhine or Danube*. Spenſer likewiſe uſes the words *Soldan* and *Panim*. See Fairy Queen, B. 5. C. 8. St. 26. and other places.

768. *As bees* &c.] An imitation of Homer, who compares the Grecians crouding to a ſwarm of bees, Iliad. II. 87.

Ηυτε εθνεα εισι μελισσαων αδιναων,
Πετρης εκ γλαφυρης αιει νεον ερχομεναων,
Βοτρυδον δε πετονται επ' ανθεσιν εαρινοισιν,
Αι μεν θ' ενθα αλις πεποτηται, αι δε τε ενθα.

Milton has very well expreſs'd the force of βοτρυδον by *in cluſters*, as Pope has done by *cluſt'ring*, tho' in the reſt of his tranſlation he has by no means equal'd the beauties of the original.

As from ſome rocky clift the ſhepherd ſees
Cluſt'ring in heaps on heaps the driving bees,
Rolling, and black'ning, ſwarms ſucceeding ſwarms,
With deeper murmurs and more hoarſe alarms;
Dusky

Defy'd the beſt of Panim chivalry
To mortal combat, or carreer with lance)
Thick ſwarm'd, both on the ground and in the air
Bruſh'd with the hiſs of ruſling wings. As bees
In ſpring time, when the ſun with Taurus rides,
Pour forth their populous youth about the hive
In cluſters; they among freſh dews and flowers
Fly to and fro, or on the ſmoothed plank,
The ſuburb of their ſtraw-built citadel,
New rubb'd with balm, expatiate and confer
Their ſtate affairs. So thick the aery croud
Swarm'd

Dusky they ſpread, a cloſe imbody'd croud,
And o'er the vale deſcends the living cloud.

There are ſuch ſimiles likewiſe in Virgil, Æn. I. 430.

Qualis apes æſtate novâ per florea rura
Exercet ſub ſole labor; cum gentis adultos
Educunt fœtus, *&c.*

Such is their toil, and ſuch their buſy pains,
As exerciſe the bees in flow'ry plains;
When winter paſt, and ſummer ſcarce begun
Invites them forth to labor in the ſun:
Some lead their youth abroad, *&c.* Dryden.

And again, Æn. VI. 707.

Ac veluti in pratis, ubi apes æſtate ſerena
Floribus inſidunt variis *&c.*

But our poet carries the ſimilitude farther than either of his great maſters, and mentions the bees *conferring their ſtate affairs*, as he is going to give an account of the conſultations of the Devils.

769. *In ſpring time, when the ſun with Taurus rides,*]

Candidus auratis aperit cum cornibus annum
Taurus. Georg. I. 217. In April. *Hume.*

Dr. Bentley reads *in Taurus rides*, and ſays, Does *Taurus* ride too, a conſtellation fix'd? Yes, or elſe Ovid is wrong throughout his whole Faſti, where he deſcribes the riſing and ſetting of the ſigns of the zodiac: See what he ſays of the riſing of Taurus, V. 603. and our author in X. 663, ſpeaking of the fix'd ſtars ſays, *Which of them riſing with the ſun or falling*, &c. Pearce.

770. *Pour forth their populous youth about the hive*] Virg. Georg. IV. 21.

--- Cum prima novi ducent examina reges.
Vere ſuo, ludetque favis emiſſa juventus.

Swarm'd and were ſtraiten'd; till the ſignal given,
Behold a wonder! they but now who ſeem'd
In bigneſs to ſurpaſs earth's giant ſons,
Now leſs than ſmalleſt dwarfs, in narrow room
Throng numberleſs, like that pygmean race 780
Beyond

777. *Behold a wonder!* &c.] The paſſage in the catalogue, explaining the manner how Spirits transform themſelves by contractions or inlargement of their dimenſions, is introduced with great judgment, to make way for ſeveral ſurpriſing accidents in the ſequel of the poem. There follows one, at the very end of the firſt book, which is what the French critics call *marvelous*, but at the ſame time *probable* by reaſon of the paſſage laſt mention'd. As ſoon as the infernal palace is finiſh'd, we are told the multitude and rabble of Spirits immediately ſhrunk themſelves into a ſmall compaſs, that there might be room for ſuch a numberleſs aſſembly in this capacious hall. But it is the poet's refinement upon this thought which I moſt admire, and which is indeed very noble in itſelf. For he tells us, that notwithſtanding the vulgar, among the fallen Spirits, contracted their forms, thoſe of the firſt rank and dignity ſtill preſerved their natural dimenſions.

Addiſon.

Monſieur Voltaire is of a different opinion with regard to the contrivance of Pandemonium and the transformation of the Devils into dwarfs; and poſſibly more may concur with him than with Mr. Addiſon. I dare affirm, ſays he, that the contrivance of the Pandemonium would have been entirely diſapproved of by critics like Boileau, Racine, *&c.* That ſeat built for the parlament of the Devils ſeems very prepoſterous; ſince Satan hath ſummon'd them altogether, and harangu'd them juſt before in an ample field. The council was neceſſary; but where it was to be held, 'twas very indifferent. --- But when afterwards the Devils turn dwarfs to fill their places in the houſe, as if it was impracticable to build a room large enough to contain them in their natural ſize; it is an idle ſtory, which would match the moſt extravagant tales. And to crown all, Satan and the chief Lords preſerving their own monſtrous forms, while the rabble of the Devils ſhrink into pygmies, hightens the ridicule of the whole contrivance to an unexpreſſible degree. Methinks the true criterion for diſcerning what is really ridiculous in an epic poem, is to examin if the ſame thing would not fit exactly the mock-heroic. Then I dare ſay that nothing is ſo adapted to that ludicrous way of writing, as the metamorphoſis is of the Devils into dwarfs. See his Eſſay on epic poetry, p. 113, 114.

780. ---- *like that pygmean race* &c.] There are alſo ſeveral noble ſimiles and alluſions in the firſt book of Paradiſe Loſt. And here I muſt obſerve, that when Milton alludes either to things or perſons, he never quits his ſimile till it riſes to ſome very great idea, which is often foreign to the occaſion that gave birth to it. The reſemblance does not, perhaps, laſt above a line or two, but the poet runs on with the hint till he has raiſed out of it ſome glorious image or ſentiment, proper to inflame the mind of the reader, and to give it that ſublime kind of entertainment, which is ſuitable to the

nature

Beyond the Indian mount, or faery elves,
Whoſe midnight revels by a foreſt ſide
Or fountain ſome belated peaſant ſees,
Or dreams he ſees, while over-head the moon
Sits arbitreſs, and nearer to the earth 785
Wheels

nature of an heroic poem. Thoſe, who are acquainted with Homer's and Virgil's way of writing, cannot but be pleaſed with this kind of ſtructure in Milton's ſimilitudes. I am the more particular on this head, becauſe ignorant readers, who have formed their taſte upon the quaint ſimiles and little turns of wit, which are ſo much in vogue among modern poets, cannot reliſh theſe beauties which are of a much higher nature, and are therefore apt to cenſure Milton's compariſons in which they do not ſee any ſurpriſing points of likeneſs. Monſieur Perrault was a man of this vitiated reliſh, and for that very reaſon has endevor'd to turn into ridicule ſeveral of Homer's ſimilitudes, which he calls *comparaiſons a longue queue, long-tail'd compariſons*. I ſhall conclude this paper on the firſt book of Milton with the anſwer, which Monſieur Boileau makes to Perrault on this occaſion. "Compariſons, ſays he, in odes and "epic poems, are not introduced only to illu-"ſtrate and embelliſh the diſcourſe, but to "amuſe and relax the mind of the reader, by "frequently diſengaging him from too pain-"ful an attention to the principal ſubject, and "by leading him into other agreeable images. "Homer, ſays he, excell'd in this particular, "whoſe compariſons abound with ſuch images "of nature as are proper to relieve and diver-"ſify his ſubjects. He continually inſtructs "the reader, and makes him take notice, "even in objects which are every day before "our eyes, of ſuch circumſtances as we ſhould "not otherwiſe have obſerved." To this he adds as a maxim univerſally acknowledged, "That it is not neceſſary in poetry for the "points of the compariſon to correſpond with "one another exactly, but that a general re-"ſemblance is ſufficient, and that too much "nicety in this particular ſavors of the rheto-"rician and epigrammatiſt." In ſhort, if we look into the conduct of Homer, Virgil, and Milton, as the great fable is the ſoul of each poem, ſo to give their works an agreeable variety, their epiſodes are ſo many ſhort fables, and their ſimiles ſo many ſhort epiſodes; to which you may add, if you pleaſe, that their metaphors are ſo many ſhort ſimiles. If the reader conſiders the compariſons in the firſt book of Milton, of the ſun in an eclipſe, of the ſleeping leviathan, of the bees ſwarming about their hive, of the faery dance, in the view wherein I have here placed them, he will eaſily diſcover the great beauties that are in each of thoſe paſſages. *Addiſon.*

783. —— *ſees,*
Or dreams he ſees,] Virg. Æn. VI. 454.

Aut videt, aut vidiſſe putat ----

785. *Sits arbitreſs,*] Arbitreſs here ſignifies witneſs, ſpectatreſs. So Hor. Epod. V. 49.

O rebus meis
Non infideles *arbitræ*
Nox et Diana. *Heylin.*

785. --- *and nearer to the earth*] There is the ſame thought of the moon's ſtooping towards

Wheels her pale courſe, they on their mirth and dance
Intent, with jocond muſic charm his ear;
At once with joy and fear his heart rebounds.
Thus incorporeal Spi'rits to ſmalleſt forms
Reduc'd their ſhapes immenſe, and were at large,
Though without number ſtill amidſt the hall
Of that infernal court. But far within,
And in their own dimenſions like themſelves,
The great Seraphic Lords and Cherubim
In cloſe receſs and ſecret conclave ſat
A thouſand Demi-gods on golden ſeats,
Frequent and full. After ſhort ſilence then
And ſummons read, the great conſult began.

the earth, in the Penſeroſo, one of our author's juvenile poems,

The wandring moon
Riding near her higheſt noon,
Like one that had been led aſtray
Through the Heav'n's wide pathleſs way;
And oft, as if her head ſhe bow'd,
Stooping through a fleecy cloud.
Richardſon.

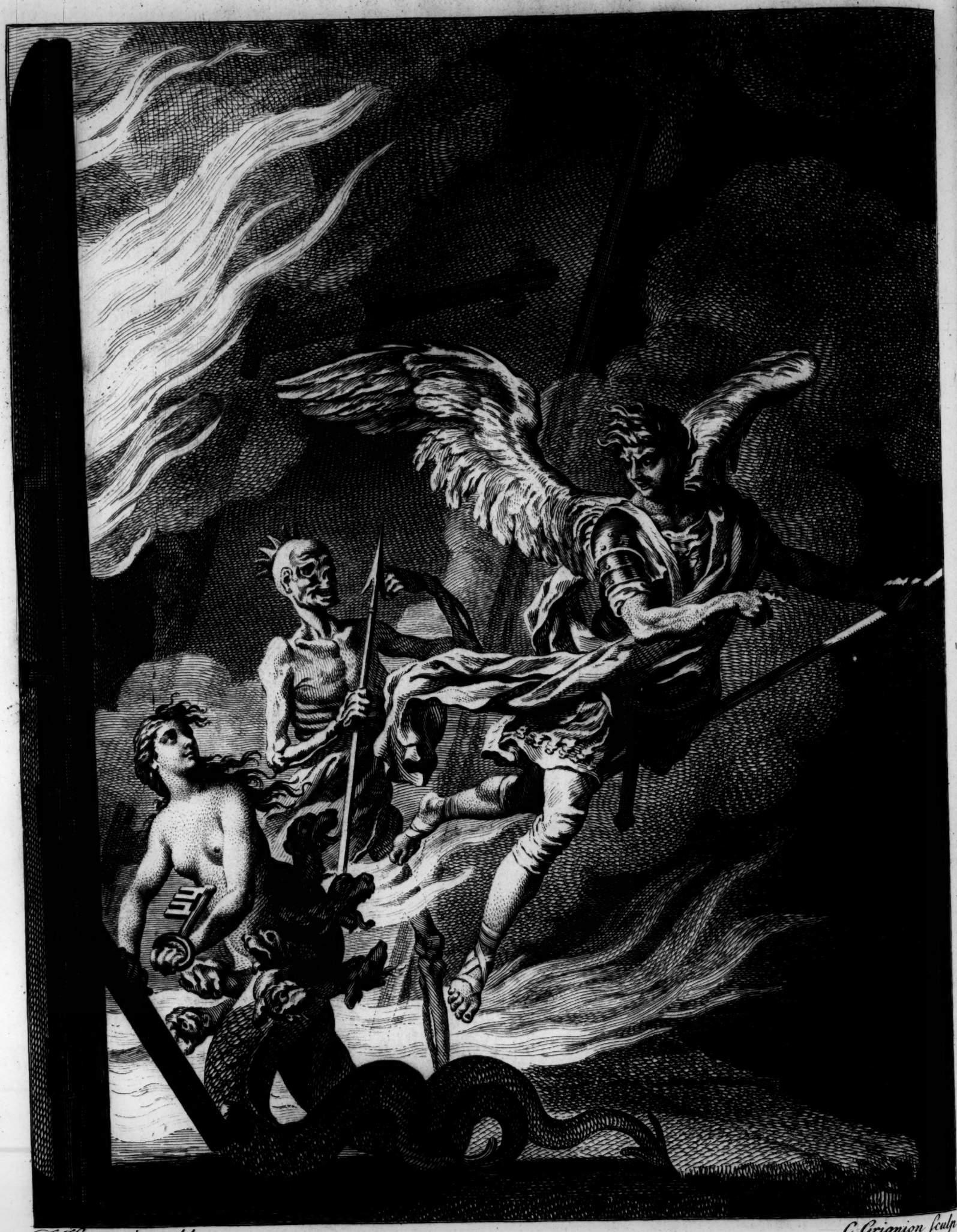
790. *Reduc'd their ſhapes immenſe, and were at large*, &c.] Tho' numberleſs they had ſo contracted their dimenſions, as to have room enough to be *Au large* (French) *A largo* (Italian) and be yet in the hall. So XI. 626, *Ere long to ſwim at large.* Richardſon.

795. *In cloſe receſs and ſecret conclave ſat*] It is not improbable that the poet might allude here to what is ſtrictly and properly call'd *the conclave*; for it is certain that he had not a much better opinion of the one than of the other of theſe aſſemblies.

797. *Frequent and full.*] So we have in Latin *frequens ſenatus*, a full houſe. And he makes uſe of the ſame expreſſion in Engliſh proſe, "The "aſſembly was *full and frequent* according to "ſummons." See his Hiſtory of England in the reign of Edward the Confeſſor.

The end of the Firſt Book.

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THE

SECOND BOOK

OF

PARADISE LOST.

THE ARGUMENT.

The conſultation begun, Satan debates whether another battel be to be hazarded for the recovery of Heaven: ſome adviſe it, others diſſuade: A third propoſal is preferr'd, mention'd before by Satan, to ſearch the truth of that prophecy or tradition in Heaven concerning another world, and another kind of creature equal or not much inferior to themſelves, about this time to be created: Their doubt who ſhall be ſent on this difficult ſearch: Satan their chief undertakes alone the voyage, is honor'd and applauded. The council thus ended, the reſt betake them ſeveral ways, and to ſeveral employments, as their inclinations lead them, to entertain the time till Satan return. He paſſes on his journey to Hell gates, finds them ſhut, and who ſat there to guard them, by whom at length they are open'd, and diſcover to him the great gulf between Hell and Heaven; with what difficulty he paſſes through, directed by Chaos, the Power of that place, to the ſight of this new world which he ſought.

PARADISE LOST.

BOOK II.

HIgh on a throne of royal ſtate, which far
Outſhone the wealth of Ormus and of Ind,
Or where the gorgeous eaſt with richeſt hand
Show'rs

1. *High on a throne* &c.] I have before obſerved in general, that the perſons, whom Milton introduces into his poem, always diſcover ſuch ſentiments and behaviour, as are in a peculiar manner conformable to their reſpective characters. Every circumſtance in their ſpeeches and actions is with great juſtneſs and delicacy adapted to the perſons who ſpeak and act. As the poet very much excels in this conſiſtency of his characters, I ſhall beg leave to conſider ſeveral paſſages of the ſecond book in this light. That ſuperior greatneſs and mock-majeſty, which is aſcribed to the prince of the fallen Angels, is admirably preſerved in the beginning of this book. His opening and cloſing the debate; his taking on himſelf that great enterpriſe at the thought of which the whole infernal aſſembly trembled; his encountering the hideous phantom, who guarded the gates of Hell and appeared to him in all his terrors, are inſtances of that proud and daring mind, which could not brook ſubmiſſion even to omnipotence. The ſame boldneſs and intrepidity of behaviour diſcovers itſelf in the ſeveral adventures which he meets with during his paſſage through the regions of unformed matter, and particularly in his addreſs to thoſe tremendous Powers who are deſcribed as preſiding over it. *Addiſon.*

2. --- *the wealth of Ormus and of Ind,*] That is diamonds, a principal part of the wealth of *India* where they are found, and of the iland *Ormus* (in the Perſian gulf) which is the mart for them. *Pearce.*

3. *Or where the gorgeous eaſt* &c.] Not that *Ormus* and *Ind* were in the weſt, but the ſenſe is that the throne of Satan outſhone diamonds, or pearl and gold, the choiceſt whereof are produced in the eaſt. Spenſer expreſſes the ſame thought thus, Fairy Queen, B. 3. C. 4. St. 23.

---- that it did paſs
The wealth of th' eaſt, and pomp of Perſian kings.

And the eaſt is ſaid to *ſhow'r them with richeſt hand* by an excellent metaphor to expreſs the great plenty and abundance of them, and to ſhow'r them *on her kings*, becauſe there the kings have the principal ſhare of property; or this might be ſaid, as Dr. Pearce conceives, in alluſion to the cuſtom us'd at the coronation of ſome kings in the eaſt, of ſhow'ring gold and precious ſtones upon their heads.

And

Show'rs on her kings barbaric pearl and gold,
Satan exalted ſat, by merit rais'd
To that bad eminence; and from deſpair
Thus high uplifted beyond hope, aſpires
Beyond thus high, inſatiate to purſue
Vain war with Heav'n, and by ſucceſs untaught
His proud imaginations thus diſplay'd.
  Pow'rs and Dominions, Deities of Heaven,
For ſince no deep within her gulf can hold
Immortal vigor, though oppreſs'd and fall'n,
I give not Heav'n for loſt. From this deſcent
Celeſtial virtues riſing, will appear
More glorious and more dread than from no fall,
And truſt themſelves to fear no ſecond fate.
Me though juſt right, and the fix'd laws of Heaven
Did

And the ſame ſort of metaphor is uſed in Shakeſpear, Ant. & Cleop. Act II.

  I'll ſet thee in a ſhow'r of gold, and hail
  Rich pearls upon thee.

And this pearl and gold is called *barbaric pearl and gold*, after the manner of the Greeks and Romans, who accounted all other nations barbarous; as Virgil ſaid, Æn. II. 504.

  Barbarico poſtes *auro* ſpoliiſque ſuperbi.

and Æn. VIII. 685.

  Hinc *ope barbarica* variiſque Antonius armis
  Victor ab auroræ populis

11. *Pow'rs and Dominions*,] As St. Paul calls the Angels, *Thrones or Dominions or Principalities or Powers*, Col. I. 16.

18. *Me though juſt right*, &c.] *Me* is rightly placed firſt in the ſentence, being the emphatical word and the accuſative caſe govern'd by the two verbs which follow, *create* and *eſtabliſh'd*. Me though juſt right, *&c.* did firſt create

Did firſt create your leader, next free choice,
With what beſides, in counſel or in fight,
Hath been achiev'd of merit, yet this loſs
Thus far at leaſt recover'd, hath much more
Eſtabliſh'd in a ſafe unenvied throne
Yielded with full conſent. The happier ſtate
In Heav'n, which follows dignity, might draw
Envy from each inferior; but who here
Will envy whom the higheſt place expoſes
Foremoſt to ſtand againſt the Thund'rer's aim
Your bulwark, and condemns to greateſt ſhare
Of endleſs pain? where there is then no good
For which to ſtrive, no ſtrife can grow up there
From faction; for none ſure will clame in Hell
Precedence, none, whoſe portion is ſo ſmall
Of

create your leader, yet this loſs hath much more eſtabliſh'd in a ſafe unenvied throne.

21. --- *achiev'd*,] We ſpell it as we pronounce it *atchiev'd*; but Milton writes it *achiev'd*, like the French *achever*, from whence it is deriv'd.

24. --- *The happier ſtate*
In Heav'n, which follows dignity, &c.] He means that the higher in dignity any being was in Heaven, the happier his ſtate was; and that therefore inferiors might there envy ſuperiors, becauſe they were happier too. *Pearce.*

33. --- *none, whoſe portion* &c.] Here ſeems to be ſome obſcurity and difficulty in the ſyntax. Dr. Bentley and Dr. Heylin would read and point the paſſage thus:

--- for none ſure will clame in Hell
Precedence, none. Whoſe portion is ſo ſmall
Of preſent pain, that with ambitious mind
He'll covet more?

Of preſent pain, that with ambitious mind
Will covet more. With this advantage then
To union, and firm faith, and firm accord,
More than can be in Heav'n, we now return
To clame our juſt inheritance of old,
Surer to proſper than proſperity
Could have aſſur'd us; and by what beſt way,
Whether of open war or covert guile,
We now debate; who can adviſe, may ſpeak.
He ceas'd; and next him Moloch, ſcepter'd king,
Stood up, the ſtrongeſt and the fierceſt Spirit
That fought in Heav'n, now fiercer by deſpair:

His

40. --- *and by what beſt way*,] Smoother and more emphatical thus,

---- *and by what way beſt*.

Bentley.

43. --- *next him Moloch*,] The part of *Moloch* is likewiſe in all its circumſtances full of that fire and fury which diſtinguiſh this Spirit from the reſt of the fallen Angels. He is deſcrib'd in the firſt book, as beſmeared with the blood of human ſacrifices, and delighted with the tears of parents and the cries of children. In the ſecond book he is marked out as the fierceſt Spirit that fought in Heaven: and if we conſider the figure which he makes in the ſixth book, where the battel of Angels is deſcribed, we find it every way anſwerable to the ſame furious enraged character. It may be worth while to obſerve, that Milton has repreſented this violent impetuous Spirit, who is hurried on by ſuch precipitate paſſions, as the *firſt* that riſes in that aſſembly, to give his opinion upon their preſent poſture of affairs. Accordingly he declares himſelf abruptly for war, and appears incenſed at his companions, for loſing ſo much time as even to deliberate upon it. All his ſentiments are raſh, audacious and deſperate. Such is that of arming themſelves with their tortures, and turning their puniſhments upon him who inflicted them. His preferring annihilation to ſhame or miſery is alſo highly ſuitable to his character; as the comfort he draws from their diſturbing the peace of Heaven,

His truſt was with th' Eternal to be deem'd
Equal in ſtrength, and rather than be leſs
Car'd not to be at all; with that care loſt
Went all his fear: of God, or Hell, or worſe
He reck'd not, and theſe words thereafter ſpake.
My ſentence is for open war: of wiles,
More unexpert, I boaſt not: them let thoſe
Contrive who need, or when they need, not now.
For while they ſit contriving, ſhall the reſt,
Millions that ſtand in arms, and longing wait
The ſignal to aſcend, ſit ling'ring here
Heav'n's fugitives, and for their dwelling place
Accept

Heaven, that if it be not victory it is revenge, is a ſentiment truly diabolical, and becoming the bitterneſs of this implacable Spirit. *Addiſon.*

43. ----- *ſcepter'd king*,] As Homer ſays Σκηπτ8χος βασιλευς. Iliad. I. 279.

47. ---- *and rather than be leſs*
Car'd not to be at all;] Dr. Bentley reads *He rather than* &c. becauſe at preſent the conſtruction is *and* his truſt *car'd not* &c. But ſuch ſmall faults are not only to be pardon'd but overlook'd in great geniuſes. Fabius VIII. 3. ſays of Cicero, In vitium ſæpe incidit ſecurus tam parvæ obſervationis: and in X. 1. Neque id ſtatim legenti perſuaſum ſit omnia, quæ magni auctores dixerint, eſſe perfecta; nam et labuntur aliquando, et oneri cedunt &c. *Pearce.*

50. *He reck'd not*,] He made no account of. To *reck* much the ſame as to reckon. *And ſpake thereafter*, that is accordingly, as one who made no account of God or Hell or any thing.

56. --- *ſit ling'ring here*] Dr. Bentley reads *ſtay ling'ring here*, becauſe we have before *ſtand in arms:* but *ſtand* does not always ſignify the poſture; ſee an inſtance of this in John I. 26. To *ſtand in arms* is no more than to *be in arms*. So in XI. 1. it is ſaid of Adam and Eve that they *ſtood repentant*, that is were repentant; for a little before it is ſaid that they *proſtrate fell.*

Accept this dark opprobrious den of ſhame,
The priſon of his tyranny who reigns
By our delay? no, let us rather chooſe,
Arm'd with Hell flames and fury, all at once
O'er Heav'n's high tow'rs to force reſiſtleſs way,
Turning our tortures into horrid arms
Againſt the torturer; when to meet the noiſe
Of his almighty engin he ſhall hear
Infernal thunder, and for lightning ſee
Black fire and horror ſhot with equal rage
Among his Angels, and his throne itſelf
Mix'd with Tartarean ſulphur, and ſtrange fire,
His own invented torments. But perhaps
The way ſeems difficult and ſteep to ſcale
With upright wing againſt a higher foe.
Let ſuch bethink them, if the ſleepy drench
Of that forgetful lake benumm not ſtill,

That

fell. That *ſit* is right here, may appear from ver. 164, 420, 475. *Pearce.* *Sit ling'ring* to anſwer *ſit contriving* before. While they ſit contriving, ſhall the reſt ſit ling'ring?

69. *Mix'd with Tartarean ſulphur,*] *Mix'd* ſignifies *fill'd with*; it is an imitation of what Virgil ſays in Æn. II. 487.

At domus interior gemitu miſeroque tumultu
Miſcetur. *Pearce.*

89. *Muſt exerciſe us*] He uſes the word like the Latin *exerceo*, which ſignifies to vex and trouble as well as to practice and employ: as in Virg. Georg. IV. 453.

Non te nullius *exercent* numinis iræ.

90. *The*

That in our proper motion we aſcend
Up to our native ſeat: deſcent and fall
To us is adverſe. Who but felt of late,
When the fierce foe hung on our broken rear
Inſulting, and purſued us through the deep,
With what compulſion and laborious flight
We ſunk thus low? Th' aſcent is eaſy then;
Th' event is fear'd; ſhould we again provoke
Our ſtronger, ſome worſe way his wrath may find
To our deſtruction; if there be in Hell
Fear to be worſe deſtroy'd: what can be worſe
Than to dwell here, driv'n out from bliſs, condemn'd
In this abhorred deep to utter woe;
Where pain of unextinguiſhable fire
Muſt exerciſe us without hope of end
The vaſſals of his anger, when the ſcourge
Inexorably, and the torturing hour
Calls

90. *The vaſſals of his anger,*] The Devils are the *vaſſals* of the Almighty, thence Mammon ſays, II. 252, *Our ſtate of ſplendid vaſſalage.* And *the vaſſals of anger* is an expreſſion confirm'd by Spenſer in his *Tears of the Muſes,*

Ah, wretched world, and all that are therein,
The *vaſſals* of God's *wrath*, and ſlaves of ſin.

But yet when I remember St. Paul's words, Rom. IX. 22. *The veſſels of wrath fitted to deſtruction,* Σκευη οργης, I ſuſpect that Milton here, as perpetually, kept cloſe to the Scripture ſtile, and leave it to the reader's choice, *vaſſals* or *veſſels.* Bentley.

91. *Inexorably,*] In the firſt editions it is *Inexorably,*

Calls us to penance? More deſtroy'd than thus
We ſhould be quite aboliſh'd and expire.
What fear we then? what doubt we to incenſe
His utmoſt ire? which to the highth enrag'd,
Will either quite conſume us, and reduce
To nothing this eſſential, happier far
Than miſerable to have eternal being:
Or if our ſubſtance be indeed divine,
And cannot ceaſe to be, we are at worſt
On this ſide nothing; and by proof we feel
Our pow'r ſufficient to diſturb his Heaven,
And with perpetual inroads to alarm,

Though

exorably, in others *Inexorable*: and it may be either, the ſcourge inexorable or inexorably calls.

92. *Calls us to penance?*] To puniſhment. Our poet here ſuppoſes the ſufferings of the damned Spirits not to be always alike intenſe, but that they had ſome intermiſſions. *Hume.*

97. ---- *happier far*
Than miſerable to have eternal being:] That it is better not to be than to be eternally miſerable, our Saviour himſelf hath determin'd, Matth. XXVI. 24. Mark XIV. 21.

100. --- *we are at worſt*] We are in the worſt condition we can be.

104. --- *his fatal throne:*] That is *upheld by fate*, as he elſewhere expreſſes it, I. 133.

108. *To leſs than Gods.*] He gave it *To leſs than God*. For it was dangerous to the Angels. *Bentley.*

This emendation appears very probable at firſt view: but the Angels though often called *Gods*, yet ſometimes are only compar'd or ſaid to be *like the Gods*, as in I. 570.

Their viſages and ſtature *as of Gods:*

and of the two chief, Michael and Satan, it is ſaid VI. 301, that

---- *likeſt Gods they ſeem'd:*

and of two others we read VI. 366.

Two potent Thrones, that to be *leſs than Gods*
Diſdain'd:

and in another place a manifeſt diſtinction is made

Though inacceſſible, his fatal throne:
Which if not victory is yet revenge.
He ended frowning, and his look denounc'd
Deſpe'rate revenge, and battel dangerous
To leſs than Gods. On th' other ſide up roſe
Belial, in act more graceful and humane;
A fairer perſon loſt not Heav'n; he ſeem'd
For dignity compos'd and high exploit:
But all was falſe and hollow; though his tongue
Dropt Manna, and could make the worſe appear
The better reaſon, to perplex and daſh
Matureſt counſels: for his thoughts were low;
To

made between Gods and Angels who are called Demi-Gods, IX. 937.

But to be Gods, or Angel Demi-Gods: and therefore the preſent reading *To leſs than Gods* may be juſtify'd.

109. *Belial, in act more graceful and humane*;] *Belial* is deſcribed in the firſt book as the idol of the lewd and luxurious. He is in the ſecond book, purſuant to that deſcription, characterized as timorous and ſlothful; and if we look in the ſixth book, we find him celebrated in the battel of Angels for nothing but that ſcoffing ſpeech which he makes to Satan, on their ſuppoſed advantage over the enemy. As his appearance is uniform and of a piece in theſe three ſeveral views, we find his ſentiments in the infernal aſſembly every way conformable to his character. Such are his apprehenſions of a ſecond battel, his horrors of annihilation, his preferring to be miſerable rather than *not to be*. I need not obſerve, that the contraſt of thought in this ſpeech, and that which precedes, gives an agreeable variety to the debate. *Addiſon.*

113. *Dropt Manna*,] The ſame expreſſion, but apply'd differently, in Shakeſpear. Merchant of Venice, Act V.

Fair ladies, you *drop Manna* in the way
Of ſtarved people.

113. --- *and could make the worſe appear*
The better reaſon,] Word for word, from the known profeſſion of the ancient Sophiſts, Τον λογον τον ηττω κρειττω ποιειν. *Bentley.*

124. --- *in*

To vice induſtrious, but to nobler deeds
Timorous and ſlothful: yet he pleas'd the ear,
And with perſuaſive accent thus began.
I ſhould be much for open war, O Peers,
As not behind in hate; if what was urg'd
Main reaſon to perſuade immediate war,
Did not diſſuade me moſt, and ſeem to caſt
Ominous conjecture on the whole ſucceſs:
When he who moſt excels in fact of arms,
In what he counſels and in what excels
Miſtruſtful, grounds his courage on deſpair
And utter diſſolution, as the ſcope
Of all his aim, after ſome dire revenge.
Firſt, what revenge? the tow'rs of Heav'n are fill'd
With armed watch, that render all acceſs
Impregnable; oft on the bord'ring deep
Incamp their legions, or with obſcure wing
Scout far and wide into the realm of night,
Scorning

124. --- *in fact of arms,*] Dr. Heylin ſays it is from the Italian *Fatto d'arme* a battel; or elſe we ſhould read here *feats of arms*, as in ver. 537.

---- with *feats of arms*

From either end of Heav'n the welkin burns.

Or poſſibly the author might have given it *in facts of arms*, ſuch errors of the preſs being very common and eaſy.

138. --- *would*

Scorning ſurpriſe. Or could we break our way
By force, and at our heels all Hell ſhould riſe
With blackeſt inſurrection, to confound
Heav'n's pureſt light, yet our great enemy
All incorruptible would on his throne
Sit unpolluted, and th' ethereal mold
Incapable of ſtain would ſoon expel
Her miſchief, and purge off the baſer fire
Victorious. Thus repuls'd, our final hope
Is flat deſpair: we muſt exaſperate
Th' almighty victor to ſpend all his rage,
And that muſt end us, that muſt be our cure,
To be no more; ſad cure; for who would loſe,
Though full of pain, this intellectual being,
Thoſe thoughts that wander through eternity,
To periſh rather, ſwallow'd up and loſt
In the wide womb of uncreated night,
Devoid of ſenſe and motion? and who knows,

Let

138. --- *would on his throne*
Sit unpolluted,] 'Tis a reply to that part of Moloch's ſpeech, where he had threaten'd to mix the throne itſelf of God with infernal ſulphur and ſtrange fire.

151. *Devoid of ſenſe and motion?*] Dr. Bentley reads *Devoid of ſenſe and action:* but *motion* includes *action.* Mr. Warburton is of opinion, and ſo likewiſe is the learned Mr. Upton in his Critical Obſervations upon Shakeſpear, that it

Let this be good, whether our angry foe
Can give it, or will ever? how he can
Is doubtful; that he never will is ſure.
Will he, ſo wiſe, let looſe at once his ire,
Belike through impotence, or unaware,
To give his enemies their wiſh, and end
Them in his anger, whom his anger ſaves
To puniſh endleſs? Wherefore ceaſe we then?
Say they who counſel war, we are decreed,
Reſerv'd, and deſtin'd to eternal woe;
Whatever doing, what can we ſuffer more,
What can we ſuffer worſe? Is this then worſt,
Thus ſitting, thus conſulting, thus in arms?
What when we fled amain, purſued and ſtruck

With

it ſhould be read *Devoid of ſenſe and notion:* but the common reading ſeems better, as it is ſtronger and expreſſes more; they ſhould be depriv'd not only of all *ſenſe* but of all *motion*, not only of all the intellectual but of all vital functions.

156. —— *impotence*,] 'Tis here meant for the oppoſit to wiſdom, and is uſed frequently by the Latin authors to ſignify a weakneſs of mind, an unſteddineſs in the government of our paſſions, or the conduct of our deſigns. In this ſenſe Cicero in Epiſt. ad Fam. IX. 9. ſays Victoria ferociores *impotentioreſque* reddidit. and in Tuſc. Diſp. IV. 23. we read *Impotentia* dictorum et factorum: hence we often meet with *impotens* animi, iræ, doloris &c. and Horace in Od. I. XXXVII. 10. has Quidlibet *impotens* ſperare. *Pearce.*

159. *Wherefore ceaſe we then?* &c.] Belial is here propoſing what is urged by thoſe *who counſel war*; and then replies to it, *Is this then worſt* &c. and ſhows that they had been in a worſe

With Heav'n's afflicting thunder, and beſought
The deep to ſhelter us? this Hell then ſeem'd
A refuge from thoſe wounds: or when we lay
Chain'd on the burning lake? that ſure was worſe.
What if the breath that kindled thoſe grim fires,
Awak'd ſhould blow them into ſev'nfold rage,
And plunge us in the flames? or from above
Should intermitted vengeance arm again
His red right hand to plague us? what if all
Her ſtores were open'd, and this firmament
Of Hell ſhould ſpout her cataracts of fire,
Impendent horrors, threatning hideous fall
One day upon our heads; while we perhaps
Deſigning or exhorting glorious war,

Caught

worſe condition 165—169. *that ſure was worſe*; and might be ſo again 170—186. *this would be worſe.*

170. *What if the breath that kindled thoſe grim fires,*] Iſ. XXX. 33. *For Tophet is ordained of old, the pile thereof is fire and much wood, the breath of the Lord, like a ſtream of brimſtone, doth kindle it.*

174. *His red right hand*] So Horace ſays of Jupiter *rubente dextera.* But being ſpoken of *Vengeance*, it muſt be *her right hand*, as in the next line *her ſtores.* Bentley. There is ſomething plauſible and ingenious in this obſervation: but by *his* ſeems to have been meant *God*'s, who is mention'd ſo often in the courſe of the debate, that he might very well be underſtood without being nam'd; and by *her ſtores* in the next line, I ſuppoſe, are meant *Hell*'s, as mention is made afterwards of *her cataracts of fire.*

Caught in a fiery tempeſt ſhall be hurl'd
Each on his rock transfix'd, the ſport and prey
Of wracking whirlwinds, or for ever ſunk
Under yon boiling ocean, wrapt in chains;
There to converſe with everlaſting groans,
Unreſpited, unpitied, unrepriev'd,
Ages of hopeleſs end? this would be worſe.
War therefore, open or conceal'd, alike
My voice diſſuades; for what can force or guile
With him, or who deceive his mind, whoſe eye
Views all things at one view? he from Heav'n's highth
All theſe our motions vain ſees and derides;
Not more almighty to reſiſt our might
Than wiſe to fruſtrate all our plots and wiles.
Shall we then live thus vile, the race of Heaven
Thus trampled, thus expell'd to ſuffer here
Chains and theſe torments? better theſe than worſe

By

180. *Caught in a fiery tempeſt ſhall be hurl'd*
Each on his rock transfix'd,] Borrow'd of Virgil in his deſcription of the fate of Ajax Oileus, Æn. I. 44, 45.

Illum expirantem transfixo pectore flammas
Turbine corripuit, ſcopuloque infixit acuto.
Hume.

181. —— *the ſport and prey*
Of wracking whirlwinds,] Virg. Æn. VI. 75.

—— rapidis ludibria ventis.

190. —— *he from Heav'n's highth*
All theſe our motions vain ſees and derides;] Alluding to Pſal. II. 4. *He that ſitteth in the Heavens*

By my advice; ſince fate inevitable
Subdues us, and omnipotent decree,
The victor's will. To ſuffer, as to do,
Our ſtrength is equal, nor the law unjuſt
That ſo ordains: this was at firſt reſolv'd,
If we were wiſe, againſt ſo great a foe
Contending, and ſo doubtful what might fall.
I laugh, when thoſe who at the ſpear are bold
And ventrous, if that fail them, ſhrink and fear
What yet they know muſt follow, to indure
Exile, or ignominy', or bonds, or pain,
The ſentence of their conqu'ror: this is now
Our doom; which if we can ſuſtain and bear,
Our ſúpreme foe in time may much remit
His anger, and perhaps thus far remov'd
Not mind us not offending, ſatisfy'd
With what is puniſh'd; whence theſe raging fires
Will

vens ſhall laugh, the Lord ſhall have them in deriſion. Nor let it paſs unobſerved that this is conſtantly Milton's way, and the true way of ſpelling *highth*, and not as commonly *height*, where what the e has to do or how it comes in it is not eaſy to apprehend.

199. *To ſuffer, as to do,*] Et facere, et pati. So Scævola boaſted that he was a Roman, and knew as well how to ſuffer as to act. Et facere et pati fortia Romanum eſt. Liv. II. 12. So in Horace, Od. III. XXIV. 43. Quidvis et facere et pati.

220. *This*

Will ſlacken, if his breath ſtir not their flames.
Our purer eſſence then will overcome
Their noxious vapor, or inur'd not feel,
Or chang'd at length, and to the place conform'd
In temper and in nature, will receive
Familiar the fierce heat, and void of pain;
This horror will grow mild, this darkneſs light,
Beſides what hope the never-ending flight
Of future days may bring, what chance, what change
Worth waiting, ſince our preſent lot appears
For happy though but ill, for ill not worſt,
If we procure not to ourſelves more woe.

Thus Belial with words cloth'd in reaſon's garb
Counſel'd ignoble eaſe, and peaceful ſloth,
Not peace: and after him thus Mammon ſpake.

Either

220. *This horror will grow mild, this darkneſs light,*] 'Tis quite too much as Dr. Bentley ſays, that the darkneſs ſhould turn into light: but *light*, I conceive, is an adjective here as well as *mild*; and the meaning is, This darkneſs will in time become eaſy, as this horror will grow mild. It is not well expreſs'd, and the worſe as it rimes with the following line.

227. *Counſel'd ignoble eaſe,*] Not *otium cum dignitate* as Cicero ſpeaks, but as Virgil *ignobile otium.* Studiis *ignobilis oti.* Georg. IV. 764.

228. *Mammon ſpake.*] *Mammon*'s character is ſo fully drawn in the firſt book, that the poet adds nothing to it in the ſecond. We were before told, that he was the firſt who taught mankind to ranſack the earth for gold and ſilver, and that he was the architect of Pandemonium, or the infernal palace, where the evil Spirits were to meet in council. His ſpeech in this book is every way ſuitable to ſo depraved

Either to diſinthrone the king of Heaven
We war, if war be beſt, or to regain
Our own right loſt: him to unthrone we then
May hope, when everlaſting Fate ſhall yield
To fickle Chance, and Chaos judge the ſtrife:
The former vain to hope argues as vain
The latter: for what place can be for us
Within Heav'n's bound, unleſs Heav'n's Lord ſupreme
We overpow'r? Suppoſe he ſhould relent,
And publiſh grace to all, on promiſe made
Of new ſubjection; with what eyes could we
Stand in his preſence humble, and receive
Strict laws impos'd, to celebrate his throne
With warbled hymns, and to his Godhead ſing
Forc'd Halleluiah's; while he lordly ſits

Our

depraved a character. How proper is that reflection, of their being unable to taſte the happineſs of Heaven were they actually there, in the mouth of one, who while he was in Heaven, is ſaid to have had his mind dazled with the outward pomps and glories of the place, and to have been more intent on the riches of the pavement, than on the beatific viſion! I ſhall alſo leave the reader to judge how agreeable the following ſentiments are to the ſame character,

—— This deep world
Of darkneſs do we dread? How oft amidſt, &c.
Addiſon.

233. — *and Chaos judge the ſtrife:*] Between the king of Heaven and us, not between *Fate* and *Chance*, as Dr. Bentley ſuppoſes.
Pearce.

234. *The former vain to hope*] That is to unthrone the king of Heaven, *argues as vain the latter*, that is to regain our own loſt right.

245. — *and*

Our envied ſovran, and his altar breathes
Ambroſial odors and ambroſial flowers,
Our ſervile offerings? This muſt be our task
In Heav'n, this our delight; how wearisome
Eternity ſo ſpent in worſhip paid
To whom we hate! Let us not then purſue
By force impoſſible, by leave obtain'd
Unacceptable, though in Heav'n, our ſtate
Of ſplendid vaſſalage; but rather ſeek
Our own good from ourſelves, and from our own
Live to ourſelves, though in this vaſt receſs,
Free, and to none accountable, preferring
Hard liberty before the eaſy yoke
Of ſervile pomp. Our greatneſs will appear
Then moſt conſpicuous, when great things of ſmall,
Uſeful of hurtful, proſpe'rous of adverſe

We

244. —— *and his altar breathes*
Ambroſial odors and ambroſial flowers,]
Dr. Bentley would read *from* for *and*,

Ambroſial odors *from* ambroſial flowers,

and asks how an *altar* can *breathe flowers*, eſpecially when flowers are, as here, diſtinguiſh'd from *odors?* But when the *altar* is ſaid to *breathe*, the meaning is that *it ſmells of*, it *throws out the ſmell of*, or (as Milton expreſſes it IV. 265.) it *breathes out the ſmell of* &c. In this ſenſe of the word *breathe*, an *altar* may be ſaid to *breathe flowers*, and *odors* too as a diſtinct thing; for by *odors* here Milton means the ſmells of gums and ſweet ſpicy ſhrubs, ſee VIII. 517. Not unlike is what we read in Fairfax's Taſſo, C. 18. St. 20.

Flowers *and odors* ſweetly ſmell'd. *Pearce.*

254. *Live*

We can create, and in what place ſo e'er
Thrive under ev'il, and work eaſe out of pain
Through labor and indurance. This deep world
Of darkneſs do we dread? How oft amidſt
Thick clouds and dark doth Heav'n's all-ruling ſire
Chooſe to reſide, his glory unobſcur'd,
And with the majeſty of darkneſs round
Covers his throne; from whence deep thunders roar
Muſt'ring their rage, and Heav'n reſembles Hell?
As he our darkneſs, cannot we his light
Imitate when we pleaſe? This deſert ſoil
Wants not her hidden luſtre, gems and gold;
Nor want we skill or art, from whence to raiſe
Magnificence; and what can Heav'n ſhow more?
Our torments alſo may in length of time
Become our elements, theſe piercing fires
As

254. *Live to ourſelves,*] Hor. Epiſt. I. XVIII. 107.

—— Ut mihi vivam
Quod ſupereſt ævi.

and Perſius, Sat. IV. 52.

Tecum habita.

263. —— *How oft amidſt*
Thick clouds and dark &c.] Imitated from Pſal. XVIII. 11, 13. *He made darkneſs his ſecret place; his pavilion round about him were dark waters, and thick clouds of the ſkies —— The Lord alſo thundred in the Heavens, and the Higheſt gave his voice, hailſtones and coals of fire.* And from Pſal. XCVII. 2. *Clouds and darkneſs are round about him,* &c.

274. *Our torments alſo may in length of time*
Become our elements, &c.] Enforcing the ſame argument

As ſoft as now ſevere, our temper chang'd
Into their temper; which muſt needs remove
The ſenſible of pain. All things invite
To peaceful counſels, and the ſettled ſtate
Of order, how in ſafety beſt we may
Compoſe our preſent evils, with regard
Of what we are and where, diſmiſſing quite
All thoughts of war: ye have what I adviſe.
He ſcarce had finiſh'd, when ſuch murmur fill'd
Th' aſſembly, as when hollow rocks retain

The

argument that Belial had urged before, ver. 217; and indeed Mammon's whole ſpeech is to the ſame purpoſe as Belial's; the argument is improved and carried farther, only with ſuch difference as is ſuitable to their different characters.

278. *The ſenſible of pain.*] The ſenſe of pain. To ſenſibile, the adjective uſed for a ſubſtantive. *Hume.*

279. *To peaceful counſels,*] There are ſome things wonderfully fine in theſe ſpeeches of the infernal Spirits, and in the different arguments ſo ſuited to their different characters: but they have wander'd from the point in debate, as is too common in other aſſemblies. Satan had declar'd in I. 660.

—— Peace is deſpair'd,
For who can think ſubmiſſion? War then, war
Open or underſtood muſt be reſolv'd.

Which was approv'd and confirm'd by the whole hoſt of Angels. And accordingly at the opening of the council he propoſes for the ſubject of their conſideration, which way they would make choice of, II. 41.

Whether of open war or covert guile,
We now debate:

Moloch ſpeaks to the purpoſe, and declares for open war, ver. 51.

My ſentence is for open war: of wiles,
More unexpert, I boaſt not, *&c.*

But Belial argues alike againſt war open or conceal'd, ver. 187.

War therefore, open or conceal'd, alike
My voice diſſuades; for what can force or
guile *&c.*

Mammon carries on the ſame arguments, and is for *diſmiſſing quite all thoughts of war.* So that the queſtion is changed in the courſe of the

The ſound of bluſt'ring winds, which all night long
Had rous'd the ſea, now with hoarſe cadence lull
Sea-faring men o'erwatch'd, whoſe bark by chance
Or pinnace anchors in a craggy bay
After the tempeſt: Such applauſe was heard
As Mammon ended, and his ſentence pleas'd,
Adviſing peace: for ſuch another field
They dreaded worſe than Hell: ſo much the fear
Of thunder and the ſword of Michaël
Wrought ſtill within them; and no leſs deſire

To

the debate, whether thro' the inattention or intention of the author it is not eaſy to ſay.

281. —— *with regard*
Of what we are and where,] It is thus in the firſt edition: in the ſecond edition it is, *with regard of what we are and were:* and it is varied ſometimes the one and ſometimes the other in the ſubſequent editions. If we read *with regard of what we are and were*, the ſenſe is, with regard to our preſent and our paſt condition; If we read *with regard of what we are and where*, the ſenſe is, with regard to our preſent condition and the place where we are; which latter ſeems much better.

285. —— *as when hollow rocks retain* &c.] Virgil compares the aſſent given by the aſſembly of the Gods to Juno's ſpeech, Æn. X. 96. to the riſing wind, which our author aſſimilates to its decreaſing murmurs,

— cunctique fremebant
Cælicolæ aſſenſu vario: ceu flamina prima,
Cum deprenſa fremunt ſylvis, et cæca volutant
Murmura, venturos nautis prodentia ventos.
Hume.

The conduct of both poets is equally juſt and proper. The intent of Juno's ſpeech was to rouſe and inflame the aſſembly of the Gods, and the effect of it is therefore properly compared by Virgil to the *riſing* wind: but the deſign of Mammon's ſpeech is to quiet and compoſe the infernal aſſembly, and the effect of this therefore is as properly compared by Milton to the wind *falling* after a tempeſt.

294. — *the ſword of Michaël*] The words *Michael*, *Raphael*, &c. are ſometimes pronounced as of two ſyllables, and ſometimes they are made to conſiſt of three. When they are to be pronounced as of three ſyllables, we ſhall take care to diſtinguiſh them in printing thus, *Michaël*, *Raphaël*.

To found this nether empire, which might riſe
By policy, and long procéſs of time,
In emulation oppoſit to Heaven.
Which when Beëlzebub perceiv'd, than whom,
Satan except, none higher ſat, with grave
Aſpéct he roſe, and in his riſing ſeem'd
A pill'ar of ſtate; deep on his front ingraven
Deliberation ſat and public care;
And princely counſel in his face yet ſhone,
Majeſtic though in ruin: ſage he ſtood
With Atlantean ſhoulders fit to bear

The

302. *A pillar of ſtate;*] *Pillar* is to be pronounced contractedly as of one ſyllable, or two ſhort ones; and again in Book XII. 202, 203. The metaphor is plain and eaſy enough to be underſtood; and thus James, and Peter, and John are called *pillars* in Gal. II. 9. And we have the ſame expreſſion in Shakeſpear, 2 Hen. VI. Act I.

Brave Peers of England, *pillars of the ſtate.*

305. *Majeſtic though in ruin*:] It is amazing how even the greateſt critics, ſuch as Dr. Bentley, can ſometimes miſtake the moſt obvious paſſages. Theſe words are to be join'd in conſtruction with *his face*, and not with *princely counſel*, as the Doctor imagin'd.

306. *With Atalantean ſhoulders*] A metaphor to expreſs his vaſt capacity. Atlas was ſo great an aſtronomer, that he is ſaid to have borne Heaven on his ſhoulders. The whole picture from ver. 299. to the end of the paragraph is admirable! *Richardſon.*

309. *Or ſummer's noon-tide air,*] *Noon-tide* is the ſame as *noon-time*, when in hot countries there is hardly a breath of wind ſtirring, and men and beaſts, by reaſon of the intenſe heat, retire to ſhade and reſt. This is the cuſtom of Italy particularly, where our author liv'd ſome time.

309. — *while thus he ſpake.*] *Beëlzebub*, who is reckon'd the ſecond in dignity that fell, and is, in the firſt book, the ſecond that awakens out of the trance, and confers with Satan upon the ſituation of their affairs, maintains his rank in the book now before us.

There

The weight of mightieſt monarchies; his look
Drew audience and attention ſtill as night
Or ſummer's noon-tide air, while thus he ſpake.
  Thrones and Imperial Pow'rs, Ofspring of Heaven,
Ethereal Virtues; or theſe titles now
Muſt we renounce, and changing ſtile be call'd
Princes of Hell? for ſo the popular vote
Inclines, here to continue', and build up here
A growing empire; doubtleſs; while we dream,
And know not that the king of Heav'n hath doom'd
This place our dungeon, not our ſafe retreat

Beyond

There is a wonderful majeſty deſcribed in his riſing up to ſpeak. He acts as a kind of moderator between the two oppoſit parties, and propoſes a third undertaking, which the whole aſſembly gives into. The motion he makes of detaching one of their body in ſearch of a new world is grounded upon a project deviſed by Satan, and curſorily propoſed by him in the following lines of the firſt book,

Space may produce new worlds, *&c.* ver. 650.

It is on this project that *Beëlzebub* grounds his propoſal

— What if we find
Some eaſier enterpriſe? *&c.*

The reader may obſerve how juſt it was not to omit in the firſt book the project upon which the whole poem turns: as alſo that the prince of the fallen Angels was the only proper perſon to give it birth, and that the next to him in dignity was the fitteſt to ſecond and ſupport it. There is beſides, I think, ſomething wonderfully beautiful, and very apt to affect the reader's imagination in this ancient prophecy or report in Heaven, concerning the creation of Man. Nothing could ſhow more the dignity of the ſpecies, than this tradition which ran of them before their exiſtence. They are repreſented to have been the talk of Heaven, before they were created. Virgil, in compliment to the Roman commonwealth, makes the heroes of it appear in their ſtate of præexiſtence; but Milton does a far greater honor to mankind in general, as he gives us a glimpſe of them even before they are in being.

Addiſon.

327 — *and*

Beyond his potent arm, to live exempt
From Heav'n's high juriſdiction, in new league
Banded againſt his throne, but to remain
In ſtricteſt bondage, though thus far remov'd,
Under th' inevitable curb, reſerv'd
His captive multitude: for he, be ſure,
In highth or depth, ſtill firſt and laſt will reign
Sole king, and of his kingdom loſe no part
By our revolt, but over Hell extend
His empire, and with iron ſcepter rule
Us here, as with his golden thoſe in Heaven.
What ſit we then projecting peace and war?
War hath determin'd us, and foil'd with loſs
Irreparable; terms of peace yet none
Vouchſaf'd or ſought; for what peace will be given
To us inſlav'd, but cuſtody ſevere,
And ſtripes, and arbitrary puniſhment
Inflicted? and what peace can we return,

But

327. —— *and with iron ſcepter rule*
Us here, as with his golden thoſe in Heaven.] The *iron* ſcepter is in alluſion to Pſal. II. 9. as that of *gold* to Eſther V. 2. *Hume.*

329. *What ſit we then projecting peace and war?*] Dr. Bentley reads *peace or war:* Dr. Pearce ſays, perhaps better *peace* in *war:* But there ſeems to be no neceſſity for an alteration. It was a debate of peace and war. Peace as well as war was the ſubject of their debate.

And

But to our pow'r hoſtility and hate,
Untam'd reluctance, and revenge though ſlow,
Yet ever plotting how the conqu'ror leaſt
May reap his conqueſt, and may leaſt rejoice
In doing what we moſt in ſuffering feel?
Nor will occaſion want, nor ſhall we need
With dange'rous expedition to invade
Heav'n, whoſe high walls fear no aſſault or ſiege,
Or ambuſh from the deep. What if we find
Some eaſier enterpriſe? There is a place,
(If ancient and prophetic fame in Heaven
Err not) another world, the happy ſeat
Of ſome new race call'd Man, about this time
To be created like to us, though leſs
In pow'r and excellence, but favor'd more
Of him who rules above; ſo was his will
Pronounc'd among the Gods, and by an oath,
That ſhook Heav'n's whole circumference, confirm'd.
Thither

And *what* ſeems to be uſed here like the Latin *Quid*, which ſignifies both what and why.

332. *Vouchſaf'd*] Milton conſtantly writes this verb *voutſafe*; and this is rather of a ſofter ſound, but the other ſeems more agreeable to the etymology of the word.

352. —— *and by an oath,*
That ſhook Heav'n's whole circumference, confirm'd.] *He confirm'd it by an oath* are the

Thither let us bend all our thoughts, to learn
What creatures there inhabit, of what mold
Or ſubſtance, how indued, and what their power,
And where their weakneſs, how attempted beſt,
By force or ſubtlety. Though Heav'n be ſhut,
And Heav'n's high arbitrator ſit ſecure
In his own ſtrength, this place may lie expos'd,
The utmoſt border of his kingdom, left
To their defenſe who hold it: here perhaps
Some advantageous act may be achiev'd
By ſudden onſet, either with Hell fire
To waſte his whole creation, or poſſeſs
All as our own, and drive, as we were driven,
The puny habitants, or if not drive,

Seduce

the very words of St. Paul, Heb. VI. 17. and this oath is ſaid to *ſhake Heav'n's whole circumference* in alluſion to Jupiter's oath in Virgil, Æn. IX. 104.

Dixerat: idque ratum Stygii per flumina fratris,
Per pice torrentes atraque voragine ripas
Annuit, et totum nutu tremefecit Olympum.

To ſeal his ſacred vow, by Styx he ſwore,
The lake with liquid pitch, the dreary ſhore,
And Phlegethon's innavigable flood,
And the black regions of his brother God:
He ſaid; and ſhook the ſkies with his imperial nod. Dryden.

As Virgil had imitated Homer, Iliad. I. 528.

Η, και κυανεηϛιν επ οφρυϛι νευϛε Κρονιων·
Αμβροϛιαι δ' αρα χαιται επερρωϛανλο ανακλ@
Κρατ@ απ' αθανατοιο· μεγαν δ' ελελιξεν
Ολυμπον.

He ſpoke, and awful bends his ſable brows;
Shakes his ambroſial curls, and gives the nod,
The ſtamp of fate, and ſanction of the God;
High Heav'n with trembling the dread ſignal took,
And all Olympus to the center ſhook. Pope.

All the three poets, we ſee, mention the ſhaking of

Seduce them to our party, that their God
May prove their foe, and with repenting hand
Aboliſh his own works. This would ſurpaſs
Common revenge, and interrupt his joy
In our confuſion, and our joy upraiſe
In his diſturbance; when his darling ſons,
Hurl'd headlong to partake with us, ſhall curſe
Their frail original, and faded bliſs,
Faded ſo ſoon. Adviſe if this be worth
Attempting, or to ſit in darkneſs here
Hatching vain empires. Thus Beëlzebub
Pleaded his deviliſh counſel, firſt devis'd
By Satan, and in part propos'd: for whence,
But from the author of all ill, could ſpring

So

of Heaven, only Milton attributes that effect to the *oath*, which Homer and Virgil aſcribe to the *nod* of Jupiter: but the circumſtance of the *nod* ſeems to be rightly omitted in this place, becauſe God is not here giving his aſſent to any one's petition, which is the caſe in Homer and Virgil, but only pronouncing his will among the Angels.

362. — *here perhaps*] Dr. Bentley ſays that Milton muſt have given it *there perhaps:* but I think not: in ver. 360 it is *this place*, and therefore Milton gave it *here*, that is in the place which I am ſpeaking of. Milton frequently uſes *now* and *here*, not meaning a time or place *then* preſent to him or his ſpeakers *when* they are ſpeaking; but that time and that place, which he or they are ſpeaking of.

Pearce.

367. *The puny habitants,*] It is poſſible that the author by *puny* might mean no more than weak or little; but yet if we reflect how frequently he uſes words in their proper and primary ſignification, it ſeems probable that he might include likewiſe the ſenſe of the French (from whence it is deriv'd) *puis nè*, born ſince, created long after us.

406. — *the*

So deep a malice, to confound the race
Of mankind in one root, and Earth with Hell
To mingle and involve, done all to ſpite
The great Creator? But their ſpite ſtill ſerves
His glory to augment. The bold deſign
Pleas'd highly thoſe infernal States, and joy
Sparkled in all their eyes; with full aſſent
They vote: whereat his ſpeech he thus renews.
Well have ye judg'd, well ended long debate,
Synod of Gods, and like to what ye are,
Great things reſolv'd, which from the loweſt deep
Will once more lift us up, in ſpite of fate,
Nearer our ancient ſeat; perhaps in view [arms
Of thoſe bright confines, whence with neighb'ring
And opportune excurſion we may chance
Re-enter Heav'n; or elſe in ſome mild zone
Dwell not unviſited of Heav'n's fair light

Secure,

406. — *the palpable obſcure*] It is remarkable in our author's ſtile, that he often uſes adjectives as ſubſtantives, and ſubſtantives again as adjectives. Here are two adjectives, the latter of which is uſed for a ſubſtantive, as again in ver. 409, *the vaſt abrupt*. And ſometimes there are two ſubſtantives, the former of which is uſed for an adjective, as *the ocean ſtream*, I. 202. *the bullion droſs*, I. 704. Milton often enriches his language in this manner.

409. —— *ere he arrive*
The happy ile?] The earth, hanging in the ſea

Secure, and at the brightning orient beam
Purge off this gloom; the ſoft delicious air,
To heal the ſcar of theſe corroſive fires,
Shall breathe her balm. But firſt whom ſhall we ſend
In ſearch of this new world? whom ſhall we find
Sufficient? who ſhall tempt with wand'ring feet
The dark unbottom'd infinite abyſs,
And through the palpable obſcure find out
His uncouth way, or ſpread his aery flight
Upborne with indefatigable wings
Over the vaſt abrupt, ere he arrive
The happy ile? what ſtrength, what art can then
Suffice, or what evaſion bear him ſafe
Through the ſtrict ſenteries and ſtations thick
Of Angels watching round? Here he had need
All circumſpection, and we now no leſs
Choice in our ſuffrage; for on whom we ſend,

The

ſea of air, like a happy, or *fortunate* iland, as the name is. *Ere he arrive the happy ile*; ſo the word *arrive* is uſed by our author in the Preface to *the Judgment of Martin Bucer*, p. 276. Edit. 1738. "And he, if our things here "below *arrive him* where he is *&c*:" and again in his *Treatiſe of civil power in eccleſiaſtical cauſes*, p. 553, "Let him alſo forbear force— "leſt a worſe woe *arrive him*." And Shakeſpear expreſſes himſelf in the ſame manner 3 Hen. VI. Act. V. --- thoſe powers, that the Queen
Hath rais'd in Gallia, *have arriv'd our coaſt*.

420. --- *but*

The weight of all and our laſt hope relies.
This ſaid, he ſat; and expectation held
His look ſuſpenſe, awaiting who appear'd
To ſecond, or oppoſe, or undertake
The perilous attempt: but all ſat mute,
Pond'ring the danger with deep thoughts; and each
In others count'nance read his own diſmay
Aſtoniſh'd: none among the choice and prime
Of thoſe Heav'n-warring champions could be found
So hardy as to proffer or accept
Alone the dreadful voyage; till at laſt
Satan, whom now tranſcendent glory rais'd
Above his fellows, with monarchal pride
Conſcious of higheſt worth, unmov'd thus ſpake.

O

420. — *but all ſat mute,*] Homer often uſes words to the ſame effect, when an affair of difficulty is propoſed, ſuch as ſending a ſpy into the Trojan camp, or a ſingle combat with Hector. Iliad. VII. 92.

Ως εφαθ'· οι δ' αρα παντες ακην εγενοντο σιωπη·
Αιδεϊδεν μεν αννηαδαι, δεισαν δ' υποδεχθαι.

429. — *unmov'd*] With any of thoſe dangers which deterred others.

430. *O progeny of Heav'n,*] Virg. Ec. IV. 7.
Jam nova progenies cœlo demittitur alto.
Hume.

432. —— *long is the way*
And hard, that out of Hell leads up to light;]
He had Virgil in mind, Æn. VI. 128.

Sed revocare gradum ſuperaſque evadere ad auras,
Hoc opus, hic labor eſt.

But to return, and view the chearful ſkies,
In this the taſk, and mighty labor lies:
Dryden.

as in what follows of the fire immuring them round *ninefold*, and of *the gates of burning adamant*,

O Progeny of Heav'n, empyreal Thrones,
With reaſon hath deep ſilence and demur
Seis'd us, though undiſmay'd: long is the way
And hard, that out of Hell leads up to light;
Our priſon ſtrong; this huge convex of fire,
Outrageous to devour, immures us round
Ninefold, and gates of burning adamant
Barr'd over us prohibit all egreſs.
Theſe paſs'd, if any paſs, the void profound
Of uneſſential Night receives him next
Wide gaping, and with utter loſs of being
Threatens him, plung'd in that abortive gulf.
If thence he ſcape into whatever world,
Or unknown region, what remains him leſs

Than

mant, he alludes to what Virgil ſays in the ſame book, of Styx flowing nine times round the damn'd, and of the gates of Hell.

— *novies* Styx interfuſa coercet. ver. 439.
Porta adverſa ingens ſolidoque *adamante* columnæ. ver. 552.

434. — *this huge convex of fire*,] This huge vault of fire, bending down on all ſides round us. *Convex* is ſpoken properly of the exterior ſurface of a globe, and *concave* of the interior ſurface which is hollow: but the poets do not always ſpeak thus exactly, but uſe them promiſcuouſly; and hence in Virgil *cæli convexa* and *ſupera convexa* in ſeveral places. And what is here the *convex of fire* is afterwards call'd *the fiery concave*, ver. 635.

438. — *the void profound*] *Inane profundum*, as Lucretius has it in ſeveral places.

439. *Of uneſſential Night*] *Uneſſential*, void of being; darkneſs approaching neareſt to, and being the beſt reſemblance of non-entity.
Hume.

450. — *Where-*

Than unknown dangers, and as hard eſcape?
But I ſhould ill become this throne, O Peers,
And this imperial ſovranty, adorn'd
With ſplendor, arm'd with pow'r, if ought propos'd
And judg'd of public moment, in the ſhape
Of difficulty or danger could deter
Me from attempting. Wherefore do' I aſſume
Theſe royalties, and not refuſe to reign,
Refuſing to accept as great a ſhare
Of hazard as of honor, due alike
To him who reigns, and ſo much to him due
Of hazard more, as he above the reſt
High honor'd ſits? Go therefore mighty Powers,
Terror of Heav'n, though fall'n; intend at home,
While here ſhall be our home, what beſt may eaſe
The preſent miſery, and render Hell

More

450. — *Wherefore do I aſſume* &c.] Our author has here caught the ſpirit of Homer in that divine ſpeech of Sarpedon to Glaucus, Iliad. XII. 310.

Γλαυκε, τιη δη νωι τετιμημεδα μαλιςα
Εδρη τε, κρεασιν τε, ιδε ωλειοις δεπαεσσιν,
Εν Λυκιη; ωαντες δε, θεως ως, εισοροωσι;
Και τεμενω νεμομεδα μεγα Ξανθοιο ωαρ' οχθας,
Καλον, φυταλιης και αρουρης ωυροφοροιο;

Τω νυν χρη Λυκιοισι μετα ωρωτοισιν εδλας,
Εσαμεν, ηδε μαχης καυσειρης ανλιζολησαι· &c.

Why boaſt we, Glaucus, our extended reign,
Where Xanthus' ſtreams enrich the Lycian plain,
Our numerous herds that range the fruitful field,
And hills where vines their purple harveſt yield,
Our foaming bowls with purer nectar crown'd,
Our feaſts enhanc'd with muſic's ſprightly ſound?
Why on thoſe ſhores are we with joy ſurvey'd,
Admir'd as heroes, and as Gods obey'd?

Unleſs

More tolerable; if there be cure or charm
To reſpit, or deceive, or ſlack the pain
Of this ill manſion: intermit no watch
Againſt a wakeful foe, while I abroad
Through all the coaſts of dark deſtruction ſeek
Deliverance for us all: this enterpriſe
None ſhall partake with me. Thus ſaying roſe
The Monarch, and prevented all reply,
Prudent, leſt from his reſolution rais'd
Others among the chief might offer now
(Certain to be refus'd) what erſt they fear'd;
And ſo refus'd might in opinion ſtand
His rivals, winning cheap the high repute
Which he through hazard huge muſt earn. But they
Dreaded not more th' adventure than his voice
Forbidding; and at once with him they roſe;
Their

Unleſs great acts ſuperior merit prove,
And vindicate the bounteous pow'rs above.
'Tis our's, the dignity they give, to grace;
The firſt in valor, as the firſt in place. *&c.*
Pope.

This is one of the nobleſt and beſt-ſpirited ſpeeches in the whole Iliad: but (as Mr. Hume ſays) is as much exalted in the imitation, as a Seraphim is ſuperior to a Man. And is it not a probable preſumption, that Milton (whoſe diſlike to kings is very well known) by putting theſe ſentiments into the mouth of the king of Hell intended an oblique ſatir upon the kings of the Earth, whoſe practice is ſo often directly contrary to them?

465. —— *this enterpriſe*
None ſhall partake with me.] The abruptneſs of Satan's concluſion is very well expreſs'd by the ſpeech breaking off in the middle of the verſe.

476. *Their*

Their riſing all at once was as the ſound
Of thunder heard remote. Tow'ards him they bend
With awful reverence prone; and as a God
Extol him equal to the Hig'heſt in Heaven:
Nor fail'd they to expreſs how much they prais'd,
That for the general ſafety he deſpis'd
His own: for neither do the Spirits damn'd
Loſe all their virtue; leſt bad men ſhould boaſt
Their ſpecious deeds on earth, which glory' excites,
Or cloſe ambition varniſh'd o'er with zeal.
Thus they their doubtful conſultations dark
Ended

476. *Their riſing all at once was as the ſound Of thunder heard remote.*] The riſing of this great aſſembly is deſcribed in a very ſublime and poetical manner. *Addiſon.*

483. —— *leſt bad men ſhould boaſt* &c.] Here Dr. Bentley aſks, whether the Devils retain ſome of their virtue, on purpoſe *leſt bad men ſhould boaſt* &c. This being an abſurdity, he reads *leſs ſhould bad men boaſt* &c. But there is no occaſion for the alteration. To take the force of the word *leſt*, we muſt ſuppoſe the author to have left his reader to ſupply ſome ſuch expreſſion as this, This remark (of the Devils not *loſing all their virtue*) I make, *leſt bad men ſhould boaſt* &c. Dr. Bentley knows that μη in Greek, and *ne* in Latin are often thus uſed. Milton here ſeems to have had in view Eph. II. 8, 9. *By grace ye are ſaved, through faith ---- not of works, leſt any man ſhould boaſt.* Not, that they were *ſaved not of works*, on purpoſe *leſt any man ſhould boaſt*; but St. Paul puts them in mind of that, and made that remark to prevent their *boaſting*. *Pearce.*

As our author has drawn Satan with ſome remains of the beauty, ſo he repreſents him likewiſe with ſome of the other perfections of an Arch-Angel; and herein he has follow'd the rule of Ariſtotle in his Poetics, chap. 15. that the manners ſhould be as good as the nature of the ſubject will poſſibly admit. A Devil all made up of wickedneſs would be too ſhocking to any reader or writer.

489. —— *while the north-wind ſleeps,*] So Homer expreſſes it, Iliad. V. 524.

—— οφρ' ευδησι μενω Βορεαο, ——

that wind generally clearing the ſky, and diſperſing

Ended rejoicing in their matchleſs chief:
As when from mountain tops the dusky clouds
Aſcending, while the north-wind ſleeps, o'er-ſpread
Heav'n's chearful face, the louring element
Scowls o'er the darken'd landskip ſnow, or ſhower;
If chance the radiant ſun with farewel ſweet
Extend his evening beam, the fields revive,
The birds their notes renew, and bleating herds
Atteſt their joy, that hill and valley rings.
O ſhame to men! Devil with Devil damn'd
Firm concord holds, men only diſagree

Of

perſing the clouds. Every body muſt be wonderfully delighted with this ſimilitude. The images are not more pleaſing in nature, than they are refreſhing to the reader after his attention to the foregoing debate. We have a ſimile of the ſame kind in Homer, but apply'd upon a very different occaſion, Iliad. XVI. 297.

Ως δ' οτ' αφ' υψηλης κορυφης ορεος μεγαλοιο
Κινησει τυφινην νεφελην τεροπηγερετα Ζευς,
Εκ τ' εφανον τασαι σκοπιαι, και πρωονες ακροι,
Και ναπαι, ρηγνυθεν δ' ἀρ' υπερραγη αστετος αιθηρ.

So when thick clouds inwrap the mountain's head,
O'er Heav'n's expanſe like one black cieling ſpread;
Sudden, the Thund'rer with a flaſhing ray,
Burſts thro' the darkneſs, and lets down the day:
The hills ſhine out, the rocks in proſpect riſe,
And ſtreams, and vales, and foreſts ſtrike the eyes,
The ſmiling ſcene wide opens to the ſight,
And all th' unmeaſur'd æther flames with light.

Mr. Pope tranſlates it as if Jupiter lighten'd, which makes it a horrid rather than a pleaſing ſcene; but Homer ſays only that he remov'd the thick clouds from the mountain top, and ſo it is explained in the note of Pope's Homer, which ſhows that the tranſlation and notes were not always made by the ſame perſon.

494. —— *bleating herds*] Dr. Bentley reads *flocks*, and ſays that *herd* is a word proper to cattel, that do not *bleat*. But *herd* is originally the common name for a number of any ſort of cattel: Hence *Shepherd*, that is *Sheepherdſman*, ſee VII. 462. *Pearce.* —*Bleating herds* is much ſuch an expreſſion as Spenſer's *fleecy cattel* in *Colin Clout's come home again.*

Of creatures rational, though under hope
Of heav'nly grace: and God proclaming peace,
Yet live in hatred, enmity, and ſtrife
Among themſelves, and levy cruel wars,
Waſting the earth, each other to deſtroy:
As if (which might induce us to accord)
Man had not helliſh foes enow beſides,
That day and night for his deſtruction wait.
The Stygian council thus diſſolv'd; and forth
In order came the grand infernal peers:
Midſt came their mighty paramount, and ſeem'd
Alone th' antagoniſt of Heav'n, nor leſs
Than Hell's dread emperor with pomp ſupreme,
And God-like imitated ſtate; him round
A globe of fiery Seraphim inclos'd
With bright imblazonry, and horrent arms.

Then

512. *A globe of fiery Seraphim*] A *globe* ſignifies here a battalion in circle ſurrounding him, as Virgil ſays, Æn. X. 373.

— qua *globus* ille virûm denſiſſimus urget.

513. — *horrent arms.*] *Horrent* includes the idea both of terrible and prickly, ſet up like the briſtles of a wild boar.

Horrentia Martis arma. Virg. Æn. I.
— denſos acie atque *horrentibus* haſtis.
Æn. X. 178.

517. — *the ſounding alchemy*] Dr. Bentley reads *orichalc*: but ſince he allows that *gold and ſilver coin, as well as braſs and pewter, are alchemy, being mix'd metals*, for that reaſon *alchemy* will do here; eſpecially being join'd to the epithet

Then of their ſeſſion ended they bid cry
With trumpets regal ſound the great reſult:
Tow'ards the four winds four ſpeedy Cherubim
Put to their mouths the ſounding alchemy
By heralds voice explain'd; the hollow' abyſs
Heard far and wide, and all the hoſt of Hell
With deafning ſhout return'd them loud acclame.
Thence more at eaſe their minds, and ſomewhat rais'd
By falſe preſumptuous hope, the ranged Powers
Disband, and wand'ring, each his ſeveral way
Purſues, as inclination or ſad choice
Leads him perplex'd, where he may likelieſt find
Truce to his reſtleſs thoughts, and entertain
The irkſome hours, till his great chief return.
Part on the plain, or in the air ſublime,
Upon the wing, or in ſwift race contend,

As

epithet *ſounding*, which determins it to mean a trumpet, made perhaps of the mix'd metals of braſs, ſilver, *&c.* *Pearce.* Alchemy, the name of that art which is the ſublimer part of chemiſtry, the tranſmutation of metals. Milton names no particular metal, but leaves the imagination at large, any metal poſſible to be produced by that myſterious art; 'tis a metonymy, the efficient for the effect; vaſtly poetical! *Richardſon.* *Alchemy* is in ſhort what is corruptly pronounc'd *Ockamy*, that is any mix'd metal.

527. — *till his great chief return.*] So it is in the firſt edition; but in the ſecond and ſome others it is, *till* this *great chief return*; which is manifeſtly an error of the preſs.

528. *Part on the plain*, &c.] The diverſions of the fallen Angels, with the particular ac-

As at th' Olympian games or Pythian fields;
Part curb their fiery ſteeds, or ſhun the goal
With rapid wheels, or fronted brigads form.
As when to warn proud cities war appears
Wag'd in the troubled sky, and armies ruſh
To battel in the clouds, before each van
Prick forth the aery knights, and couch their ſpears
Till thickeſt legions cloſe; with feats of arms
From either end of Heav'n the welkin burns.

Others

count of their place of habitation, are deſcribed with great pregnancy of thought and copiouſneſs of invention. The diverſions are every way ſuitable to beings, who had nothing left them but ſtrength and knowledge miſapplied. Such are their contentions at the race and in feats of arms, with their entertainments in the following lines,

Others with vaſt Typhœan rage more fell *&c.*

Their muſic is employ'd in celebrating their own criminal exploits, and their diſcourſe in ſounding the unfathomable depths of fate, free-will, and fore-knowledge. *Addiſon.*

Part contend on the plain in running, or in the air in flying, as at the famous Olympian or Pythian games in Greece, while another part contend on horſeback or in chariot races, *Part curb their fiery ſteeds*, &c. Theſe warlike diverſions of the fall'n Angels during the abſence of Satan ſeem to be copied from the military exerciſes of the Myrmidons during the abſence of their chief from the war, Homer's Iliad. II. 774. *&c.* only the images are rais'd in proportion to the nature of the beings who are here deſcribed. We may ſuppoſe too that the author had an eye to the diverſions and entertainments of the departed heroes in Virgil's Elyſium, Æn. VI. 642.

Pars in gramineis exercent membra palæſtris,
Contendunt ludo, et fulvâ luctantur, arenâ:
Pars pedibus plaudunt choreas, et carmina dicunt, *&c.*

Their aery limbs in ſports they exerciſe,
And on the green contend the wreſtler's prize.
Some in heroic verſe divinely ſing;
Others in artful meaſures lead the ring. *&c.*
Dryden.

531. —— *or ſhun the goal*
With rapid wheels,] Plainly taken from Horace, Od. I. I. 4.

Metaque fervidis evitata rotis.

But with good judgment he ſays *rapid* not *fervid:* becauſe in theſe Hell-games both the wheels and the burning marle they drove on were *fervid* even before the race. *Bentley.*

534. *Wag'd*

Others with vaſt Typhœan rage more fell
Rend up both rocks and hills, and ride the air
In whirlwind; Hell ſcarce holds the wild uproar.
As when Alcides, from Oechalia crown'd
With conqueſt, felt th' envenom'd robe, and tore
Through pain up by the roots Theſſalian pines,
And Lichas from the top of Oeta threw
Into th' Euboic ſea. Others more mild,
Retreated in a ſilent valley, ſing

With

534. *Wag'd in the troubled ſky,*] So Shakeſpear in 1 Hen. IV. Act I. calls theſe appearances

—— the meteors of a *troubled* Heaven.

536. —— *and couch their ſpears*] Fix them in their reſts. *Couch* from *coucher* (French) to place. A reſt was made in the breaſt of the armour, and was call'd a *reſt* from *arreſter* (French) to ſtay. *Richardſon.*

539. *Others with vaſt Typhœan rage* &c.] Others with rage like that of Typhœus or Typhon, one of the giants who warred againſt Heaven, of whom ſee before I. 199. The contraſt here is very remarkable. Some are employ'd in ſportive games and exerciſes, while others rend up both rocks and hills, and make wild uproar. Some again are ſinging in a valley, while others are diſcourſing and arguing on a hill; and theſe are repreſented as *ſitting*, while others march different ways to diſcover that infernal world. Every company is drawn in contraſt both to that which goes before, and that which follows.

542. *As when Alcides*, &c.] As when Herculeſ named *Alcides* from his grandfather Alcæus, *from Oechalia crown'd with conqueſt*, after his return from the conqueſt of Oechalia a city of Bœotia, having brought with him from thence Iole the king's daughter, *felt th' envenom'd robe*, which was ſent him by Deianira in jealouſy of his new miſtreſs, and ſtuck ſo cloſe to his skin that he could not pull off the one without pulling off the other, *and tore through pain up by the roots Theſſalian pines, and Lichas* who had brought him the poiſon'd robe, *from the top of Oeta*, a mountain in the borders of Theſſaly, *threw into th' Euboic ſea*, the ſea near Eubœa an iland in the Archipelago. The madneſs of Hercules was a ſubject for tragedy among the Ancients (Ηρακλης μαινομενος by Euripides, Hercules furens by Seneca) but our author has compriſed the principal circumſtances in this ſimilitude, and ſeems more particularly to have copied Ovid, Met. IX. 136.

Victor ab Oechalia —— &c.

550. —— *and*

With notes angelical to many a harp
Their own heroic deeds and hapleſs fall
By doom of battel; and complain that fate
Free virtue ſhould inthrall to force or chance.
Their ſong was partial, but the harmony
(What could it leſs when Spi'rits immortal ſing?)
Suſpended Hell, and took with raviſhment
The thronging audience. In diſcourſe more ſweet
(For eloquence the ſoul, ſong charms the ſenſe,)
Others apart ſat on a hill retir'd,
In thoughts more elevate, and reaſon'd high
Of providence, foreknowledge, will, and fate,
Fix'd

550. — *and complain that fate*
Free virtue ſhould inthrall to force or chance.] This is taken from the famous diſtich of Euripides, which Brutus uſed, when he ſlew himſelf;

Ω τλημον αρετη, λογος αρ' ηθ', εγω σ' ε
Ως εργον ησκεν· συ δ' αρ' ευβλευσας βια.

In ſome places for βια *force* it is quoted τυχη *fortune*. Milton has well comprehended both, *inthrall to force or chance*. Bentley.

554. *Suſpended Hell*,] The effect of their ſinging is ſomewhat like that of Orpheus in Hell, Virg. Georg. IV. 481.

Quin ipſæ ſtupuere domus, atque intima lethi
Tartara, ceruleoſque implexæ crinibus angues
Eumenides, tenuitque inhians tria Cerberus ora,
Atque Ixionii vento rota conſtitit orbis.

E'en from the depths of Hell the damn'd advance,
Th' infernal manſions nodding ſeem to dance;
The gaping three-mouth'd dog forgets to ſnarl,
The Furies hearken, and their ſnakes uncurl;
Ixion ſeems no more his pain to feel,
But leans attentive on his ſtanding wheel.
Dryden.

The harmony ſuſpended Hell; but is it not much better with the parentheſis coming between? which ſuſpends as it were the event, raiſes the reader's attention, and gives a greater force to the ſentence.

But the harmony
(What could it leſs when Spirits immortal ſing?)
Suſpended Hell, &c.

555. — *In*

Fix'd fate, free will, foreknowledge abſolute,
And found no end, in wand'ring mazes loſt.
Of good and evil much they argued then,
Of happineſs and final miſery,
Paſſion and apathy, and glory' and ſhame,
Vain wiſdom all, and falſe philoſophy:
Yet with a pleaſing ſorcery could charm
Pain for a while or anguiſh, and excite
Fallacious hope, or arm th' obdured breaſt
With ſtubborn patience as with triple ſteel.
Another part in ſquadrons and groſs bands,
On bold adventure to diſcover wide

That

555. — *In diſcourſe more ſweet*] Our poet ſo juſtly prefers diſcourſe to the higheſt harmony, that he has ſeated his reaſoning Angels on a hill as high and elevated as their thoughts, leaving the ſongſters in their humble valley. *Hume.*

559. —— *foreknowledge, will, and fate,*
Fix'd fate, free will, foreknowledge abſolute,] The turn of the words here is admirable, and very well expreſſes the wand'rings and mazes of their diſcourſe. And the turn of the words is greatly improv'd, and render'd ſtill more beautiful by the addition of an epithet to each of them.

565. *Vain wiſdom all, and falſe philoſophy:*] *Good and evil*, and de finibus bonorum et malorum, *&c.* were more particularly the ſubjects of diſputation among the philoſophers and ſophiſts of old, as *providence*, *free will*, &c. were among the ſchool-men and divines of later times: and our author ſhows herein what an opinion he had of all books and learning of this kind.

568. —— *th' obdured breaſt*] So we read in Milton's own editions, and not *obdurate*, as it is in Dr. Bentley's, Mr. Fenton's, and others: The ſame word is uſed again in VI. 785.

This ſaw his hapleſs foes, but ſtood *obdur'd.*

569. — *with triple ſteel.*] An imitation of Horace, Od. I. III. 9, 10.

Illi robur, et æs triplex
Circa pectus erat, *&c.*

His breaſt was armed with the ſtrength of threefold braſs, only our poet uſeth the hardeſt metal of the two. *Hume.*

572. *That*

That diſmal world, if any clime perhaps
Might yield them eaſier habitation, bend
Four ways their flying march, along the banks
Of four infernal rivers, that diſgorge
Into the burning lake their baleful ſtreams;
Abhorred Styx, the flood of deadly hate;
Sad Acheron of ſorrow, black and deep;
Cocytus, nam'd of lamentation loud
Heard on the rueful ſtream; fierce Phlegethon,
Whoſe waves of torrent fire inflame with rage.

Far

572. *That diſmal world,*] The ſeveral circumſtances in the deſcription of Hell are finely imagin'd; as the four rivers which diſgorge themſelves into the ſea of fire, the extremes of cold and heat, and the river of oblivion. The monſtrous animals produced in that infernal world are repreſented by a ſingle line, which gives us a more horrid idea of them, than a much longer deſcription of them would have done. This epiſode of the fallen Spirits and their place of habitation comes in very happily to unbend the mind of the reader from its attention to the debate. An ordinary poet would indeed have ſpun out ſo many circumſtances to a great length, and by that means have weaken'd, inſtead of illuſtrated, the principal fable. *Addiſon.*

577. *Abhorred Styx*, &c.] The Greeks reckon up five rivers in Hell, and call them after the names of the noxious ſprings and rivers in their own country. Our poet follows their example both as to the number and the names of theſe infernal rivers, and excellently deſcribes their nature and properties with the explanation of their names. *Styx* ſo named of a Greek word στυγεω that ſignifies to *hate* and *abhor*, and therefore called here, *Abhorred Styx, the flood of deadly hate*, and by Virgil *palus inamabilis*, Æn. VI. 438. *Acheron* has its name from αχος dolor and ρεω fluo, *flowing with grief*; and is repreſented accordingly *Sad Acheron*, the river *of ſorrow* as Styx was of hate, *black and deep*, agreeable to Virgil's character of it

— tenebroſa palus Acheronte refuſo.
Æn. VI. 107.

Cocytus, nam'd of lamentation, becauſe derived from a Greek word κωκυω ſignifying to *weep* and *lament:* as *Phlegethon* is from another Greek word φλεγω ſignifying to *burn*; and therefore rightly deſcribed here *fierce Phlegethon, whoſe waves of torrent fire inflame with rage*, as it is by Virgil, Æn. VI. 550.

— rapidus

Far off from theſe a ſlow and ſilent ſtream,
Lethe the river of oblivion rolls
Her watry labyrinth, whereof who drinks,
Forthwith his former ſtate and be'ing forgets,
Forgets both joy and grief, pleaſure and pain.
Beyond this flood a frozen continent
Lies dark and wild, beat with perpetual ſtorms
Of whirlwind and dire hail, which on firm land
Thaws not, but gathers heap, and ruin ſeems
Of ancient pile; all elſe deep ſnow and ice,

A

— rapidus flammis torrentibus amnis
Tartareus Phlegethon.

We know not what to ſay as to the ſituation of theſe rivers. Homer, the moſt ancient poet, repreſents Cocytus as branching out of Styx, and both Cocytus and Phlegethon (or Pyriphlegethon) as flowing into Acheron, Odyſſ. X. 513.

Ενθα μεν εις Αχεροντα Πυριφλεγεθων τε ρεουσι
Κωκυτος θ', ος δη Στυγος υδατος εστιν απορρωξ.

and perhaps he deſcribes their ſituation as it really was in Greece: but Virgil and the other poets frequently confound them, and mention their names and places without ſufficient difference or diſtinction. Our poet therefore was at liberty to draw (as I may ſay) a new map of theſe rivers; and he ſuppoſes *a burning lake* agreeably to Scripture that often mentions *the lake of fire*; and he makes theſe four rivers to flow from four different quarters and empty themſelves into this burning lake, which gives us a much greater idea than any of the Heathen poets. Beſides theſe there is a fifth river called *Lethe*, which name in Greek ſignifies *forgetfulneſs*, and its waters are ſaid to have occaſion'd that quality, Æn. VI. 714.

Lethæi ad fluminis undam
Securos latices, et longa oblivia potant:

and Milton attributes the ſame effect to it, and deſcribes it as *a ſlow and ſilent ſtream*, as Lucan had done before him, IX. 355.

Quam juxta *Lethes tacitus* prælabitur *amnis*.

The river of oblivion is rightly plac'd *far off* from the rivers of hatred, ſorrow, lamentation, and rage; and divides the frozen continent from the region of fire, and thereby completes the map of Hell with its general diviſions.

A gulf profound as that Serbonian bog
Betwixt Damiata and mount Caſius old,
Where armies whole have ſunk: the parching air
Burns frore, and cold performs th' effect of fire.
Thither by harpy-footed furies hal'd,
At certain revolutions all the damn'd
Are brought; and feel by turns the bitter change
Of fierce extremes, extremes by change more fierce,
From beds of raging fire to ſtarve in ice
Their

592. — *that Serbonian bog*] Serbonis was a lake 200 furlongs in length and 1000 in compaſs between the ancient mountain Caſius and Damiata a city of Egypt on one of the more eaſtern mouths of the Nile. It was ſurrounded on all ſides by hills of looſe ſand, which carried into the water by high winds ſo thicken'd the lake, as not to be diſtinguiſh'd from part of the continent, where whole armies have been ſwallow'd up. Read Herodotus, L. 3. and Luc. Phar. VIII. 539. *&c.*

Perfida qua tellus Caſiis excurrit arenis,
Et vada teſtantur junctas Ægyptia Syrtes, *&c.*
Hume.

595. *Burns frore,*] *Frore* an old word for froſty. The parching air burns with froſt. So we have in Virg. Georg. I. 93.

— Boreæ penetrabile frigus adurat:

and in Ecclus. XLIII. 20, 21. *When the cold north-wind bloweth—it devoureth the mountains, and burneth the wilderneſs, and conſumeth the graſs as fire.* And is not the expreſſion uſed by the Pſalmiſt of the like nature? *The ſun ſhall not burn thee by day, nor the moon by night,* Pſal. CXXI. 6. in the old tranſlation and the Septuagint?

596. — *by harpy-footed furies hal'd,*] The word *hal'd* in this line is deriv'd from the Belgic *halen* or the French *haler*, and therefore ſhould be ſpelt as it is here, and not *hail'd* as in Milton's own editions. Spenſer uſes the word, Fairy Queen, B. 5. C. 2. St. 26.

Who rudely *hal'd* her forth without remorſe:

and we meet with it ſeveral times in Shakeſpear.

603. — *thence hurried back to fire.*] This circumſtance of the damned's ſuffering the extremes of heat and cold by turns is finely invented to aggravate the horror of the deſcription, and ſeems to be founded upon Job XXIV. 19. but not as it is in the Engliſh tranſlation, but in the Vulgar Latin verſion, which Milton frequently uſed. *Ad nimium calorem tranſeat ab aquis nivium*; *Let him paſs to exceſſive*

Their ſoft ethereal warmth, and there to pine
Immoveable, infix'd, and frozen round,
Periods of time, thence hurried back to fire.
They ferry over this Lethean ſound
Both to and fro, their ſorrow to augment,
And wiſh and ſtruggle, as they paſs, to reach
The tempting ſtream, with one ſmall drop to loſe
In ſweet forgetfulneſs all pain and woe,
All in one moment, and ſo near the brink;

But

exceſſive heat from waters of ſnow. And ſo Jerom and other commentators underſtand it. There is a fine paſſage likewiſe in Shakeſpear, where the puniſhment after death is ſuppoſed to conſiſt in extreme heat or extreme cold; but theſe extremes are not made alternate, and to be ſuffer'd both in their turns, as Milton has deſcrib'd them, and thereby has greatly refin'd and improv'd the thought. Meaſure for meaſure, Act. III.

> Ay, but to die, and go we know not where:
> To lie in cold obſtruction, and to rot;
> This ſenſible warm motion to become
> A kneaded clod; and the delighted ſpirit
> To bathe in fiery floods, or to reſide
> In thrilling regions of thick-ribbed ice, *&c.*

609. — *and ſo near the brink*;] This is added as a farther aggravation of their miſery, that tho' they were *ſo near the brink*, ſo near the brim and ſurface of the water, yet they could not taſte one drop of it. But the reaſons follow, *fate withſtands*, fata obſtant as it is in Virgil, Æn. IV. 440. *and Meduſa with Gorgonian terror guards the ford.* Meduſa was one of the Gorgon monſters, whoſe locks were ſerpents ſo terrible that they turned the beholders into ſtone. Ulyſſes in Homer was deſirous of ſeeing more of the departed heroes, but I was afraid, ſays he, Odyſſ. XI. 633.

> Μη μοι Γοργειην κεφαλην δεινοιο πελωρου
> Εξ Αϊδος πεμψειεν αγαυη Περσεφονεια.
>
> Leſt Gorgon riſing from th' infernal lakes,
> With horrors arm'd, and curls of hiſſing ſnakes,
> Should fix me, ſtiffen'd at the monſtrous ſight,
> A ſtony image, in eternal night! Broome.

So frighful a creature is very properly feign'd by our poet to guard this water. And beſides *of itſelf the water flies their taſte*, and ſerves only to *tantalize* them. This is a fine allegory to ſhow that there is no forgetfulneſs in Hell. Memory makes a part of the puniſhment of the damn'd, and reflection but increaſes their miſery.

But fate withſtands, and to oppoſe th' attempt
Meduſa with Gorgonian terror guards
The ford, and of itſelf the water flies
All taſte of living wight, as once it fled
The lip of Tantalus. Thus roving on
In cónfus'd march forlorn, th' adventrous bands
With ſhudd'ring horror pale, and eyes aghaſt
View'd firſt their lamentable lot, and found
No reſt: through many a dark and dreary vale
They paſs'd, and many a region dolorous,
O'er many a frozen, many a fiery Alp,
Rocks, caves, lakes, fens, bogs, dens, and ſhades of death,
A univerſe of death, which God by curſe
Created ev'il, for evil only good,

Where

628. *Gorgons, and Hydra's, and Chimæra's dire.*] Our author fixes all theſe monſters in Hell in imitation of Virgil, Æn. VI. 287.

——bellua Lernæ
Horrendum ſtridens, flammiſque armata Chimæra,
Gorgones &c.
Quinquaginta atris immanis hiatibus Hydra.
ver. 576.

Taſſo has likewiſe given them a place in his deſcription of Hell, or rather he copies Virgil's deſcription, Cant. 4. St. 5.

Quì mille immonde Arpie vedreſti, e mille
Centauri, e Sfingi, e pallide Gorgoni, &c.

There were Celæno's foul and loathſome rout,
There Sphinges, Centaurs, there were Gorgons fell,
There howling Scyllas, yawling round about,
There ſerpents hiſs, there ſev'n-mouth'd Hydra's yell,
Chimæra there ſpues fire and brimſtone out.
Fairfax.

But how much better has Milton comprehended them in one line?

634. *Now*

Where all life dies, death lives, and nature breeds,
Perverſe, all monſtrous, all prodigious things,
Abominable, inutterable, and worſe
Than fables yet have feign'd, or fear conceiv'd,
Gorgons, and Hydra's, and Chimæra's dire.
Mean while the Adverſary of God and Man,
Satan with thoughts inflam'd of higheſt deſign,
Puts on ſwift wings, and tow'ards the gates of Hell
Explores his ſolitary flight; ſometimes
He ſcours the right hand coaſt, ſometimes the left,
Now ſhaves with level wing the deep, then ſoars
Up to the fiery concave towring high.
As when far off at ſea a fleet deſcry'd
Hangs in the clouds, by equinoctial winds
Cloſe

634. *Now ſhaves with level wing the deep,*] Virg. Æn. V. 217.

Radit iter liquidum, celeres neque commovet alas.

636. *As when far off at ſea* &c.] Satan *towring high* is here compar'd to a fleet of Indiamen diſcover'd at a diſtance, as it were, *hanging in the clouds*, as a fleet at a diſtance ſeems to do. This is the whole of the compariſon; but (as Dr. Pearce obſerves) Milton in his ſimilitudes (as is the practice of Homer and Virgil too) after he has ſhow'd the common reſemblance, often takes the liberty of wand'ring into ſome unreſembling circumſtances; which have no other relation to the compariſon, than that it gave him the hint, and as it were ſet fire to the train of his imagination. But Dr. Bentley asks, why a *fleet* when a firſt rate man of war would do? And Dr. Pearce anſwers, Becauſe a fleet gives a nobler image than a ſingle ſhip. And it is a fleet of Indiamen, becauſe coming from ſo long a voyage it is the fitter to be compar'd to Satan in this expedition; and theſe exotic names (as Dr. Bentley calls them) give a leſs vulgar caſt to the ſimilitude than places in our own channel and

Cloſe ſailing from Bengala, or the iles
Of Ternate and Tidore, whence merchants bring
Their ſpicy drugs: they on the trading flood
Through the wide Ethiopian to the Cape
Ply ſtemming nightly tow'ard the pole. So ſeem'd
Far off the flying Fiend: at laſt appear

Hell

and in our own ſeas would have done. This fleet is deſcrib'd, *by equinoctial winds*, the trade-winds blowing about the equinoctial, *cloſe ſailing*, and therefore more proper to be compar'd to a ſingle perſon, *from Bengala*, a kingdom and city in the Eaſt Indies ſubject to the great Mogul, *or the iles of Ternate and Tidore*, two of the Molucca ilands in the Eaſt Indian ſea, *whence merchants bring their ſpicy drugs*, the moſt famous ſpices are brought from thence by the Dutch into Europe: *they on the trading flood*, as the winds are call'd *trade-winds*, ſo he calls the flood *trading*, *through the wide Ethiopian* ſea *to the Cape* of Good Hope, *ply ſtemming nightly toward the pole*, that is by night they ſail northward, and yet (as Dr. Pearce ſays) by day their fleet may be *deſcry'd hanging in the clouds*. *So ſeem'd far off the flying Fiend:* Dr. Bentley aſks, whom Satan appear'd to *far off*, in this his *ſolitary flight?* But what a cold phlegmatic piece of criticiſm is this? It may be anſwer'd, that he was ſeen by the Muſe, and would have ſeem'd ſo to any one who had ſeen him. Poets often ſpeak in this manner, and make themſelves and their readers preſent to the moſt retir'd ſcenes of action.

645. *And thrice threefold the gates*;] The gates had nine folds, nine plates, nine linings; as Homer and the other poets make their heroes ſhields, to have ſeveral coverings of various materials for the greater ſtrength: Ovid. Met. XIII. 2.

— clypei dominus ſeptemplicis Ajax.
Bentley.

647. — *impal'd with circling fire*,] Incloſed, paled in as it were. So the word is uſed in Spenſer's *Muiopotmos*,

And round about, her work ſhe did *impale*
With a fair border wrought of ſundry flowers.

It is commonly applied to that kind of execution, when a pale or ſtake is drove through a malefactor's body.

648. — *Before the gates there ſat* &c.] Here begins the famous allegory of Milton, which is a ſort of paraphraſe on that text of the Apoſtle St. James, I. 15. *Then when Luſt hath conceived it bringeth forth Sin, and Sin when it is finiſhed bringeth forth Death.* The firſt part of the allegory ſays only, that Satan's intended voyage was dangerous to his being, and that he reſolved however to venture. *Richardſon.* The flight of Satan to the gates of Hell is finely imaged. I have already declared my opinion of the allegory concerning Sin and Death, which is however a very finiſh'd piece in its kind, when it is not conſidered as a part of an epic poem. The genealogy of the ſeveral perſons is contrived with great delicacy; Sin is the daughter of Satan, and Death the ofspring of Sin. The inceſtuous mixture between Sin and Death produces thoſe monſters and Hell-hounds, which from time to time enter into their mother, and tear the bowels of her

Hell bounds high reaching to the horrid roof,
And thrice threefold the gates; three folds were braſs,
Three iron, three of adamantin rock,
Impenetrable, impal'd with circling fire,
Yet unconſum'd. Before the gates there ſat
On either ſide a formidable ſhape;

The

her who gave them birth. Theſe are the terrors of an evil conſcience, and the proper fruits of Sin, which naturally riſe from the apprehenſions of Death. This laſt beautiful moral is, I think, clearly intimated in the ſpeech of Sin, where complaining of this her dreadful iſſue, ſhe adds,

Before mine eyes in oppoſition ſits
Grim Death my ſon and foe, who ſets them on,
And me his parent would full ſoon devour
For want of other prey, but that he knows
His end with mine involv'd.

I need not mention to the reader the beautiful circumſtance in the laſt part of this quotation. He will likewiſe obſerve how naturally the three perſons concerned in this allegory are tempted by one common intereſt to enter into a confederacy together, and how properly Sin is made the portreſs of Hell, and the only being that can open the gates to that world of tortures. The deſcriptive part of this allegory is likewiſe very ſtrong, and full of ſublime ideas. The figure of Death, the regal crown upon his head, his menace of Satan, his advancing to the combat, the outcry at his birth, are circumſtances too noble to be paſt over in ſilence, and extremely ſuitable to this *king of terrors*. I need not mention the juſtneſs of thought which is obſerved in the generation of theſe ſeveral ſymbolical perſons; that Sin was produced upon the firſt revolt of Satan, that Death appear'd ſoon after he was caſt into Hell, and that the terrors of conſcience were conceived at the gate of this place of torments. The deſcription of the gates is very poetical, as the opening of them is full of Milton's Spirit.

Addiſon.

But tho' Mr. Addiſon cenſures this famous allegory, as improper for an epic poem; yet Biſhop Atterbury, whoſe taſte in polite litterature was never queſtion'd, ſeems to be much more affected with this than any part of the poem, as I think we may collect from one of his letters to Mr. Pope. "I return you your "Milton, ſays He, and — I proteſt to you, "this laſt peruſal of him has given me ſuch "new degrees, I will not ſay of pleaſure, but "of admiration and aſtoniſhment, that I look "upon the ſublimity of Homer and the ma-"jeſty of Virgil with ſomewhat leſs reverence "than I us'd to do. I challenge you, with "all your partiality, to ſhow me in the firſt of "theſe any thing equal to the allegory of Sin "and Death, either as to the greatneſs and "juſtneſs of the invention, or the highth and "beauty of the coloring. What I looked "upon as a rant of Barrow's, I now begin to "think a ſerious truth, and could almoſt ven-"ture to ſet my hand to it,

Hæc quicunque leget, tantum ceciniſſe putabit,
Mæonidem ranas, Virgilium culices.

649. *On either ſide a formidable ſhape*;] The figure

The one ſeem'd woman to the waſte, and fair,
But ended foul in many a ſcaly fold
Voluminous and vaſt, a ſerpent arm'd
With mortal ſting: about her middle round
A cry of Hell hounds never ceaſing bark'd
With wide Cerberean mouths full loud, and rung
A hideous peal; yet, when they liſt, would creep,
If ought diſturb'd their noiſe, into her womb,
And kennel there, yet there ſtill bark'd and howl'd,
Within unſeen. Far leſs abhorr'd than theſe
Vex'd Scylla bathing in the ſea that parts
Calabria

figure of *Death* is pretty well fix'd and agreed upon by poets and painters: but the deſcription of *Sin* ſeems to be an improvement upon that thought in Horace, De Art. Poet. 4.

Deſinit in piſcem mulier formoſa ſuperne.

And it is not improbable, that the author might have in mind too Spenſer's deſcription of Error in the mix'd ſhape of a woman and a ſerpent, Fairy Queen, B. 1. C. 1. St. 14.

Half like a ſerpent horribly diſplay'd,
But th' other half did woman's ſhape retain, *&c.*

And alſo the image of Echidna, B. 6. C. 6. St. 10.

Yet did her face, and former parts profeſs
A fair young maiden, full of comely glee;
But all her hinder parts did plain expreſs
A monſtrous dragon, full of fearful uglineſs.

The addition of the Hell hounds about her middle is plainly copied from Scylla, as appears from the following ſimile.

654. *A cry of Hell-hounds never ceaſing bark'd*] Dr. Bentley reads *A crue of Hell-hounds* &c. but Milton's *cry* of Hell-hounds is of much the ſame poetical ſtamp as Virgil's *ruunt equites et odora canum vis*, Æn. IV. 132. where what is proper to the *canes* is ſaid of the *vis*; as here what is proper to the *Hell-hounds* is ſaid of the *cry*. We have the ſame way of ſpeaking in VI. 212. VII. 66. and elſewere. *Pearce.*

660. *Vex'd Scylla bathing in the ſea*] For Circe having poiſon'd that part of the ſea where Scylla uſed to bathe, the next time Scylla bathed, her lower parts were changed into dogs, *in the ſea that parts Calabria*, the fartheſt part of Italy towards the Mediterranean, *from the hoarſe Trinacrian ſhore*, that is from

Calabria from the hoarſe Trinacrian ſhore:
Nor uglier follow the night-hag, when call'd
In ſecret, riding through the air ſhe comes,
Lur'd with the ſmell of infant blood, to dance
With Lapland witches, while the lab'ring moon
Eclipſes at their charms. The other ſhape,
If ſhape it might be call'd that ſhape had none
Diſtinguiſhable in member, joint, or limb,
Or ſubſtance might be call'd that ſhadow ſeem'd,
For each ſeem'd either; black it ſtood as Night,
Fierce as ten Furies, terrible as Hell,

And

from Sicily, which was formerly called Trinacria from its three promontories lying in the form of a triangle: and this ſhore may well be called *hoarſe* not only by reaſon of a tempeſtuous ſea breaking upon it, but likewiſe on account of the noiſes occaſion'd by the eruptions of mount Ætna; and the number of r's in this verſe very well expreſs the hoarſeneſs of it. You have the ſtory of Scylla in the beginning of the 14th book of Ovid's Metamorphoſis, ver. 59. *&c.*

Scylla venit, mediaque tenus deſcenderat alvo;
Cum ſua fœdari latrantibus inguina monſtris
Aſpicit: ac primo non credens corporis illas
Eſſe ſui partes, refugitque, abigitque, timetque
Ora proterva canum; ſed quos fugit, attrahit una.
Et corpus quærens femorum, crurumque, pedumque,
Cerbereos rictus pro partibus invenit illis.
Statque canum rabies; ſubjectaque terga ferarum
Inguinibus truncis uteroque exſtante cohærent.

The *Cerberean mouths* in Milton is plainly after the *Cerbereos rictus* in Ovid.

665. —— *the lab'ring moon*] The Ancients believed the moon greatly affected by magical practices, and the Latin poets call the eclipſes of the moon *labores lunæ*. The three foregoing lines, and the former part of this contain a ſhort account of what was once believ'd, and in Milton's time not ſo ridiculous as now.

Richardſon.

670. —— *black it ſtood as Night*, &c.] Like the ghoſt deſcribed in Homer, Odyſſ. XI. 605.

And ſhook a dreadful dart; what ſeem'd his head
The likeneſs of a kingly crown had on.
Satan was now at hand, and from his ſeat
The monſter moving onward came as faſt
With horrid ſtrides, Hell trembled as he ſtrode.
Th' undaunted Fiend what this might be admir'd,
Admir'd, not fear'd; God and his Son except,
Created thing nought valued he nor ſhunn'd;
And with diſdainful look thus firſt began.

Whence and what art thou, execrable ſhape,
That dar'ſt, though grim and terrible, advance
Thy miſcreated front athwart my way
To yonder gates? through them I mean to paſs,
That be aſſur'd, without leave ask'd of thee:
Retire,

—— ο δ' ερεμνῃ νυκτι εοικως,
Γυμνον τοξον εχων, και επι νευρῃφιν οϊϛον,
Δεινον ϖαπλωνων, αιει βαλεονλι εοικως.

Gloomy as night he ſtands, in act to throw
Th' aereal arrow from the twanging bow.
Broome.

678. — *God and his Son except,*
Created thing nought valued he nor ſhunn'd;] This appears at firſt ſight to reckon God and his Son among created things, but *except* is uſed here with the ſame liberty as *but* ver. 333 and 336, and Milton has a like paſſage in his proſe works, p. 277. Edit. Tol. *No place in Heaven and Earth, except Hell*— Richardſon.

683. — *miſcreated*] We have been told that Milton firſt coin'd the word *miſcreated*, but Spenſer uſed it before him, as Fairy Queen, B. 1. Cant. 2. St. 3.

Eftſoons he took that *miſcreated* fair.

and B. 2. Cant. 7. St. 42.

Nor mortal ſteel empierce his *miſcreated* mold.
Bentley.

684. — *through*

Retire, or taſte thy folly, and learn by proof,
Hell-born, not to contend with Spirits of Heaven.
To whom the goblin full of wrath reply'd.
Art thou that traitor Angel, art thou He,
Who firſt broke peace in Heav'n and faith, till then
Unbroken, and in proud rebellious arms
Drew after him the third part of Heav'n's ſons
Conjúr'd againſt the Higheſt, for which both thou
And they, outcaſt from God, are here condemn'd
To waſte eternal days in woe and pain?
And reckon'ſt thou thyſelf with Spirits of Heaven,
Hell-doom'd, and breath'ſt defiance here and ſcorn
Where I reign king, and to enrage thee more,
Thy king and lord? Back to thy puniſhment,

False

684. — *through them I mean to paſs*, &c.] Spenſer, Fairy Queen, B. 3. Cant. 4. St. 15.

I mean not thee intreat
To paſs; but mauger thee will paſs, or die.
Fortin.

692. *Drew after him the third part of Heav'n's Sons*] An opinion, as we noted before, grounded on Rev. XII. 3, 4. *Behold a great red dragon — and his tail drew the third part of the ſtars of Heaven and caſt them to the earth.*

693. *Conjú'rd againſt the Hig'heſt*,] Banded and leagued together againſt the moſt High. Of the Latin *conjurare* to bind one another by oath to be true and faithful in a deſign undertaken,

Et *conjuratos* cœlum reſcindere fratres.
Virg. Georg. I. 280.

Aut *conjurato* deſcendens Dacus ab Iſtro.
Georg. II. 497.
Hume.

697. *Hell-doom'd*,] As Satan had called Death *Hell-born*, ver. 687, Death returns it by calling Satan *Hell-doom'd.*

Falſe fugitive, and to thy ſpeed add wings,
Leſt with a whip of ſcorpions I purſue
Thy lingring, or with one ſtroke of this dart
Strange horror ſeiſe thee', and pangs unfelt before.
So ſpake the griſly terror, and in ſhape,
So ſpeaking and ſo threatning, grew tenfold
More dreadful and deform: on th' other ſide
Incens'd with indignation Satan ſtood
Unterrify'd, and like a comet burn'd,
That fires the length of Ophiuchus huge
In th' arctic sky, and from his horrid hair
Shakes peſtilence and war. Each at the head
Level'd his deadly aim; their fatal hands
No ſecond ſtroke intend, and ſuch a frown

Each

700. *Falſe fugitive*,] He is here called *falſe* becauſe he had called himſelf *a Spirit of Heaven*. Compare ver. 687 with ver. 696. *Pearce.*

708. — *and like a comet burn'd*, &c.] The ancient poets frequently compare a hero in his ſhining armour to a comet; as Virg. Æn. X. 272.

Non ſecus ac liquida ſi quando nocte cometæ
Sanguinei lugubre rubent —

But this comet is ſo large as to *fire the length of* the conſtellation *Ophiuchus* or Anguitenens, or Serpentarius as it is commonly call'd, a length of about 40 degrees, *in th' arctic ſky*, or the northern hemiſphere, *and from his horrid hair ſhakes peſtilence and war*. Poetry delights in omens, prodigies, and ſuch wonderful events as were ſuppoſed to follow upon the appearance of comets, eclipſes, and the like. We have another inſtance of this nature in I. 598. and Taſſo in the ſame manner compares Argantes to a comet, and mentions the like fatal effects, Cant. 7. St. 52.

Qual con le chiome ſanguinoſe horrende
Splender cometa ſuol per l' aria aduſta,

Che

Each caſt at th' other, as when two black clouds,
With Heav'n's artillery fraught, come rattling on
Over the Caſpian, then ſtand front to front
Hovering a ſpace, till winds the ſignal blow
To join their dark encounter in mid air:
So frown'd the mighty combatants, that Hell
Grew darker at their frown, ſo match'd they ſtood;
For never but once more was either like
To meet ſo great a foe: and now great deeds
Had been achiev'd, whereof all Hell had rung,
Had not the ſnaky ſorcereſs that ſat
Faſt by Hell gate, and kept the fatal key,
Ris'n, and with hideous outcry ruſh'd between.
O Father, what intends thy hand, ſhe cry'd,
Againſt

Che i regni muta, e i feri morbi adduce,
A i purpurei tiranni infauſta luce.

As when a comet far and wide deſcried,
In ſcorn of Phœbus midſt bright Heav'n doth ſhine,
And tidings ſad of death and miſchief brings
To mighty lords, to monarchs, and to kings.
Fairfax.

715. — *Heav'n's artillery*] Thunder. Juv. Sat. XIII. 9.

Quicquid habent telorum armamentaria cœli.
Hume.

716. *Over the Caſpian,*] That ſea being particularly noted for ſtorms and tempeſts. So Horace, Od. II. IX. 2.

—— Non mare *Caſpium*
Vexant inæquales procellæ
Uſque ——

And ſo Fairfax, in Taſſo, Cant. 6. St. 38.

Or as when clouds together cruſh'd and bruiſed,
Pour down a tempeſt by the *Caſpian* ſhore.

722. — *ſo great a foe:*] Jeſus Chriſt who (as it follows ver. 734.) will one day deſtroy both Death and *him that has the power of death that is the Devil,* Heb. II. 14.

730. — *and*

Againſt thy only Son? What fury', O Son,
Poſſeſſes thee to bend that mortal dart
Againſt thy Father's head? and know'ſt for whom;
For him who ſits above and laughs the while
At thee ordain'd his drudge, to execute
Whate'er his wrath, which he calls juſtice, bids;
His wrath, which one day will deſtroy ye both.
She ſpake, and at her words the helliſh peſt
Forbore, then theſe to her Satan return'd.
So ſtrange thy outcry, and thy words ſo ſtrange
Thou interpoſeſt, that my ſudden hand
Prevented ſpares to tell thee yet by deeds
What it intends; till firſt I know of thee,
What thing thou art, thus double-form'd, and why
In this infernal vale firſt met thou call'ſt
Me Father, and that phantaſm call'ſt my Son;

I

730. —*and know'ſt for whom*;] Theſe words are read with a ſemicolon in Milton's own editions, and not with a note of interrogation, as in ſome others: and the meaning is, *at the ſame time that thou knoweſt for whom*; Cum nôris bene cui facias hoc; as Dr. Trapp tranſlates it. If this is not the ſenſe of the words, they muſt be read with a note of interrogation.

737. *So ſtrange thy outcry, and thy words ſo ſtrange*] The change in the poſition of the words *ſo ſtrange* in this verſe has a peculiar beauty in it, which Dr. Bentley's alteration of the latter *ſtrange* into *new* utterly deſtroys.

So ſtrange thy outcry, and thy words ſo *new*.

How

I know thee not, nor ever ſaw till now
Sight more deteſtable than him and thee.
T' whom thus the portreſs of Hell gate reply'd.
Haſt thou forgot me then, and do I ſeem
Now in thine eye ſo foul? once deem'd ſo fair
In Heav'n, when at th' aſſembly, and in ſight
Of all the Seraphim with thee combin'd
In bold conſpiracy againſt Heav'n's king,
All on a ſudden miſerable pain
Surpris'd thee, dim thine eyes, and dizzy ſwum
In darkneſs, while thy head flames thick and faſt
Threw forth, till on the left ſide opening wide,
Likeſt to thee in ſhape and count'nance bright,
Then ſhining heav'nly fair, a Goddeſs arm'd
Out of thy head I ſprung: amazement ſeis'd
All th' hoſt of Heav'n; back they recoil'd afraid

At

How flat, lifeleſs, and unharmonious, compar'd with the common reading!

758. *Out of thy head I ſprung:*] Sin is rightly made to ſpring out of the head of Satan, as Wiſdom or Minerva did out of Jupiter's: and Milton deſcribes the birth of the one very much in the ſame manner, as the ancient poets have that of the other, and particularly the author of the hymn to Minerva vulgarly aſcribed to Homer. And what follows ſeems to be an hint improv'd upon Minerva's being raviſh'd ſoon after her birth by Vulcan, as we may learn from Lucian. Dial. Vulcani & Jovis, & De Domo.

771. — *the*

At firſt, and call'd me Sin, and for a ſign
Portentous held me; but familiar grown,
I pleas'd, and with attractive graces won
The moſt averſe, thee chiefly, who full oft
Thyſelf in me thy perfect image viewing
Becam'ſt enamour'd, and ſuch joy thou took'ſt
With me in ſecret, that my womb conceiv'd
A growing burden. Mean while war aroſe,
And fields were fought in Heav'n; wherein remain'd
(For what could elſe?) to our almighty foe
Clear victory, to our part loſs and rout
Through all the empyréan: down they fell
Driv'n headlong from the pitch of Heaven, down
Into this deep, and in the general fall
I alſo; at which time this pow'rful key

Into

771. — *the empyréan:*] It is ſomewhat remarkable that tho' the words *empyreal* and *empyrean* are both ſpelt in the ſame manner, yet Milton conſtantly pronounces *empy'real* with the accent upon the third ſyllable from the end, and *empyréan* with the accent upon the ſecond. I once imagin'd that he did it to diſtinguiſh the ſubſtantive from the adjective; but I find one inſtance where he uſes the word *empyrean* as an adjective, and yet gives it the ſame accent as when he makes it a ſubſtantive, X. 321.

The confines met of empyréan Heaven.

There is no way of ſolving the difficulty, unleſs we ſuppoſe with Dr. Heylin that the word *empyreal* is falſe ſpelt, and that it ought to be written *empyrial* ἐμπυρι@· in Greek, and the other *empyréan* ἐμπυρεα@·.

786. — *bran-*

Into my hand was giv'n, with charge to keep
Theſe gates for ever ſhut, which none can paſs
Without my opening. Penſive here I ſat
Alone, but long I ſat not, till my womb
Pregnant by thee, and now exceſſive grown
Prodigious motion felt and rueful throes.
At laſt this odious ofspring whom thou ſeeſt
Thine own begotten, breaking violent way
Tore through my entrails, that with fear and pain
Diſtorted, all my nether ſhape thus grew
Transform'd: but he my inbred enemy
Forth iſſued, brandiſhing his fatal dart
Made to deſtroy: I fled, and cry'd out Death;
Hell trembled at the hideous name, and ſigh'd
From all her caves, and back reſounded Death.

I

786. — *brandiſhing his fatal dart*] So Virgil of Æneas going to kill Turnus, Æn. XII. 919.

Cunctanti *telum* Æneas *fatale coruſcat.*

789. *From all her caves, and back reſounded*] An imitation of Virgil, Æn. II. 53.

Inſonuere cavæ, gemitumque dedere cavernæ.
Hume.

I fled and cry'd out Death — and back reſounded Death. The repetition of *Death* here is a beauty of the ſame kind as that of the name of *Eurydice* in Virgil Georg. IV. 525.

Eurydicen vox ipſa et frigida lingua,
Ah miſeram *Eurydicen*, anima fugiente, vocabat;
Eurydicen toto referebant flumine ripæ:

only *Death* is made the laſt word in the ſentence, and *Eurydice* for the ſake of the verſe the firſt. There is the like repetition in Ecl. VI. 43.

I fled, but he purſued, (though more, it ſeems,
Inflam'd with luſt than rage) and ſwifter far,
Me overtook his mother all diſmay'd,
And in embraces forcible and foul
Ingendring with me, of that rape begot
Theſe yelling monſters, that with ceaſeleſs cry
Surround me, as thou ſaw'ſt, hourly conceiv'd
And hourly born, with ſorrow infinite
To me; for when they liſt, into the womb
That bred them they return, and howl and gnaw
My bowels, their repaſt; then burſting forth
Afreſh with conſcious terrors vex me round,
That reſt or intermiſſion none I find.
Before mine eyes in oppoſition ſits
Grim Death my ſon and foe, who ſets them on,
And me his parent would full ſoon devour
For want of other prey, but that he knows

His

His adjungit, *Hylan* nautæ quo fonte relictum
Clamaſſent; ut littus, *Hyla*, *Hyla*, omne ſonaret.

796. — *as thou ſaw'ſt*,] One would think it ſhould be *as thou ſeeſt*; but we muſt ſuppoſe that now at this time theſe monſters were crept into her womb, and lay there unſeen.

809. — *ſo fate pronounc'd.*] The Heathen poets make Jupiter ſuperior to fate: the will of Jupiter was perform'd, ſays Homer, Iliad. I. 5. Διὸς δ' ετελειετο βυλη. Sic fata Deûm rex

His end with mine involv'd; and knows that I
Should prove a bitter morſel, and his bane,
Whenever that ſhall be; ſo fate pronounc'd.
But thou, O Father, I forewarn thee, ſhun
His deadly arrow; neither vainly hope
To be invulnerable in thoſe bright arms,
Though temper'd heav'nly, for that mortal dint,
Save he who reigns above, none can reſiſt.

She finiſh'd, and the ſubtle Fiend his lore
Soon learn'd, now milder, and thus anſwer'd ſmooth.
Dear Daughter, ſince thou clam'ſt me for thy ſire,
And my fair ſon here ſhow'ſt me, the dear pledge
Of dalliance had with thee in Heav'n, and joys
Then ſweet, now ſad to mention, through dire change
Befall'n us unforeſeen, unthought of; know
I come no enemy, but to ſet free
From out this dark and diſmal houſe of pain

Both

rex ſortitur, volvitque vices, ſays Virgil, Æn. III. 375. Et ſic fata Jovis poſcunt, Æn. IV. 614. But Milton with great propriety makes the fall'n Angels and Sin here attribute events to fate, without any mention of the Supreme Being.

817. *Dear Daughter,*] Satan had now learned *his lore* or leſſon, and the reader will obſerve how artfully he changes his language; he had ſaid before, ver. 745. that he had never ſeen *ſight more deteſtable*; but now it is *dear daughter*, and *my fair ſon.*

842. *Wing*

Both him and thee, and all the heav'nly hoſt
Of Spi'rits, that in our juſt pretences arm'd
Fell with us from on high: from them I go
This uncouth errand ſole, and one for all
Myſelf expoſe, with lonely ſteps to tread
Th' unfounded deep, and through the void immenſe
To ſearch with wand'ring queſt a place foretold
Should be, and, by concurring ſigns, ere now
Created vaſt and round, a place of bliſs
In the pourlieus of Heav'n, and therein plac'd
A race of upſtart creatures, to ſupply
Perhaps our vacant room, though more remov'd,
Leſt Heav'n ſurcharg'd with potent multitude
Might hap to move new broils: Be this or ought
Than this more ſecret now deſign'd, I haſte
To know, and this once known, ſhall ſoon return,
And bring ye to the place where Thou and Death

Shall

842. *Wing ſilently the buxom air,*] *Buxom*, as when we ſay a *buxom laſs*, is vulgarly underſtood for merry, wanton; but it properly ſignifies flexible, yielding, from a Saxon word ſignifying to bend. It is likewiſe made the epithet of the air by Spenſer, Fairy Queen, B. 1. C. 11. St. 37.

And therewith ſcourge the *buxom air* ſo ſore.

And he ſhows plainly how he underſtood the word by his uſe of it in his *View of the ſtate of Ireland*, "Thinking thereby to make them "more tractable and *buxom* to his govern-"ment."

855. *Fearleſs*

Shall dwell at eaſe, and up and down unſeen
Wing ſilently the buxom air, imbalm'd
With odors; there ye ſhall be fed and fill'd
Immeaſurably, all things ſhall be your prey.
He ceas'd, for both ſeem'd highly pleas'd, and Death
Grinn'd horrible a ghaſtly ſmile, to hear
His famin ſhould be fill'd, and bleſt his maw
Deſtin'd to that good hour: no leſs rejoic'd
His mother bad, and thus beſpake her ſire.
The key of this infernal pit by due,
And by command of Heav'n's all-pow'rful king
I keep, by him forbidden to unlock
Theſe adamantin gates; againſt all force
Death ready ſtands to interpoſe his dart,
Fearleſs to be o'ermatch'd by living might.
But what owe I to his commands above
Who hates me, and hath hither thruſt me down

Into

855. *Fearleſs to be o'ermatch'd by living might.*] In ſome editions it is *living wight*, that is creature, and we have *living wight* before ver. 613: and this is likewiſe Dr. Bentley's reading, for *living might*, ſays he, would not except even God himſelf, the ever-living and the almighty. But God himſelf muſt neceſſarily be excepted here; for it was by his command that Sin and Death ſat to guard the gates, and therefore *living might* cannot poſſibly be underſtood of God, but of any one elſe who ſhould endevor to force a paſſage.

868. *The*

Into this gloom of Tartarus profound,
To ſit in hateful office here confin'd,
Inhabitant of Heav'n, and heav'nly-born,
Here in perpetual agony and pain,
With terrors and with clamors compaſs'd round
Of mine own brood, that on my bowels feed:
Thou art my father, thou my author, thou
My being gav'ſt me; whom ſhould I obey
But thee, whom follow? thou wilt bring me ſoon
To that new world of light and bliſs, among
The Gods who live at eaſe, where I ſhall reign
At thy right hand voluptuous, as beſeems
Thy daughter and thy darling, without end.

Thus ſaying, from her ſide the fatal key,
Sad inſtrument of all our woe, ſhe took;
And tow'ards the gate rolling her beſtial train,
Forth-

868. *The Gods who live at eaſe,*] Word for word from Homer, Θεοι ρεια ζωοντες. *Bentley.* 'Tis Sin who ſpeaks here, and ſhe ſpeaks as an Epicurean. *Richardſon.*

873. *And tow'ards the gate rolling her beſtial train,*] A modern riming poet would perhaps have ſaid

And rolling tow'rds the gate her beſtial train,

and no bad line neither: but how much better doth Milton's expreſs the rolling of her ſerpentine train, and how well the ſound agrees with the ſenſe!

881. —— *and on their hinges grate*
Harſh thunder,] How much ſtronger and more poetical is this than Virgil's, Æn. I. 449.

—— foribus cardo ſtridebat aënis:

or

Forthwith the huge portcullis high up drew,
Which but herſelf, not all the Stygian Powers
Could once have mov'd; then in the key-hole turns
Th' intricate wards, and every bolt and bar
Of maſſy ir'on or ſolid rock with eaſe
Unfaſtens: on a ſudden open fly
With impetuous recoil and jarring ſound
Th' infernal doors, and on their hinges grate
Harſh thunder, that the loweſt bottom ſhook
Of Erebus. She open'd, but to ſhut
Excell'd her pow'r; the gates wide open ſtood,
That with extended wings a banner'd hoſt
Under ſpread enſigns marching might paſs through
With horſe and chariots rank'd in looſe array;
So wide they ſtood, and like a furnace mouth
Caſt forth redounding ſmoke and ruddy flame.

Before

or Æn. VI. 573.

—— horriſono ſtridentes cardine ſacræ
Panduntur portæ?

The ingenious author of the *Miſcellaneous Obſervations on the Tragedy of Macbeth* remarks that this expreſſion is copied from the Hiſtory of Don Bellianis, where, when one of the knights approaches the caſtle of Brandezar, the gates are ſaid to open *grating harſh thunder upon their brazen hinges.* And it is not improbable that Milton might take it from thence, as he was a reader of all kinds of romances.

882. —— *the loweſt bottom ſhook*
Of Erebus.] The moſt profound depth of Hell.

Erebi de ſedibus imis. Virg. Georg. IV. 471.
Hume.

894. — *where*

Before their eyes in ſudden view appear
The ſecrets of the hoary deep, a dark
Illimitable ocean, without bound,
Without dimenſion, where length, breadth, and highth,
And time, and place are loſt; where eldeſt Night
And Chaos, anceſtors of nature, hold
Eternal anarchy, amidſt the noiſe
Of endleſs wars, and by confuſion ſtand.
For hot, cold, moiſt, and dry, four champions fierce,
Strive here for maſt'ry, and to battel bring
Their embryon atoms; they around the flag
Of each his faction, in their ſeveral clans,

Light-

894. —— *where eldeſt Night*
And Chaos, &c.] All the ancient naturaliſts, philoſophers, and poets, hold that *Chaos* was the firſt principle of all things; and the poets particularly make *Night* a Goddeſs, and repreſent *Night* or darkneſs and *Chaos* or confuſion as exerciſing uncontroll'd dominion from the beginning. Thus Orpheus in the beginning of his hymn to Night addreſſes her as the mother of the Gods and Men, and origin of all things,

Νυκτα θεων γενετειραν αεισομαι ηδ' και ανδρων,
Νυξ γενεσις παντων.

And our author's ſyſtem of the univerſe is in ſhort, that the empyrean Heaven, and Chaos and darkneſs were before the creation, Heaven above and Chaos beneath; and then upon the rebellion of the Angels *firſt Hell* was formed out of Chaos *ſtretching far and wide beneath*; and afterwards *Heaven and Earth, another world, hanging o'er the realm of Chaos, and won from his dominion.* See ver. 1002, *&c.* and 978.

898. *For hot, cold, moiſt, and dry*, &c.] Ovid. Met. I. 19.

Frigida pugnabant calidis, humentia ſiccis,
Mollia cum duris, ſine pondere habentia pondus.

The reader may compare this whole deſcription of Chaos with Ovid's, and he will eaſily ſee how the Roman poet has leſſen'd the grandeur of his by puerile conceits and quaint antitheſes;

Light-arm'd or heavy, ſharp, ſmooth, ſwift or ſlow,
Swarm populous, un-number'd as the ſands
Of Barca or Cyrene's torrid ſoil,
Levied to ſide with warring winds, and poiſe
Their lighter wings. To whom theſe moſt adhere,
He rules a moment; Chaos umpire ſits,
And by deciſion more embroils the fray
By which he reigns: next him high arbiter
Chance governs all. Into this wild abyſs,
The womb of nature and perhaps her grave,
Of neither ſea, nor ſhore, nor air, nor fire,
But all theſe in their pregnant cauſes mix'd

Con-

titheſes: every thing in Milton is great and maſterly.

902. *Light-arm'd or heavy,*] He continues the warlike metaphor; ſome of them are *light-arm'd or heavy*, levis or gravis armaturæ. *Hume.*

904. *Of Barca or Cyrene's torrid ſoil,*] A city and province of dry ſandy Libya, Virg. Æn. IV. 42.

Hinc deſerta ſiti regio, lateque furentes
Barcæi.

905. —— *and poiſe*] Give weight or ballaſt to. Pliny ſpeaks of certain birds, who when a ſtorm ariſes poiſe themſelves with little ſtones, L. 11. C. 10. Virgil has the ſame thought of his bees, Georg. IV. 194. *Richardſon.*

906. *To whom theſe moſt adhere,*] Dr. Bentley reads *the moſt adhere*, that is (ſays he) he of the four rules, while he has the majority. But this is not Milton's ſenſe; for according to him no *atoms* adhere to *moiſt*, but ſuch as belong to his faction, and the ſame is to be ſaid of *hot*, *cold*, and *dry*. Therefore the reaſon why any one of theſe four champions *rules* (tho' but for a *moment*) is becauſe the atoms of his faction *adhere moſt* to him. Firm dependence indeed (ſays the Doctor) and worthy the ſuperlative *moſt*, that laſts but for a *moment*: but I ſhould think that the leſs firm the dependence is, the finer image we have of ſuch a ſtate as that of Chaos is. *Pearce.*

Confus'dly, and which thus muſt ever fight,
Unleſs th' almighty Maker them ordain
His dark materials to create more worlds;
Into this wild abyſs the wary Fiend
Stood on the brink of Hell and look'd a while,
Pond'ring his voyage; for no narrow frith
He had to croſs. Nor was his ear leſs peal'd
With noiſes loud and ruinous (to compare
Great things with ſmall) than when Bellona ſtorms,
With all her battering engins bent to raſe
Some capital city; or leſs than if this frame
Of Heav'n were falling, and theſe elements

In

917. *Into this wild abyſs the wary Fiend*
Stood on the brink of Hell and look'd awhile,] Dr. Bentley reads *Look'd from the brink of Hell and ſtood awhile:* and he calls the common reading an abſurd and ridiculous blunder, becauſe *into this wild abyſs* relates not to *ſtood* but to *look'd*, which is the verb at the fartheſt diſtance. But if this be a blunder, Milton is elſewhere guilty of it; we may rather ſuppoſe that he could not but ſee it, and therefore that he thought it an allowable liberty in writing: for thus in V. 368. he ſays

— what the garden choiceſt bears
To ſit and taſte ——

where *ſit and taſte* is us'd for *ſitting taſte*; as here *ſtood and look'd* for *ſtanding look'd*.
Pearce.

Here is a remarkable tranſpoſition of the words, the ſenſe however is very clear; The wary Fiend ſtood on the brink of Hell, and look'd awhile into this wild abyſs, pondering his voyage. 'Tis obſervable the poet himſelf ſeems to be doing what he deſcribes, for the period begins at 910, then he goes not on directly, but lingers, giving an idea of Chaos before he enters into it. 'Tis very artful! If his ſtile is ſomewhat abrupt, after ſuch pondering, it better paints the image he intended to give. *Richardſon.*

921. —— (*to compare*
Great things with ſmall)] An expreſſion in Virg. Ecl. I. 24. parvis componere magna. And what an idea doth this give us of the noiſes of Chaos, that even thoſe of a city beſieged,

In mutiny had from her axle torn
The ſtedfaſt earth. At laſt his ſail-broad vans
He ſpreads for flight, and in the ſurging ſmoke
Uplifted ſpurns the ground; thence many a league,
As in a cloudy chair, aſcending rides
Audacious; but that ſeat ſoon failing, meets
A vaſt vacuity: all unawares
Fluttering his pennons vain plumb down he drops
Ten thouſand fathom deep, and to this hour
Down had been falling, had not by ill chance
The ſtrong rebuff of ſome tumultuous cloud,
Inſtinct with fire and nitre, hurried him

As

ſieged, and of Heaven and Earth ruining from each other are but ſmall in compariſon? And tho' both the ſimilitudes are truly excellent and ſublime, yet how ſurpriſingly doth the latter riſe above the former!

927. —— *his ſail-broad vans*] As the air and water are both fluids, the metaphors taken from the one are often applied to the other, and flying is compar'd to ſailing, and ſailing to flying.

Velorum pandimus alas,

ſays Virgil, Æn. III. 520. And Æn. I. 300.

— volat ille per aera magnum
Remigio alarum.

The ſame manner of ſpeaking has prevail'd likewiſe among the modern poets, and in Spenſer, as well as in the paſſage before us, wings are liken'd to ſails, Fairy Queen, B. 1. Cant. 11. St. 10.

His flaggy wings when forth he did diſplay,
Were like two ſails.

And afterwards, St. 18.

—— he cutting way
With his broad ſails, about him ſoared round.

933. —— *pennons*] This word is vulgarly ſpelt *pinions*, and ſo Dr. Bentley has printed it: but the author ſpells it *pennons* after the Latin *penna*. The reader will obſerve the beauty of the numbers here without our pointing it out to him.

935. — *had not by ill chance*] An ill chance for mankind, that he was thus ſpeeded on his journey ſo far. *Pearce.*

As many miles aloft: that fury ſtay'd,
Quench'd in a boggy Syrtis, neither ſea,
Nor good dry land: nigh founder'd on he fares,
Treading the crude conſiſtence, half on foot,
Half fly'ing; behoves him now both oar and ſail.
As when a gryphon through the wilderneſs
With winged courſe, o'er hill or moory dale,
Purſues the Arimaſpian, who by ſtealth
Had from his wakeful cuſtody purloin'd
The guarded gold: So eagerly the Fiend
O'er

938. —— *that fury ſtay'd*, &c.] That fiery rebuff ceaſed, quenched and put out by a ſoft quickſand: *Syrtis* is explain'd by *neither ſea nor good dryland*, exactly agreeing with Lucan. Phar. IX. 304.

Syrtes — in dubio pelagi terræque reliquit.
Hume.

941. — *half on foot,*
Half flying;] Spenſer, Fairy Queen, B. 1. Cant. 11. St. 8.

Half flying, and half footing in his haſte.

Our author ſeems to have borrow'd ſeveral images from the old dragon deſcrib'd by Spenſer.

942. — *behoves him now both oar and ſail.*] It behoveth him now to uſe both his oars and his ſails, as galleys do; according to the proverb *Remis veliſque*, with might and main.
Hume.

943. *As when a gryphon* &c.] Satan *half on foot, half flying*, in queſt of the new world, is here compar'd to a gryphon *with winged courſe* both flying and running in purſuit of the Arimaſpian who had ſtol'n his gold. Gryphons are fabulous creatures, in the upper part like an eagle, in the lower reſembling a lion, and are ſaid to guard gold mines. The Arimaſpians were a one-ey'd people of Scythia who adorn'd their hair with gold, Lucan. III. 280.

Hinc et Sithoniæ gentes, auroque ligatas
Subſtringens Arimaſpe comas.

Herodotus and other authors relate, that there were continual wars between the gryphons and Arimaſpians about gold, the gryphons guarding it and Arimaſpians taking it whenever they had opportunity. See Plin. Nat. Hiſt. Lib. 7. cap. 2. Arimaſpi, quos diximus, uno oculo in fronte media inſignes: quibus aſſidue bellum eſſe circa metalla cum gryphis, ferarum

O'er bog, or ſteep, through ſtrait, rough, denſe, or rare,
With head, hands, wings, or feet purſues his way,
And ſwims, or ſinks, or wades, or creeps, or flies:
At length a univerſal hubbub wild
Of ſtunning ſounds and voices all confus'd,
Borne through the hollow dark, aſſaults his ear
With loudeſt vehemence: thither he plies,
Undaunted to meet there whatever Power
Or Spirit of the nethermoſt abyſs
Might in that noiſe reſide, of whom to ask

Which

rum volucri genere, quale vulgo traditur, eruente ex cuniculis aurum, mira cupiditate et feris cuſtodientibus, et Arimaſpis rapientibus, multi, ſed maximè illuſtres Herodotus et Ariſteas Proconneſius ſcribunt.

948. *O'er bog, or ſteep*, &c.] Dr. Bentley's reading is not amiſs *O'er bog*, o'er *ſteep*, &c. The difficulty of Satan's voyage is very well expreſs'd by ſo many monoſyllables as follow, which cannot be pronounced but ſlowly, and with frequent pauſes. There is a memorable inſtance of the roughneſs of a road admirably deſcrib'd by a ſingle verſe in Homer, Iliad. XXIII. 116.

Πολλα δ' αναυλα, καταυλα, παραυλα τε, δοχμια τ', ηλθον.

which Mr. Pope has been oblig'd to tranſlate paraphraſtically to give us ſome idea of the beauty of the numbers, and he has made uſe of ſeveral monoſyllables, as Milton has done.

O'er hills, o'er dales, o'er crags, o'er rocks they go;
Jumping, high o'er the ſhrubs of the rough ground,
Rattle the clatt'ring cars, and the ſhockt axles bound.

956. —— *the nethermoſt abyſs*] Dr. Bentley rejects *nethermoſt* here, and again in ver. 969, and charges Milton's blindneſs as the cauſe of his forgetting himſelf here and being inconſiſtent. But it is the Doctor that miſtakes, and not the Poet: for tho' the *throne of Chaos* was above Hell, and conſequently a part of the *abyſs* was ſo, yet a part of that *abyſs* was at the ſame time far below Hell; ſo far below, as that, when Satan went from Hell on his voyage, he fell in that *abyſs* 10000 fathom deep, ver. 934. and the poet there adds, that if it had not been for an accident, he had been falling down there to this hour: nay it was ſo deep as to be *illimitable*, and *where bigbth is loſt*.

Which way the neareſt coaſt of darkneſs lies
Bord'ring on light; when ſtrait behold the throne
Of Chaos, and his dark pavilion ſpread
Wide on the waſteful deep; with him enthron'd
Sat

loſt. Surely then the *abyſs*, conſider'd all together, was *nethermoſt* in reſpect of Hell, below which it was ſo endleſly extended: and therefore there was no occaſion for Dr. Bentley to read here *this vaſt unknown abyſs*, inſtead of *the nethermoſt abyſs*, nor in ver. 969. *regnant o'er this vaſt abyſs* inſtead of *of this nethermoſt abyſs*. Pearce.

962. *Sat ſable-veſted Night*,] Clothed in her ſable furs; a *ſable* is a creature whoſe ſkin is of the greater price, the blacker it is. Μελαμπεπλος δ' ε Νυξ. Euripides. *Hume*. Milton here and in what follows ſeems to have had in his view Spenſer's fine deſcription of Night, which is very much in the taſte of this allegory of Milton's. See Fairy Queen, B. 1. Cant. 5. St. 20.

Where griſly Night, *&c.*

964. *Orcus and Ades*,] *Orcus* is generally by the poets taken for Pluto, as *Ades* for any dark place. Theſe terms are of a very vague ſignification, and employ'd by the ancient poets accordingly. Milton has perſoniz'd them, and put them in the court of Chaos. *Richardſon.*

964. — *and the dreaded name*
Of Demogorgon;] There was a notion among the Ancients of a certain deity, whoſe very name they ſuppoſed capable of producing the moſt terrible effects, and which they therefore dreaded to pronounce. This deity is mention'd as of great power in incantations. Thus Erictho is introduced threatning the infernal Powers for being too ſlow in their obedience by Lucan, Phar. VI. 744.

—— Paretis? an ille
Compellandus erit, quo nunquam terra vocato
Non concuſſa tremit, qui Gorgona cernit apertam,
Verberibuſque ſuis trepidam caſtigat Erinnyn,
Indeſpecta tenet vobis qui Tartara; cujus
Vos eſtis ſuperi; Stygias qui pejerat undas?

Yet, am I yet, ye ſullen fiends, obey'd?
Or muſt I call your maſter to my aid?
At whoſe dread name the trembling furies quake,
Hell ſtands abaſh'd, and earth's foundations ſhake?
Who views the Gorgons with intrepid eyes,
And your inviolable flood defies? Rowe.

And likewiſe Tireſias by Statius, Thebaid. IV. 514.

Scimus enim et quicquid dici noſcique timetis,
Et turbare Hecaten, nî te, Thymbræe, vererer,
Et triplicis mundi ſummum quem ſcire nefaſtum eſt,
Illum ſed taceo.

And Iſmen threatens in the ſame ſtrain in Taſſo, Cant. 13. St. 10.

Per lungo diſuſar già non ſi ſcorda, *&c.*

I have not yet forgot for want of uſe,
What dreadful terms belong this ſacred feat,
My

Sat ſable-veſted Night, eldeſt of things,
The conſort of his reign; and by them ſtood
Orcus and Ades, and the dreaded name
Of Demogorgon; Rumor next and Chance, 965
And

My tongue (if ſtill your ſtubborn hearts refuſe)
That ſo much dreaded name can well repeat,
Which heard great Dis cannot himſelf excuſe,
But hither run from his eternal ſeat. Fairfax.

The name of this deity is *Demogorgon*, which ſome think a corruption of Demiurgus; others imagin him to be ſo call'd, as being able to look upon the Gorgon, that turned all other ſpectators to ſtone, and to this Lucan ſeems to allude, when he ſays

— qui Gorgona cernit apertam.

Spenſer too mentions this infernal deity, Fairy Queen, B. 1. Cant. 5. St. 22.

Which waſt begot in *Demogorgon*'s hall,
And ſaw'ſt the ſecrets of the world unmade:

and places him likewiſe in the immenſe abyſs with Chaos, B. 4. Cant. 2. St. 47.

Down in the bottom of the deep abyſs,
Where *Demogorgon* in dull darkneſs pent,
Far from the view of Gods and Heaven's bliſs,
The hideous Chaos keeps, their dreadful dwelling is:

and takes notice alſo of the dreadful effects of his name, B. 1. Cant. 1. St. 37.

A bold bad man, that dar'd to call by name
Great *Gorgon*, prince of darkneſs and dead night,
At which Cocytus quakes, and Styx is put to flight.

Well therefore might Milton diſtinguiſh him by *the dreaded name of Demogorgon*: and *the name of Demogorgon* is as much as to ſay *Demogorgon* himſelf, as in Virgil Æn. VI. 763. *Albanum nomen* is a man of Alba, Æn. XII. 515. *Nomen Echionium*, id eſt Thebanum, is a Theban; and we have a memorable inſtance of this way of ſpeaking in Rev. XI. 13. *And in the earthquake were ſlain* ονοματα ανθρωπων *names of men ſeven thouſand*, that is ſeven thouſand men. And beſides theſe authorities to juſtify our author, let me farther add what the learned Mr. Jortin hath ſuggeſted, that this name "is to be found in Lactantius, the Scho-"liaſt of Statius on Thebaid. IV. 516. Dicit "Deum Demogorgona ſummum. It is alſo "to be found in Hyginus, pag. 11. Edit. "Hamburg. Oct. 1674. Ex Demogorgone et "Terra Python, draco divinus, if the place "be not corrupted. See Muncker there."

965. — *Rumor next and Chance*,] In Satan's voyage through the Chaos there are ſeveral imaginary perſons deſcribed, as reſiding in that immenſe waſte of matter. This may perhaps be conformable to the taſte of thoſe critics who are pleaſed with nothing in a poet which has not life and manners aſcribed to it; but for my own part, I am pleaſed moſt with thoſe paſſages in this deſcription which carry in them a greater meaſure of probability, and are ſuch as might poſſibly have happen'd. Of this kind is his firſt mounting in the ſmoke that riſes from the infernal pit, his falling into a cloud

of

And Tumult and Confuſion all embroil'd,
And Diſcord with a thouſand various mouths.
T'whom Satan turning boldly, thus. Ye Powers
And Spirits of this nethermoſt abyſs,
Chaos and ancient Night, I come no ſpy,
With purpoſe to explore or to diſturb
The ſecrets of your realm, but by conſtraint
Wand'ring this darkſome deſert, as my way
Lies through your ſpacious empire up to light,
Alone, and without guide, half loſt, I ſeek
What

of nitre and the like combuſtible materials, that by their exploſion ſtill hurried him forward in his voyage; his ſpringing upward like a pyramid of fire, with his laborious paſſage through that confuſion of elements which the poet calls

The womb of nature, and perhaps her grave.
Addiſon.

Mr. Addiſon ſeems to diſapprove of theſe fictitious beings, thinking them I ſuppoſe (like Sin and Death) improper for an epic poem: but I ſee no reaſon why Milton may not be allow'd to place ſuch imaginary beings in the regions of Chaos, as well as Virgil deſcribe the like beings, Grief, and Fear, and Want, and Sleep, and Death, and Diſcord likewiſe within the confines of Hell; and why what is accounted a beauty in one ſhould be deemed a fault in the other. See Æn. VI. 273. *&c.*

Veſtibulum ante ipſum, primiſque in faucibus Orci,
Luctus, et ultrices poſuere cubilia Curæ:
Pallenteſque habitant Morbi, triſtiſque Senectus,
Et Metus, et maleſuada Fames, et turpis Egeſtas,
Terribiles viſu formæ: Letumque, Laborque:
Tum conſanguineus Leti Sopor, et mala mentis
Gaudia, mortiferumque adverſo in limine Bellum,
Ferreique Eumenidum thalami, et Diſcordia demens
Vipereum crinem vittis innexa cruentis.

Juſt in the gate, and in the jaws of Hell,
Revengeful Cares, and fullen Sorrows dwell;
And pale Diſeaſes, and repining Age;
Want, Fear, and Famin's unreſiſted rage;
Here Toils, and Death, and Death's half-brother Sleep,
Forms terrible to view, their ſentry keep;
With anxious Pleaſures of a guilty mind,
Deep Frauds before, and open Force behind;
The Furies iron beds, and Strife that ſhakes
Her hiſſing treſſes, and unfolds her ſnakes.
Dryden.

What readieſt path leads where your gloomy bounds
Confine with Heav'n; or if ſome other place,
From your dominion won, th' ethereal king
Poſſeſſes lately, thither to arrive,
I travel this profound; direct my courſe;
Directed no mean recompenſe it brings
To your behoof, if I that region loſt,
All uſurpation thence expell'd, reduce
To her original darkneſs and your ſway
(Which is my preſent journey) and once more
Erect

Every reader, I believe, has been pleaſed with this deſcription; and it is impoſſible to be pleaſed with Virgil, and to be diſpleaſed with Milton. We may obſerve both in Virgil and Milton that Diſcord is made the laſt of theſe imaginary beings, but how much greater an idea have we of Diſcord *with a thouſand various mouths* than with ſnaky hair,

Vipereum crinem vittis innexa cruentis!

972. *The ſecrets of your realm,*] This paſſage has been objected to without any reaſon. He means probably ſecret places, as in ver. 891. *Secrets* is uſed here as *ſecreta* ſometimes in Virgil:

In *ſecreta* ſenis ducam: Georg. IV. 403.

— Horrendæque procul *ſecreta* Sibyllæ,
Antrum immane petit: Æn. VI. 10.

And likewiſe in Spenſer, Fairy Queen, B. 6. Cant. 12. St. 24.

And ſearched all their cells and *ſecrets* near.

Or if we underſtand by *ſecrets* ſecret counſels and tranſactions, the word *diſturb* will be proper enough as in I. 167.

— and diſturb
His inmoſt counſels from their deſtin'd aim;

and the word *explore* will be very proper, as in VII. 95.

What we, not to explore the ſecrets aſk
Of his eternal empire.

981. *Directed no mean recompenſe it brings* &c.] My courſe directed may bring no little recompenſe and advantage to you, if I reduce that loſt region, all uſurpation being thence expell'd, to her original darkneſs and your ſway (which is the purport of my preſent journey) and once more erect the ſtandard there of ancient Night.

Erect the ſtandard there of ancient Night;
Yours be th' advantage all, mine the revenge.
Thus Satan; and him thus the Anarch old,
With faltring ſpeech and viſage incompos'd,
Anſwer'd. I know thee, ſtranger, who thou art,
That mighty leading Angel, who of late
Made head againſt Heav'n's king, though overthrown.
I ſaw and heard, for ſuch a numerous hoſt
Fled not in ſilence through the frighted deep
With ruin upon ruin, rout on rout,
Confuſion worſe confounded; and Heav'n gates
Pour'd

999. — *if all I can will ſerve*
That little which is left ſo to defend, &c.] Dr. Bentley makes great alterations here, and would have us read

— if all I can will ſerve
That little which is left *us* to defend
Encroach'd on *by creations old and new*
Straitning the bounds of ancient Night:

For *ſo* in the ſecond verſe he reads *us*: but *ſo* is right, and ſignifies by *keeping reſidence on my frontiers* and *doing all I can*. Again, he finds fault with *our inteſtin broils*, and ſays that Chaos's or Night's *ſcepter* is not *weaken'd*, but is ſtrengthen'd and ſubſiſts by them. So far he is right, and therefore Milton, if he wrote *our inteſtin broils*, could never mean the broils within the realm of Chaos. It appears from the following verſes, that the encroachments which Chaos means were the creation of *Hell* firſt, and then of the *new world*, the creation of both which was the effect not of any broils in Chaos's realm, but of the *broils* in Heaven between God and Satan, the good Angels and the bad, called *inteſtin war* and *broils* in VI. 259, 277. So that the paſſage as it ſtands ſeems to be faulty; but without ſo great an alteration as Dr. Bentley makes, we may clear it of all difficulty. We muſt remember that it is Satan, to whom Chaos here ſpeaks, and therefore we may ſuppoſe that Milton gave it *through your inteſtin broils*. In the firſt editions there is no comma after *broils*; and there ſhould be none, becauſe *broils* is the ſubſtantive with which the participle *weakning* agrees: It was their *broils* which *weaken'd* Night's ſcepter, becauſe the conſequences of them leſſen'd her kingdom. *Pearce.* This change of *our* into *your* is ſo juſt and neceſſary, that we thought it beſt to admit it into the text.

1005 — *link'd*

Pour'd out by millions her victorious bands
Purſuing. I upon my frontiers here
Keep reſidence; if all I can will ſerve
That little which is left ſo to defend,
Encroach'd on ſtill through your inteſtin broils
Weakning the ſcepter of old Night: firſt Hell
Your dungeon ſtretching far and wide beneath;
Now lately Heav'n and Earth, another world,
Hung o'er my realm, link'd in a golden chain
To that ſide Heav'n from whence your legions fell:
If that way be your walk, you have not far;

So

1005.---*link'd in a golden chain*] There is mention made in Homer of Jupiter's golden chain, by which he can draw up the Gods and the earth and the ſea and the whole univerſe, but they cannot draw him down. You may ſee the paſſage at large in the beginning of the 8th book of the Iliad.

Ειθ' αγε, πειρησασθε θεοι, ινα ειδετε παντες,
Σειρην χρυσειην εξ ουρανοθεν κρεμασαντες·
Παντες δ' εξαπτεσθε θεοι, πασαι τε θεαιναι.
Αλλ' ουκ αν ερυσαιτ' εξ ουρανοθεν πεδιονδε
Ζηνα υπατον μητιωρ', ουδ' ει μαλα πολλα καμοιτε·
Αλλ' οτε δη και εγω προφρων εθελοιμι ερυσαι,
Αυτη κεν γαιη ερυσαμι', αυτη τε θαλασση·
Σειρην μεν κεν επειτα περι ριον Ουλυμποιο
Δησαιμην· τα δε κ' αυτε μετηορα παντα γενοιτο.

League all your forces then, ye Pow'rs above,
Join all, and try th' omnipotence of Jove:
Let down our golden, everlaſting chain,
Whoſe ſtrong embrace holds Heav'n, and earth and main:
Strive all of mortal or immortal birth,
To drag by this the Thund'rer down to earth:
Ye ſtrive in vain! If I but ſtretch this hand,
I heave the Gods, the ocean, and the land,
I fix the chain to great Olympus' height,
And the vaſt world hangs trembling in my ſight.
Pope.

It is moſt probably and ingeniouſly conjectur'd, that by this golden chain may be underſtood the ſuperior attractive force of the ſun, whereby he continues unmov'd, and draws all the reſt of the planets toward him. But whatever is meant by it, it is certain that our poet took from hence the thought of hanging the world by a golden chain.

So much the nearer danger; go and ſpeed;
Havoc and ſpoil and ruin are my gain.
He ceas'd; and Satan ſtay'd not to reply,
But glad that now his ſea ſhould find a ſhore,
With freſh alacrity and force renew'd
Springs upward like a pyramid of fire
Into the wild expanſe, and through the ſhock
Of fighting elements, on all ſides round
Environ'd

1009. *Havoc and ſpoil and ruin are my gain.*] This is very agreeable to that character of Chaos by Lucan, Phar. VI. 696.

Et Chaos innumeros avidum confundere mundos.

1011. *But glad that now his ſea ſhould find a ſhore,*] A metaphor to expreſs his joy that now his travel and voyage ſhould end, ſomewhat like that of one of the Ancients, who reading a tedious book and coming near to the end cry'd *I ſee land, Terram video.*

1017. — *than when Argo paſs'd* &c.] The firſt long ſhip ever ſeen in Greece, in which Jaſon and his companions ſailed to Cholchis to fetch the golden fleece. *Through Boſporus*, the Thracian Boſporus, or the ſtraits of Conſtantinople, or the channel of the Black Sea. It is ſometimes writ *Boſphorus*, as in Mr. Fenton's edition, from βοῦς and φέρω: but Milton is more exact and accurate, and writes *Boſporus* according to the beſt Greek authors, from βοῦς πορος, bovis tranſitus, the ſea being ſo narrow there that cattel are ſaid to have ſwum croſs it. *Betwixt the juſtling rocks*, two rocks at the entrance into the Euxin or Black Sea, called in Greek *Symplegades*, and by Juvenal *concurrentia ſaxa*, Sat. XV. 19. which Milton very well tranſlates *the juſtling rocks*, becauſe they were ſo near, that at a diſtance they ſeemed to open and ſhut again, and juſtle one another, as the ſhip varied its courſe this way and that as uſual. In Ponto duæ Cyaneæ, ab aliis Symplegades appellatæ, traditæque fabulis inter ſe concurriſſe: quoniam parvo diſcretæ intervallo, ex adverſo intrantibus geminæ cernebantur, paulumque deflexa acie, coeuntium ſpeciem præbebant. Plin. Nat. Hiſt. L. 4. Cap. 13. The reader may ſee a farther account of theſe rocks, and the paſſage betwixt them in Apollonius, Argonaut. II. 317, &c. In ſhort Satan's voyage through the fighting elements was more difficult and dangerous than that of the Argonauts through narrow ſeas betwixt juſtling rocks.

1019. *Or when Ulyſſes on the larbord ſhunn'd Charybdis, and by th' other whirlpool ſteer'd.*] Theſe two verſes Dr. Bentley would throw quite away. *Larbord* (he ſays) is abominable in heroic poetry; but Dryden (as the Doctor owns) thought it not unfit to be employ'd there: and Milton in other places has uſed nautical

Environ'd wins his way; harder beſet
And more indanger'd, than when Argo paſs'd
Through Boſporus betwixt the juſtling rocks:
Or when Ulyſſes on the larbord ſhunn'd
Charybdis, and by th' other whirlpool ſteer'd.
So he with difficulty and labor hard
Mov'd on, with difficulty and labor he;
But he once paſt, ſoon after when man fell,

Strange

nautical terms, without being cenſur'd for it by the Doctor. So in IX. 513. he ſpeaks of *working a ſhip*, of *veering* and *ſhifting*; and in I. 207. of *mooring under the lee*. So Virgil's *legere littus* is obſerved to be a term borrow'd from mariners, by Servius in his notes on Georg. II. 44. and Æn. III. 127. But the Doctor has two very formidable objections againſt the ſenſe of theſe verſes. Firſt he ſays that *larbord* or left hand is a miſtake here for *ſtarbord* or right hand, *Charybdis* being to the *ſtarbord* of *Ulyſſes*, when he ſailed thro' theſe ſtraits. This is very true, but it does not affect what Milton here ſays; for the ſenſe may be, not that *Ulyſſes* ſhunn'd *Charybdis* ſituated on the *larbord* of his ſhip as he was ſailing; but that *Ulyſſes* ſailing on the *larbord* (to the left hand where Scylla was) did thereby ſhun *Charybdis*; which was the truth of the caſe. The Doctor's other objection is, that Scylla was no *whirlpool*, which yet ſhe is here ſuppoſed to have been: But Virgil (whom Milton follows oftner than he does Homer) deſcribes Scylla as *naves in ſaxa trahentem*, Æn. III. 425. and what is that leſs than calling it a *whirlpool?* And Athan. Kircher, who has written a particular account of Scylla and Charybdis upon his own view of them, does not ſcruple to call them both *whirlpools*. The truth is, that Scylla is a rock ſituated in a ſmall bay on the Italian coaſt, into which bay the tide runs with a very ſtrong current, ſo as to draw in the ſhips which are within the compaſs of its force, and either daſh them againſt the rock, or ſwallow them in the eddies: for when the ſtreams have thus violently ruſh'd into the bay, they meet with the rock Scylla at the farther end, and being beat back muſt therefore form an eddy or *whirlpool*. This account is gather'd partly from Sandys's travels, and partly from Hiſtoria orbis terræ, *&c.* where it is ſaid, Ejus natura eſt ut ingenti ultro citroque commeantium aquarum perturbatione agitetur: quando affluxu agitatur, tanta eſt ejus violentia, ut navis eò delapſa, omni evadendi ſpe ſublata, montium parietibus illidatur. Vide Hoffman. Lexicon. *Pearce.*

1023. *But he once paſt*, &c.] Dr. Bentley would throw out here eleven verſes, as if they were an interpolation: but the foregoing words, containing a repetition of what went before them, *with difficulty and labor he*, have no force

nor

Strange alteration! Sin and Death amain
Following his track, ſuch was the will of Heaven,
Pav'd after him a broad and beaten way
Over the dark abyſs, whoſe boiling gulf
Tamely indur'd a bridge of wondrous length
From Hell continued reaching th' utmoſt orb
Of this frail world; by which the Spi'rits perverſe
With eaſy intercourſe paſs to and fro
To tempt or puniſh mortals, except whom
God and good Angels guard by ſpecial grace.
But now at laſt the ſacred influence
Of light appears, and from the walls of Heaven
Shoots far into the boſom of dim Night
A glimmering dawn; here Nature firſt begins
Her fartheſt verge, and Chaos to retire

As

nor propriety, unleſs it be added (as it is in theſe verſes) that ſome others afterwards went this way with more eaſe. *Pearce.*
It is evident that theſe lines are Milton's, and cannot be an interpolation of the editor. But yet I am afraid we cannot ſo eaſily get over the Doctor's other objection that this ſame bridge is deſcrib'd in Book X. for ſeveral lines together poetically and pompouſly, as a thing untouch'd before and an incident to ſurpriſe the reader; and therefore the poet ſhould not have anticipated it here. Let the lines themſelves be approv'd; yet it muſt be allow'd, it is wrong conduct and want of oeconomy for the whole poem. And we cannot recollect a parallel inſtance in Homer or Virgil, or any authoriz'd poet.

1025. —*ſuch was the will of Heaven,*] Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή. Hom. Iliad. I. 5.

1039. *As from her outmoſt works*] Dr. Bentley reads *his* inſtead of *her:* but the meaning is not that Chaos retires as from his own outmoſt

As from her outmoſt works a broken foe
With tumult leſs and with leſs hoſtile din,
That Satan with leſs toil, and now with eaſe
Wafts on the calmer wave by dubious light,
And like a weather-beaten veſſel holds
Gladly the port, though ſhrouds and tackle torn;
Or in the emptier waſte, reſembling air,
Weighs his ſpread wings, at leiſure to behold
Far off th' empyreal Heav'n, extended wide
In circuit, undetermin'd ſquare or round,
With opal tow'rs and battlements adorn'd
Of living ſaphir, once his native ſeat;
And faſt by hanging in a golden chain
This pendent world, in bigneſs as a ſtar
Of ſmalleſt magnitude cloſe by the moon.

Thither

moſt works, but retires as from the outmoſt works of Nature mentioned before.

1049. *With opal tow'rs*] With towers of precious ſtones. *Opal* is a ſtone of diverſe colors, partaking of the carbuncles faint fire, the amethiſts bright purple, and the emeralds chearing green. *Hume* and *Richardſon.*

1052. *This pendent world, in bigneſs as a ſtar Of ſmalleſt magnitude cloſe by the moon.*] By *this pendent world* is not meant the Earth; but the new creation, Heaven and Earth, the whole orb of fix'd ſtars immenſely bigger than the Earth, a mere point in compariſon. This is ſure from what Chaos had lately ſaid, v. 1004.

Now lately Heav'n and Earth, another world,
Hung o'er my realm, link'd in a golden chain.

Beſides, Satan did not ſee the Earth yet; he was afterwards ſurpris'd *at the ſudden view of all this world at once*, III. 542. and wander'd long on the outſide of it; till at laſt he ſaw our ſun, and learned there of the Arch-Angel Uriel,

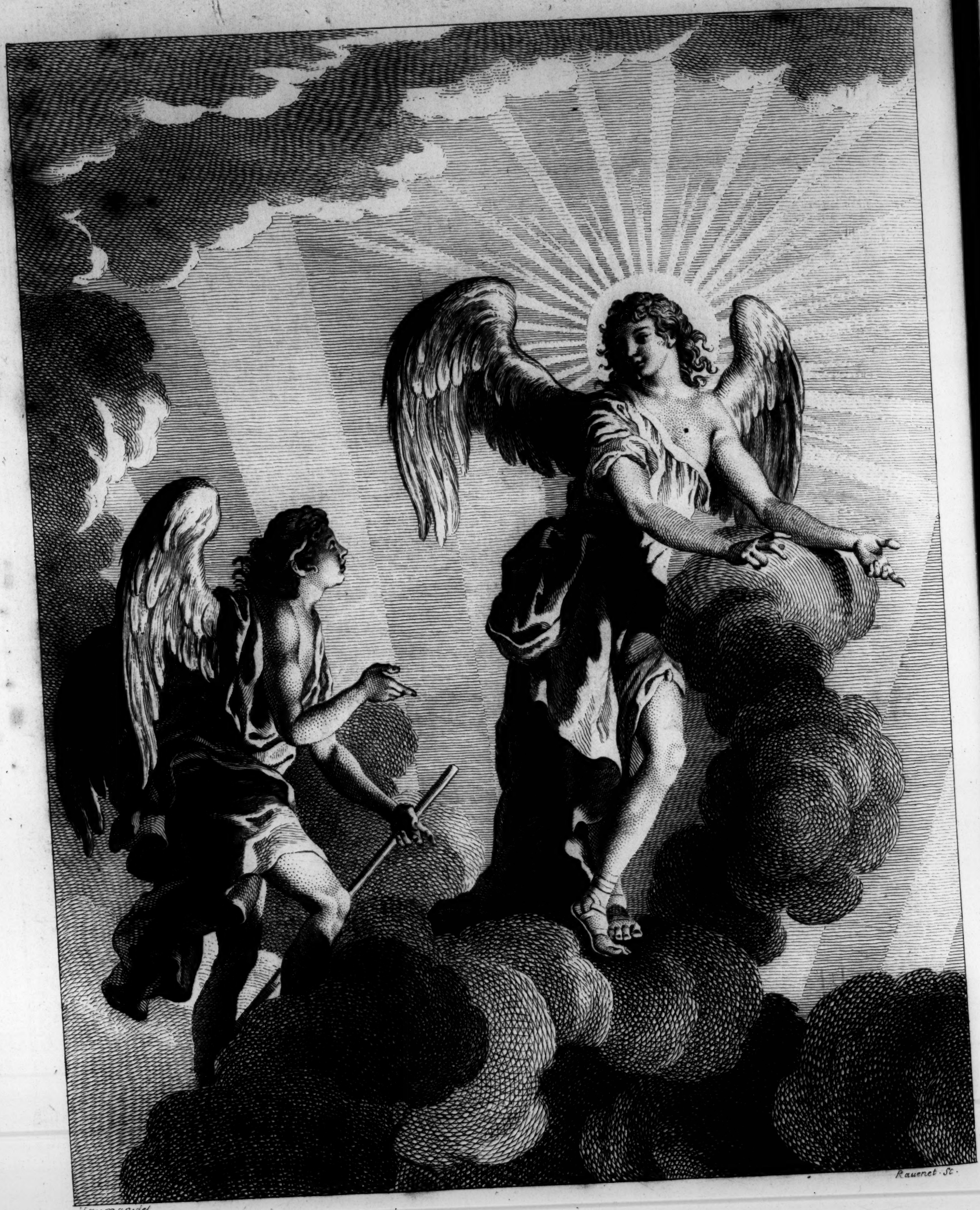
where

Thither full fraught with miſchievous revenge,
Accurs'd, and in a curſed hour he hies. 1055

where the Earth and Paradiſe were. See III. 722. *This pendent world* therefore muſt mean the whole world, the new created univerſe, and *beheld far off* it appear'd in compariſon with the empyreal Heaven no bigger than *a ſtar of ſmalleſt magnitude*; nay not ſo large, it appear'd no bigger than ſuch a ſtar appears to be when it is *cloſe by the moon*, the ſuperior light whereof makes any ſtar that happens to be near her disk, to ſeem exceedingly ſmall and almoſt diſappear. Dr. Bentley has ſtrangely miſtaken the ſenſe of this paſſage, underſtanding that the Earth was meant, and yet arguing very juſtly that the Earth could not be meant: and Mr. Addiſon has fallen into the like miſtake, as appears from his words; "The glimmering "light which ſhot into the Chaos from the ut-"moſt verge of the creation, with the diſtant "diſcovery of the Earth that hung cloſe by "the moon, are wonderfully beautiful and "poetical." But how much more wonderful is the imagination of ſuch prodigious diſtance, that after Satan had traveled on ſo far, and comes within view of the whole world, it ſhould ſtill appear in compariſon with the empyreal Heaven no bigger than the ſmalleſt ſtar, and that ſtar appearing yet ſmaller by its proximity to the moon! and how much more beautiful and poetical is it to open the ſcene thus by degrees! Satan at firſt deſcries the whole world at a diſtance in book the ſecond, and then in book the third he diſcovers our planetary ſyſtem and the ſun, and afterwards by the direction of Uriel the earth and neighbouring moon.

The end of the Second Book.

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THE

THIRD BOOK

OF

PARADISE LOST.

THE ARGUMENT.

God ſitting on his throne ſees Satan flying towards this world, then newly created; ſhows him to the Son who ſat at his right hand; foretels the ſucceſs of Satan in perverting mankind; clears his own juſtice and wiſdom from all imputation, having created Man free and able enough to have withſtood his tempter; yet declares his purpoſe of grace towards him, in regard he fell not of his own malice, as did Satan, but by him ſeduc'd. The Son of God renders praiſes to his Father for the manifeſtation of his gracious purpoſe towards Man; but God again declares, that Grace cannot be extended towards Man without the ſatisfaction of divine juſtice; Man hath offended the majeſty of God by aſpiring to God-head, and therefore with all his progeny devoted to death muſt die, unleſs ſome one can be found ſufficient to anſwer for his offenſe, and undergo his puniſhment. The Son of God freely offers himſelf a ranſome for Man: the Father accepts him, ordains his incarnation, pronounces his exaltation above all names in Heaven and Earth; commands all the Angels to adore him; they obey, and hymning to their harps in full quire, celebrate the Father and the Son. Mean while Satan alights upon the bare convex of this world's outermoſt orb; where wand'ring he firſt finds a place, ſince call'd The Limbo of Vanity; what perſons and things fly up thither; thence comes to the gate of Heaven, deſcrib'd aſcending by ſtairs, and the waters above the firmament that flow about it: His paſſage thence to the orb of the ſun; he finds there Uriel the regent of that orb, but firſt changes himſelf into the ſhape of a meaner Angel; and pretending a zealous deſire to behold the new creation, and Man whom God had plac'd here, inquires of him the place of his habitation, and is directed; alights firſt on mount Niphates.

PARADISE LOST.

BOOK III.

HAIL holy Light, ofspring of Heav'n firſt-born,
Or of th' Eternal coeternal beam
May I expreſs thee' unblam'd? ſince God is light,
And never but in unapproached light
Dwelt from eternity, dwelt then in thee,
Bright

Horace adviſes a poet to conſider thoroughly the nature and force of his genius. Milton ſeems to have known perfectly well, wherein his ſtrength lay, and has therefore choſen a ſubject entirely conformable to thoſe talents, of which he was maſter. As his genius was wonderfully turned to the ſublime, his ſubject is the nobleſt that could have entered into the thoughts of man. Every thing that is truly great and aſtoniſhing has a place in it. The whole ſyſtem of the intellectual world; the Chaos and the Creation; Heaven, Earth, and Hell, enter into the conſtitution of his poem. Having in the firſt and ſecond books repreſented the infernal world with all its horrors, the thread of his fable naturally leads him into the oppoſit regions of bliſs and glory.

Addiſon.

1. *Hail holy Light*, &c.] Our author's addreſs to Light, and lamentation of his own blindneſs may perhaps be cenſur'd as an excreſcence or digreſſion not agreeable to the rules of epic poetry; but yet this is ſo charming a part of the poem, that the moſt critical reader, I imagin, cannot wiſh it were omitted. One is even pleaſed with a fault, if it be a fault, that is the occaſion of ſo many beauties, and acquaints us ſo much with the circumſtances and character of the author.

2. *Or of th' Eternal coeternal beam*
May I expreſs thee' unblam'd?] Or may I without blame call thee, the coeternal beam of the eternal God? The Ancients were very cautious and curious by what names they addreſs'd their deities, and Milton in imitation of them queſtions whether he ſhould addreſs the Light as the firſt-born of Heaven, or as the coeternal beam of the eternal Father, or as a pure ethereal ſtream whoſe fountain is unknown: But as the ſecond appellation ſeems to aſcribe a proper eternity to Light, Milton very juſtly doubts whether he might uſe that without blame.

3. —— *ſince God is light,*
And — in unapproached light
Dwelt ——] From 1 John I. 5. *God is light, and in him is no darkneſs at all.* And 1 Tim. VI. 16. *Who only hath immortality, dwelling in the light, which no man can approach unto.*

Bright effluence of bright eſſence increate.
Or hear'ſt thou rather pure ethereal ſtream,
Whoſe fountain who ſhall tell? before the ſun,
Before the Heav'ns thou wert, and at the voice
Of God, as with a mantle didſt inveſt
The riſing world of waters dark and deep,
Won from the void and formleſs infinite.
Thee I re-viſit now with bolder wing,
Eſcap'd the Stygian pool, though long detain'd
In that obſcure ſojourn, while in my flight
Through

6. *Bright effluence of bright eſſence increate.*] What the Wiſdom of Solomon ſays of Wiſdom, he applies to Light, VII. 25, 26. *She is a pure influence flowing from the glory of the Almighty, — ſhe is the brightneſs of the everlaſting light.*

7. *Or hear'ſt thou rather*] Or doſt thou rather hear this addreſs, doſt thou delight rather to be call'd, *pure ethereal ſtream?* An excellent Latiniſm, as Dr. Bentley obſerves, Hor. Sat. II. VI. 20.

Matutine pater ſeu Jane libentius audis?

And we have an expreſſion of the ſame kind in Spenſer, Fairy Queen, B. 1. Cant. 5. St. 23.

If old Aveugle's ſons *ſo evil hear.*

Whoſe fountain who ſhall tell? As the queſtion is ask'd in Job XXXVIII. 19. *Where is the way where light dwelleth?*

11. *The riſing world of waters dark and deep,*] For the world was only in a ſtate of fluidity, when the light was created; as Moſes ſays, *The Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters; and God ſaid Let there be light, and there was light,* Gen. I. 2, 3.

12. *Won from the void and formleſs infinite.*] *Void* muſt not here be underſtood as *emptineſs*, for Chaos is deſcribed full of matter; but *void*, as deſtitute of any form'd being, void as the earth was when firſt created. What Moſes ſays of that is here applied to Chaos, *without form and void.* A ſhort but noble deſcription of Chaos, which is ſaid to be *infinite*, as it extended underneath, as Heaven above, infinitely. *Richardſon.*

16. *Through utter and through middle darkneſs*] Through Hell which is often call'd *utter darkneſs*, and through the great gulf between Hell and Heaven, the *middle darkneſs.*

17. *With*

Through utter and through middle darkneſs borne
With other notes than to th' Orphéan lyre
I ſung of Chaos and eternal Night,
Taught by the heav'nly Muſe to venture down
The dark deſcent, and up to re-aſcend,
Though hard and rare: thee I reviſit ſafe,
And feel thy ſovran vital lamp; but thou
Reviſit'ſt not theſe eyes, that roll in vain
To find thy piercing ray, and find no dawn;
So thick a drop ſerene hath quench'd their orbs,

Or

17. *With other notes than to th' Orphéan lyre* &c.] Orpheus made a hymn to Night, which is ſtill extant; he alſo wrote of the creation out of Chaos. See Apoll. Rhodius, I. 493. Orpheus was inſpir'd by his mother Calliope only, Milton by the *heav'nly Muſe*; therefore he boaſts he ſung with other notes than Orpheus, tho' the ſubjects were the ſame. *Richardſon.*

19. *Taught by the heav'nly Muſe* &c.] He was not only *taught* by the Muſe *to venture down*, which indeed was not very hard and difficult, but alſo *up to reaſcend, tho' hard and rare*, which is manifeſtly an alluſion to Virgil, Æn. VI. 128.

Sed revocare gradum, ſuperaſque evadere ad auras
Hoc opus, hic labor eſt; pauci, quos æquus amavit
Jupiter, aut ardens evexit ad æthera virtus,
Diis geniti potuere.

But to return, and view the chearful ſkies,
In this the taſk, and mighty labor lies:
To few great Jupiter imparts this grace,
And thoſe of ſhining worth and heav'nly race.
Dryden.

25. *So thick a drop ſerene hath quench'd their orbs,*
Or dim ſuffuſion veil'd.] *Drop ſerene* or Gutta ſerena. It was formerly thought that that ſort of blindneſs was an incurable extinction or quenching of ſight by a tranſparent, watry, cold humor diſtilling upon the optic nerve, tho' making very little change in the eye to appearance, if any; 'tis now known to be moſt commonly an obſtruction in the capillary veſſels of that nerve, and curable in ſome caſes. A *cataract* for many ages, and till about thirty years ago, was thought to be a film externally growing over the eye, intercepting or veiling the ſight, beginning with dimneſs, and ſo increaſing till viſion was totally obſtructed: but the

Or dim ſuffuſion veil'd. Yet not the more
Ceaſe I to wander, where the Muſes haunt
Clear ſpring, or ſhady grove, or ſunny hill,
Smit with the love of ſacred ſong; but chief
Thee, Sion, and the flowry brooks beneath,
That waſh thy hallow'd feet, and warbling flow,
Nightly

the diſeaſe is in the cryſtallin humor lying between the outmoſt coat of the eye and the pupilla. The dimneſs which is at the beginning is called a *ſuffuſion*; and when the ſight is loſt, 'tis a *cataract*; and cur'd by couching, which is with a needle paſſing through the external coat and driving down the diſeas'd cryſtallin, the loſs of which is ſomewhat ſupply'd by the uſe of a large convex glaſs. When Milton was firſt blind, he wrote to his friend Leonard Philara, an Athenian then at Paris, for him to conſult Dr. Thevenot; he ſent his caſe ('tis in the 15th of his familiar letters): what anſwer he had is not known; but it ſeems by this paſſage that he was not certain what his diſeaſe was: or perhaps he had a mind to deſcribe both the great cauſes of blindneſs according to what was known at that time, as his whole poem is interſpers'd with great variety of learning. *Richardſon.*

26. —— *Yet not the more*

Ceaſe I to wander,] Dr. Bentley would read *Yet not for that* &c. there being as he ſays no gradation in ceaſing. Dr. Pearce prefers as coming nearer to the text, *Yet not therefóre*, our poet and Fairfax frequently placing the tone on the laſt ſyllable of *therefore*. But I cannot ſee the neceſſity for an alteration; *Yet not the more ceaſe I to wander* may be allow'd, if not juſtify'd by *Et ſi quid ceſſare potes* in Virgil, Ecl. VII. 10. We may underſtand *ceaſe* here in the ſenſe of *forbear*; Yet not the more *forbear* I to wander: I do it as much as I did before I was blind.

29. *Smit with the love of ſacred ſong*;] So Virgil. Georg. II. 475.

Dulces ante omnia Muſæ,
Quarum ſacra fero ingenti percuſſus amore.

30. —— *the flowry brooks beneath,*] Kedron and Siloah. He ſtill was pleas'd to ſtudy the beauties of the ancient poets, but his higheſt delight was in the ſongs of Sion, in the holy Scriptures, and in theſe he meditated day and night. This is the ſenſe of the paſſage ſtript of its poetical ornaments.

32. — *nor ſometimes forget*] 'Tis the ſame as *and ſometimes not forget*. *Nec* and *neque* in Latin are frequently the ſame as *et non*. *Pearce.*

33. *Thoſe other two* &c.] It has been imagin'd that Milton dictated *Thoſe other too*, which tho' different in ſenſe, yet is not diſtinguiſhable in ſound, ſo that they might eaſily be miſtaken the one for the other. In ſtrictneſs of ſpeech perhaps we ſhould read *others* inſtead of *other*, *Thoſe others too*: but *thoſe other* may be admitted as well as *theſe other* in IV. 783. —— *theſe other wheel the north*: but then it muſt be acknowledged that *too* is a ſorry

Nightly I viſit: nor ſometimes forget
Thoſe other two equall'd with me in fate,
So were I equal'd with them in renown,
Blind Thamyris and blind Mæonides,
And Tireſias and Phineus prophets old:
Then feed on thoughts, that voluntary move
Harmonious

ſorry botch at beſt. The moſt probable explanation of this paſſage I conceive to be this. Tho' he mentions *four*, yet there are but *two* whom he particularly deſires to reſemble, and thoſe he diſtinguiſhes both with the epithet *blind* to make the likeneſs the more ſtriking,

Blind Thamyris and blind Mæonides.

Mæonides is Homer, ſo call'd from the name of his father Mæon: and no wonder our poet deſires to equal him in renown, whoſe writings he ſo much ſtudied, admir'd and imitated. The character of *Thamyris* is not ſo well known and eſtabliſh'd: but Homer mentions him in the Iliad. II. 595; and Euſtathius ranks him with Orpheus and Muſæus, the moſt celebrated poets and muſicians. That luſtful challenge of his to the nine Muſes was probably nothing more than a fable invented to expreſs his violent love and affection for poetry. Plato mentions his hymns with honor in the beginning of his eighth book of Laws, and towards the concluſion of the laſt book of his Republic feigns, upon the principles of tranſmigration, that the ſoul of Thamyris paſſed into a nightingale. He was a Thracian by birth, and invented the Doric mood or meaſure, according to Pliny, L. 7. c. 57. Plutarch in his treatiſe of Muſic ſays that he had the fineſt voice of any of his time, and wrote a poem of the war of the Titans with the Gods: and from Suidas we learn that he compos'd likewiſe a poem of the generation of the world, which being ſubjects near of kin to Milton's might probably occaſion the mention of him in this place. *Thamyris* then and *Homer* are *thoſe other two* whom the poet principally deſires to reſemble: And it ſeems as if he had intended at firſt to mention only thoſe two, and then currente calamo had added the two others, *Tireſias* and *Phineus*, the one a Theban, the other a king of Arcadia, famous blind prophets and poets of antiquity, for the word *prophet* ſometimes comprehends both characters as *vates* doth in Latin.

And Tireſias amd Phineus prophets old.

Dr. Bentley is totally for rejecting this verſe, and objects to the bad accent of *Tireſias*: but as Dr. Pearce obſerves, the accent may be mended by ſuppoſing that the interlin'd copy intended this order of the words,

And Phineus and Tireſias prophets old.

And the verſe appears to be genuin by Mr. Marvel's alluding to it in his verſes prefix'd to the ſecond edition;

Juſt Heav'n Thee, like Tireſias, to requite,
Rewards with prophecy thy loſs of ſight.

37. —— *that voluntary move*
Harmonious numbers; &c.] And the reader will

Harmonious numbers; as the wakeful bird
Sings darkling, and in ſhadieſt covert hid
Tunes her nocturnal note. Thus with the year
Seaſons return, but not to me returns
Day, or the ſweet approach of ev'n or morn,
Or ſight of vernal bloom, or ſummer's roſe,
Or flocks, or herds, or human face divine;
But cloud inſtead, and ever-during dark
Surrounds me, from the chearful ways of men
Cut off, and for the book of knowledge fair
Preſented

will obſerve the flowing of the numbers here with all the eaſe and harmony of the fineſt voluntary. The words ſeem of themſelves to have fall'n naturally into verſe almoſt without the poet's thinking of it. And this harmony appears to greater advantage for the roughneſs of ſome of the preceding verſes, which is an artifice frequently practic'd by Milton, to be careleſs of his numbers in ſome places, the better to ſet off the muſical flow of thoſe which immediately follow.

39. — *darkling*,] It is ſaid that this word was coin'd by our author, but I find it uſed ſeveral times in Shakeſpear and the authors of that age. Lear's fool ſays, Act. I. So out went the candle, and we were left *darkling*.

41. *Seaſons return, but not to me returns*] This beautiful turn of the words is copied from the beginning of the third act of Guarini's Paſtor Fido. Mirtillo addreſſes the ſpring,

Tu torni ben, ma teco
Non tornano &c.
Tu torni ben, tu torni,
Ma teco altro non torna &c.

Thou art return'd; but the felicity
Thou brought'ſt me laſt is not return'd with thee:
Thou art return'd; but nought returns with thee
Save my laſt joys regretful memory. Fanſhawe.

49. *Of Nature's works* &c.] Dr. Bentley reads *All Nature's map* &c. becauſe (he ſays) *a blank of works* is an unphiloſophical expreſſion. If ſo, and if the ſentence muſt terminate at *blank*, why may we not read?

Preſented with an univerſal blank;
All Nature's works to me expung'd and ras'd,

that is, all Nature's works being, in reſpect to the *univerſal blank*, or abſence of light from me, expung'd to me and ras'd. *Pearce.*

It

Preſented with a univerſal blank
Of Nature's works to me expung'd and ras'd,
And wiſdom at one entrance quite ſhut out.
So much the rather thou, celeſtial Light,
Shine inward, and the mind through all her powers
Irradiate, there plant eyes, all miſt from thence
Purge and diſperſe, that I may ſee and tell
Of things inviſible to mortal ſight.

Now had th' almighty Father from above,
From the pure empyréan where he ſits

High

It is to be wiſh'd that ſome ſuch emendation as this was admitted. It clears the ſyntax, which at preſent is very much embaraſs'd. *All Nature's works* being *to me expung'd and ras'd, and wiſdom at one entrance quite ſhut out* is plain and intelligible; but otherwiſe it is not eaſy to ſay what the conjunction *And* copulates *wiſdom* to; *And wiſdom at one entrance quite ſhut out.*

49. —— *ras'd,*] Of the Latin *radere*; the Romans who writ on waxed tables with iron ſtiles, when they ſtruck out a word, did *tabulam radere* raſe it out. Light and the bleſſings of it were never drawn in more lively colors and finer ſtrokes; nor was the ſad loſs of it and them ever ſo paſſionately and ſo patiently lamented. They that will read the moſt excellent Homer, bemoaning the ſame misfor tune, will find him far ſhort of this. Herodotus in his life gives us ſome verſes, in which he bewailed his blindneſs. *Hume.*

52. *Shine inward,*] He has the ſame kind of thought more than once in his proſe works. See his Epiſt. to Emeric Bigot. Orbitatem certe luminis quidni leniter feram, quod non tam amiſſum quam revocatum intus atque retractum, ad acuendam potius mentis aciem quam ad hebetandam, ſperem? Epiſt. Fam. 21. See alſo his Defenſio Secunda, p. 325. Edit. 1738. Sim ego debiliſſimus, dummodo in mea debilitate immortalis ille et melior vigor eò ſe efficacius exerat; dummodo in meis tenebris divini vultûs lumen eò clarius eluceat; tum enim infirmiſſimus ero ſimul et validiſſimus, cæcus eodem tempore et perſpicaciſſimus; hac poſſim ego infirmitate conſummari, hac perfici, poſſim in hac obſcuritate ſic ego irradiari. Et ſane haud ultima Dei cura cæci ſumus; —— nec tam oculorum hebetudine, quam cæleſtium alarum umbrâ has nobis feciſſe tenebras videtur, factas illuſtrare rurſus interiore ac longè præſtabiliore lumine haud raro ſolet.

56. *Now had th' almighty Father* &c.] The

High thron'd above all highth, bent down his eye,
His own works and their works at once to view:
About him all the Sanctities of Heaven
Stood thick as ſtars, and from his ſight receiv'd
Beatitude paſt utterance; on his right
The radiant image of his glory ſat,
His only Son; on earth he firſt beheld
Our two firſt parents, yet the only two
Of mankind, in the happy garden plac'd,
Reaping immortal fruits of joy and love,
Uninterrupted joy, unrival'd love
In bliſsful ſolitude; he then ſurvey'd

Hell

ſurvey of the whole creation, and of every thing that is tranſacted in it, is a proſpect worthy of omniſcience; and as much above that, in which Virgil has drawn his Jupiter, as the Chriſtian idea of the ſupreme Being is more rational and ſublime than that of the Heathens. The particular objects, on which he is deſcribed to have caſt his eye, are repreſented in the moſt beautiful and lively manner. *Addiſon.*

59. — *and their works*] That is the works of his own works, the operations of his own creatures, Angels, Men, Devils.

62. —— *on his right*
The radiant image of his glory ſat,
His only Son;] According to St. Paul, Heb. I. 3. *His Son — who being the brightneſs of his glory, and the expreſs image of his perſon — ſat down on the right hand of the majeſty on high.* Let the diſcerning linguiſt compare the preceding deſcription of God with that by Taſſo, Cant. 9. Stan. 55, 56, 57. *Hume.*

75. *Firm land imboſom'd, without firmament*, &c.] The univerſe appear'd to Satan to be a ſolid globe, incompaſs'd on all ſides but uncertain whether with water or air, but *without firmament*, without any ſphere of fixed ſtars over it, as over the earth. The ſphere of fixed ſtars was itſelf comprehended in it, and made a part of it.

79. *Thus to his only Son foreſeeing ſpake.*] If Milton's majeſty forſakes him any where, it is in thoſe parts of his poem, where the divine Perſons are introduced as ſpeakers. One may, I think, obſerve that the author proceeds with a kind of fear and trembling, whilſt he deſcribes

Hell and the gulf between, and Satan there
Coaſting the wall of Heav'n on this ſide Night
In the dun air ſublime, and ready now
To ſtoop with wearied wings and willing feet
On the bare outſide of this world, that ſeem'd
Firm land imboſom'd, without firmament,
Uncertain which, in ocean or in air.
Him God beholding from his proſpect high,
Wherein paſt, preſent, future he beholds,
Thus to his only Son foreſeeing ſpake.
Only begotten Son, ſeeſt thou what rage
Tranſports our Adverſary? whom no bounds
Preſcrib'd,

ſcribes the ſentiments of the Almighty. He dares not give his imagination its full play, but chooſes to confine himſelf to ſuch thoughts as are drawn from the books of the moſt orthodox divines, and to ſuch expreſſions as may be met with in Scripture. The beauties therefore, which we are to look for in theſe ſpeeches, are not of a poetical nature, nor ſo proper to fill the mind with ſentiments of grandeur, as with thoughts of devotion. The paſſions, which they are deſign'd to raiſe, are a divine love and religious fear. The particular beauty of the ſpeeches in the third book conſiſts in that ſhortneſs and perſpicuity of ſtile, in which the poet has couch'd the greateſt myſteries of Chriſtianity, and drawn together in a regular ſcheme the whole diſpenſation of Providence with reſpect to Man. He has repreſented all the abſtruſe doctrins of predeſtination, free-will and grace, as alſo the great points of incarnation and redemption (which naturally grow up in a poem that treats of the fall of Man) with great energy of expreſſion, and in a clearer and ſtronger light than I ever met with in any other writer. As theſe points are dry in themſelves to the generality of readers, the conciſe and clear manner, in which he has treated them, is very much to be admired, as is likewiſe that particular art which he has made uſe of in the interſperſing of all thoſe graces of poetry, which the ſubject was capable of receiving. Satan's approach to the confines of the creation is finely imaged in the beginning of the ſpeech, which immediately follows. *Addiſon.*

Preſcrib'd, no bars of Hell, nor all the chains
Heap'd on him there, nor yet the main abyſs
Wide interrupt can hold; ſo bent he ſeems
On deſperate revenge, that ſhall redound
Upon his own rebellious head. And now
Through all reſtraint broke looſe he wings his way
Not far off Heav'n, in the precincts of light,
Directly tow'ards the new created world,
And Man there plac'd, with purpoſe to aſſay
If him by force he can deſtroy, or worſe,
By ſome falſe guile pervert; and ſhall pervert,
For Man will hearken to his glozing lies,
And eaſily tranſgreſs the ſole command,
Sole pledge of his obedience: So will fall,
He and his faithleſs progeny: Whoſe fault?
Whoſe but his own? Ingrate, he had of me
All he could have; I made him juſt and right,
Sufficient to have ſtood, though free to fall.

Such

101. — *both them who ſtood and them who fail'd*;] Both the antitheton and the repetition in the next line ſhow that the author gave it,

— both them who ſtood and them who *fell*;
Freely they ſtood who ſtood, and fell who fell.
Bentley.

108. — (*reaſon alſo' is choice*)] The author had

Such I created all th' ethereal Powers
And Spi'rits, both them who ſtood and them who fail'd;
Freely they ſtood who ſtood, and fell who fell.
Not free, what proof could they have giv'n ſincere
Of true allegiance, conſtant faith or love,
Where only what they needs muſt do appear'd,
Not what they would? what praiſe could they receive?
What pleaſure I from ſuch obedience paid,
When will and reaſon (reaſon alſo' is choice)
Uſeleſs and vain, of freedom both deſpoil'd,
Made paſſive both, had ſerv'd neceſſity,
Not me? They therefore as to right belong'd,
So were created, nor can juſtly' accuſe
Their maker, or their making, or their fate,
As if predeſtination over-rul'd
Their will, diſpos'd by abſolute decree
Or high foreknowledge; they themſelves decreed
Their own revolt, not I; if I foreknew,

Fore-

had expreſs'd the ſame ſentiment before in proſe. " Many there be that complain of di-
" vine Providence for ſuffering Adam to tranſ-
" greſs. Fooliſh tongues! when God gave
" him reaſon, he gave him freedom to chooſe,
" for reaſon is but chooſing: he had been elſe
" a mere artificial Adam, *&c.* See his Speech for the liberty of unlicenc'd printing, p. 149, and 150. Edit. 1738.

117. —— *if I foreknew,*] *If* here does not imply

Preſcrib'd, no bars of Hell, nor all the chains
Heap'd on him there, nor yet the main abyſs
Wide interrupt can hold; ſo bent he ſeems
On deſperate revenge, that ſhall redound
Upon his own rebellious head. And now
Through all reſtraint broke looſe he wings his way
Not far off Heav'n, in the precincts of light,
Directly tow'ards the new created world,
And Man there plac'd, with purpoſe to aſſay
If him by force he can deſtroy, or worſe,
By ſome falſe guile pervert; and ſhall pervert,
For Man will hearken to his glozing lies,
And eaſily tranſgreſs the ſole command,
Sole pledge of his obedience: So will fall,
He and his faithleſs progeny: Whoſe fault?
Whoſe but his own? Ingrate, he had of me
All he could have; I made him juſt and right,
Sufficient to have ſtood, though free to fall.

Such

101. — *both them who ſtood and them who fail'd*;] Both the antitheton and the repetition in the next line ſhow that the author gave it,

— both them who ſtood and them who *fell*;
Freely they ſtood who ſtood, and fell who fell.
Bentley.

108. — (*reaſon alſo' is choice*)] The author had

Such I created all th' ethereal Powers
And Spirits, both them who ſtood and them who fail'd;
Freely they ſtood who ſtood, and fell who fell.
Not free, what proof could they have giv'n ſincere
Of true allegiance, conſtant faith or love,
Where only what they needs muſt do appear'd,
Not what they would? what praiſe could they receive?
What pleaſure I from ſuch obedience paid,
When will and reaſon (reaſon alſo' is choice)
Uſeleſs and vain, of freedom both deſpoil'd,
Made paſſive both, had ſerv'd neceſſity,
Not me? They therefore as to right belong'd,
So were created, nor can juſtly' accuſe
Their maker, or their making, or their fate,
As if predeſtination over-rul'd
Their will, diſpos'd by abſolute decree
Or high foreknowledge; they themſelves decreed
Their own revolt, not I; if I foreknew,

Fore-

had expreſs'd the ſame ſentiment before in proſe. " Many there be that complain of di-
" vine Providence for ſuffering Adam to tranſ-
" greſs. Fooliſh tongues! when God gave
" him reaſon, he gave him freedom to chooſe,
" for reaſon is but chooſing: he had been elſe
" a mere artificial Adam, *&c.* See his Speech for the liberty of unlicenc'd printing, p. 149, and 150. Edit. 1738.

117. —— *if I foreknew,*] *If* here does not imply

Foreknowledge had no influence on their fault,
Which had no leſs prov'd certain unforeknown.
So without leaſt impulſe or ſhadow' of fate,
Or ought by me immutably foreſeen,
They treſpaſs, authors to themſelves in all
Both what they judge and what they chooſe; for ſo
I form'd them free, and free they muſt remain,
Till they inthrall themſelves; I elſe muſt change
Their nature, and revoke the high decree
Unchangeable, eternal, which ordain'd
Their freedom, they themſelves ordain'd their fall.
The firſt ſort by their own ſuggeſtion fell,
Self-tempted, ſelf-deprav'd: Man falls, deceiv'd
By th' other firſt: Man therefore ſhall find grace,
The other none: in mercy' and juſtice both,
Through

imply the leaſt doubt or uncertainty; but is uſed, as it is ſometimes in the beſt authors, in the ſenſe of *Though*. Though I foreknew, that foreknowledge had no influence.

121. *Or ought by me immutably foreſeen,*] To *foreſee immutably* (ſays Dr. Bentley) are two ideas that cannot unite: he thinks therefore that Milton muſt have given it *immutably foredoom'd*. His objection is right, but his emendation is wrong, I think. Milton ſeems rather to have dictated

Or ought by me *immutable* foreſeen,

where *ought immutable* may ſignify any event that cannot be chang'd or alter'd. *Pearce.* *Immutably foreſeen* ſeems to mean ſo foreſeen as to be immutable. If Milton had dictated *immutable*, he would probably have ſaid

Or ought immutable by me foreſeen.

135. *Thus while God ſpake*, &c.] The effects of this ſpeech in the bleſſed Spirits, and in the divine Perſon to whom it was addreſs'd, cannot

Through Heav'n and Earth, ſo ſhall my glory excel,
But mercy firſt and laſt ſhall brighteſt ſhine.
Thus while God ſpake, ambroſial fragrance fill'd
All Heav'n, and in the bleſſed Spirits elect
Senſe of new joy ineffable diffus'd:
Beyond compare the Son of God was ſeen
Moſt glorious; in him all his Father ſhone
Subſtantially expreſs'd; and in his face
Divine compaſſion viſibly appear'd,
Love without end, and without meaſure grace,
Which uttering thus he to his Father ſpake.
O Father, gracious was that word which clos'd
Thy ſovran ſentence, that Man ſhould find grace;
For which both Heav'n and Earth ſhall high extol
Thy praiſes, with th' innumerable ſound
Of

not but fill the mind of the reader with a ſecret pleaſure and complacency. *Addiſon.*

140. *Subſtantially expreſs'd*;] According to Heb. I. 3. where the Son of God is ſtiled, *the brightneſs of his Father's glory, and the expreſs image of his perſon*; χαρακτηρ της υποστασεως αυτου, the character of his ſubſtance, as the original expreſſeth it. *Hume.*

147. —— *with th' innumerable ſound*
Of hymns and ſacred ſongs,] Dr. Bentley reads *with innumerable ſtrains* &c. He thinks it ſtrange to find *innumerable* join'd to a ſingular number, unleſs the ſubſtantive implies multitude in the very name: But is not *innumerable ſound of ſongs* here the ſame with *innumerable force of Spirits* in I. 101.? In both places the word *innumerable*, tho' join'd to *ſound* and *force*, yet in ſenſe refers to *ſongs* and *Spirits*. See alſo X. 268. Again he diſlikes *ſound*, becauſe *reſound* follows in the next verſe but one. But this way of writing is common in this poem: See I. 642. and II. 190, 192. So in I. 441,

Of hymns and ſacred ſongs, wherewith thy throne
Incompaſs'd ſhall reſound thee ever bleſt.
For ſhould Man finally be loſt, ſhould Man,
Thy creature late ſo lov'd, thy youngeſt ſon,
Fall circumvented thus by fraud, though join'd
With his own folly? that be from thee far,
That far be from thee, Father, who art judge
Of all things made, and judgeſt only right.
Or ſhall the Adverſary thus obtain
His end, and fruſtrate thine? ſhall he fulfil
His malice, and thy goodneſs bring to nought,
Or proud return, though to his heavier doom,
Yet with revenge accompliſh'd, and to Hell
Draw after him the whole race of mankind,
By him corrupted? or wilt thou thyſelf
Aboliſh thy creation, and unmake

For

I. 441, 442. we read *ſongs unſung*. And we have the very thing which the Doctor finds fault with in VII. 558.

> Follow'd with acclamation and the *ſound*
> Symphonious of ten thouſand harps that tun'd
> Angelic harmonies: the earth, the air
> *Reſounded.* Pearce.

153. —— *that be from thee far*, &c.] An imitation of Geneſis, XVIII. 25. *That be far from thee to do after this manner, to ſlay the righteous with the wicked; and that the righteous ſhould be as the wicked, that be far from thee: ſhall not the judge of all the earth do right?*

158. — *nought,*]

For him, what for thy glory thou haſt made?
So ſhould thy goodneſs and thy greatneſs both
Be queſtion'd and blaſphem'd without defenſe.
To whom the great Creator thus reply'd.
O Son, in whom my ſoul hath chief delight,
Son of my boſom, Son who art alone
My word, my wiſdom, and effectual might,
All haſt thou ſpoken as my thoughts are, all
As my eternal purpoſe hath decreed:
Man ſhall not quite be loſt, but ſav'd who will,
Yet not of will in him, but grace in me
Freely vouchſaf'd; once more I will renew
His lapſed pow'rs, though forfeit and inthrall'd
By ſin to foul exorbitant deſires;
Upheld by me, yet once more he ſhall ſtand
On even ground againſt his mortal foe,

By

158. — *nought,*] This word and *ought* our author moſt uſually ſpells *naught* and *aught*, and they may be ſpelt either way; but this is grown obſolete, and the other may be juſtify'd as well from the Saxon.

168. *O Son*, &c.] The Son is here addreſs'd by ſeveral titles and appellations borrow'd from Scripture. *O Son, in whom my ſoul hath chief delight*, from Mat. III. 17. *My beloved Son in whom I am well pleaſed. Son of my boſom*, from John I. 18. *The only begotten Son which is in the boſom of the Father. My word*, from Rev. XIX. 13. *And his name is called the word of God. My wiſdom and effectual might*, from 1 Cor. I. 24. *Chriſt the power of God and the wiſdom of God.*

By me upheld, that he may know how frail
His fall'n condition is, and to me owe
All his deliverance, and to none but me.
Some I have choſen of peculiar grace
Elect above the reſt; ſo is my will:
The reſt ſhall hear me call, and oft be warn'd
Their ſinful ſtate, and to appeaſe betimes
Th' incenſed Deity, while offer'd grace
Invites; for I will clear their ſenſes dark,
What may ſuffice, and ſoften ſtony hearts
To pray, repent, and bring obedience due.
To pray'r, repentance, and obedience due,
Though but endevor'd with ſincere intent,
Mine ear ſhall not be ſlow, mine eye not ſhut.
And I will place within them as a guide
My umpire Conſcience, whom if they will hear,
Light after light well us'd they ſhall attain,
And to the end perſiſting, ſafe arrive.

This

180. *By me upheld,*] It was before, ver. 178. *Upheld by me.* The turn of the words is remarkable. And we have the oftner taken notice of theſe turns of the words, becauſe it has been objected by Dryden and others, that there were no turns of the words in Milton.

183. *Some I have choſen of peculiar grace* &c.] Our author did not hold the doctrin of rigid predeſtination; he was of the ſentiments of the more moderate Calviniſts, and thought that ſome indeed were elected of peculiar grace, the reſt might be ſaved complying with

This my long ſufferance and my day of grace
They who neglect and ſcorn, ſhall never taſte;
But hard be harden'd, blind be blinded more,
That they may ſtumble on, and deeper fall;
And none but ſuch from mercy I exclude.
But yet all is not done; Man diſobeying,
Diſloyal breaks his feälty, and ſins
Againſt the high ſupremacy of Heaven,
Affecting God-head, and ſo loſing all,
To expiate his treaſon hath nought left,
But to deſtruction ſacred and devote,
He with his whole poſterity muſt die,
Die he or juſtice muſt; unleſs for him
Some other able, and as willing, pay
The rigid ſatisfaction, death for death.
Say heav'nly Pow'rs, where ſhall we find ſuch love?
Which of ye will be mortal to redeem
Man's mortal crime, and juſt th' unjuſt to ſave?

Dwells

with the terms and conditions of the Goſpel.

192. — *endevor'd*] So Milton ſpells this word, and it is moſt agreeable to our pronunciation of it, as well as to its derivation from the French *en* and *devoir*.

197. *And to the end perſiſting, ſafe arrive.*] *He that indureth to the end ſhall be ſaved*, Mat. X. 22.

215. — *and juſt th' unjuſt to ſave?*] That is, Which of ye will be ſo juſt as to ſave the unjuſt? Which of ye will be righteous enough

Dwells in all Heaven charity ſo dear?
He ask'd, but all the heav'nly quire ſtood mute,
And ſilence was in Heav'n: on Mans behalf
Patron or interceſſor none appear'd,
Much leſs that durſt upon his own head draw
The deadly forfeiture, and ranſome ſet.
And now without redemption all mankind
Muſt have been loſt, adjudg'd to Death and Hell
By doom ſevere, had not the Son of God,
In whom the fulneſs dwells of love divine,
His deareſt mediation thus renew'd.

Father, thy word is paſt, Man ſhall find grace;
And ſhall grace not find means, that finds her way,
The ſpeedieſt of thy winged meſſengers,

To

to ſupply the defects of others righteouſneſs? It is plainly an alluſion to 1 Pet. III. 18. *For Chriſt alſo hath once ſuffer'd for ſins, the juſt for the unjuſt.*

217. —— *ſtood mute,*] I need not point out the beauty of that circumſtance, wherein the whole hoſt of Angels are repreſented as ſtanding mute, nor ſhow how proper the occaſion was to produce ſuch a ſilence in Heaven.

Addiſon.

This beautiful circumſtance is raiſed upon Rev. VIII. 1. where upon a certain occaſion it is ſaid, *There was ſilence in Heaven.* And ſo, as there was ſilence in Hell, when it was propos'd who ſhould be ſent on the dangerous expedition to deſtroy mankind, there is likewiſe ſilence in Heaven, when it is ask'd who would be willing to pay the price of their redemption. Satan alone was fit to undertake the one, as the Son of God the other. But tho' the ſilence is the ſame in both places, the difference of the expreſſion is remarkable. In Hell it is ſaid *all ſat mute,* II. 420, as there the infernal peers were ſitting in council; but here

To viſit all thy creatures, and to all
Comes unprevented, unimplor'd, unſought?
Happy for Man, ſo coming; he her aid
Can never ſeek, once dead in ſins and loſt;
Atonement for himſelf or offering meet,
Indebted and undone, hath none to bring:
Behold me then; me for him, life for life
I offer; on me let thine anger fall;
Account me Man; I for his ſake will leave
Thy boſom, and this glory next to thee
Freely put off, and for him laſtly die
Well pleas'd; on me let Death wreck all his rage;
Under his gloomy pow'r I ſhall not long
Lie vanquiſh'd; thou haſt giv'n me to poſſeſs

Life

here it is ſaid they *ſtood mute*, as the good Angels were ſtanding round about the throne of God.

231. *Comes unprevented,*] *Prevent* from *prævenire* to come before. This grace is not preceded by merit or ſupplication; itſelf *prevents* or goes before; 'tis a free gift, as XI. 3. *Prevenient grace deſcending*, &c. 2 Tim. I. 9. *Not according to our works, but according to his own purpoſe and grace.* Pſal. LXXXVIII. 13. *But unto thee have I cry'd, O Lord, and in the morning ſhall my prayer prevent thee.* Here the favor if it comes, comes not *unprevented*; prayer prevents or goes before God's goodneſs.

Richardſon.

236. *Behold me then; me for him, life for life I offer; on me let thine anger fall;*

Account me Man;] The frequent and vehement repetition of *me* here is very like that in Virgil, Æn. IX. 427.

Me, me: adſum qui feci: in *me* convertite ferrum:

and a little afterwards,

Figite

Life in myſelf for ev'r; by thee I live,
Though now to Death I yield, and am his due
All that of me can die; yet that debt paid,
Thou wilt not leave me in the loathſome grave
His prey, nor ſuffer my unſpotted ſoul
For ever with corruption there to dwell;
But I ſhall riſe victorious, and ſubdue
My vanquiſher, ſpoil'd of his vaunted ſpoil;
Death his death's wound ſhall then receive, and ſtoop
Inglorious, of his mortal ſting diſarm'd.
I through the ample air in triumph high
Shall lead Hell captive maugre Hell, and ſhow
The Pow'rs of darkneſs bound. Thou at the ſight
Pleas'd, out of Heaven ſhalt look down and ſmile,
While by thee rais'd I ruin all my foes,
Death laſt, and with his carcaſs glut the grave:

Then

Figite *me*, ſi qua eſt pietas: in *me* omnia tela
Conjicite, ô Rutuli; *me* primum abſumite ferro.

244. *Life in myſelf for ev'r*;] *For as the Father hath life in himſelf, ſo hath he given to the Son to have life in himſelf*, John V. 26.

249. —— *with corruption there to dwell*;] According to the Pſalmiſt, *For thou wilt not leave my ſoul in Hell, neither ſuffer thine Holy One to ſee corruption*, Pſal. XVI. 10. applied to our Saviour's reſurrection by St. Peter, Acts II. 20, 21, &c.

254. *I through the ample air in triumph high* &c.] *Thou haſt aſcended on high, thou*

Then with the multitude of my redeem'd
Shall enter Heav'n long abſent, and return,
Father, to ſee thy face, wherein no cloud
Of anger ſhall remain, but peace aſſur'd
And reconcilement; wrath ſhall be no more
Thenceforth, but in thy preſence joy entire.

His words here ended, but his meek aſpect
Silent yet ſpake, and breath'd immortal love
To mortal men, above which only ſhone
Filial obedience: as a ſacrifice
Glad to be offer'd, he attends the will
Of his great Father. Admiration ſeiz'd
All Heav'n, what this might mean, and whither tend
Wond'ring; but ſoon th' Almighty thus reply'd.

O thou in Heav'n and Earth the only peace
Found out for mankind under wrath, O thou

My

thou haſt led captivity captive, Pſal. LXVIII. 18. *And having ſpoiled Principalities and Powers, he made a ſhow of them openly, triumphing over them in it*, Col. II. 15.

259. *Death laſt*,] According to St. Paul, *The laſt enemy that ſhall be deſtroy'd is death*, 1 Cor. XV. 26.

269. — *as a ſacrifice* &c.] An alluſion to Pſal. XL. 6. and the following verſes, *Sacrifice and offering thou didſt not deſire, mine ears haſt thou opened; burnt-offering and ſin-offering haſt thou not required: Then ſaid I, Lo I come; in the volume of the book it is written of me: I delight to do thy will, O my God; yea, thy law is within my heart.*

277. — *nor*

My ſole complacence! well thou know'ſt how dear
To me are all my works, nor Man the leaſt,
Though laſt created; that for him I ſpare
Thee from my boſom and right hand, to ſave,
By loſing thee awhile, the whole race loſt.
Thou therefore, whom thou only canſt redeem,
Their nature alſo to thy nature join;
And be thyſelf Man among men on earth,
Made fleſh, when time ſhall be, of virgin ſeed,
By wondrous birth: be thou in Adam's room
The head of all mankind, though Adam's ſon.
As in him periſh all men, ſo in thee,
As from a ſecond root, ſhall be reſtor'd
As many as are reſtor'd, without thee none.

His

277. —— *nor Man the leaſt,*] The leaſt dear, *Though laſt created*; ſomewhat like Shakeſpear's Lear to Cordelia, Act. I.

—— *Now our joy,*
Although our laſt, not leaſt.

281. — *whom thou only canſt redeem,*
Their nature] That is, the nature of them, whom thou only canſt redeem. A manner of ſpeaking very uſual with our author.

287. *As in him periſh all men,* &c.] *For as in Adam all die, even ſo in Chriſt ſhall all be made alive,* 1 Cor. XV. 22.

299. *Giving to death, and dying to redeem,*] The love of the Father in giving the Son to death, and the love of the Son in ſubmitting to it and dying to redeem mankind. Mr. Warburton thus explains it. " Milton's ſyſtem of " divinity taught, ſays he, not only that Man " was redeemed, but likewiſe that a real price " was paid for his redemption; *dying to re-* " *deem* therefore ſignifying only redemption " in a vague uncertain ſenſe, but imperfectly " repreſents his ſyſtem; ſo imperfectly that it " may as well be called the Socinian; the " price paid (which implies a proper redemp-
" tion)

His crime makes guilty all his ſons; thy merit
Imputed ſhall abſolve them who renounce
Their own both righteous and unrighteous deeds,
And live in thee tranſplanted, and from thee
Receive new life. So Man, as is moſt juſt,
Shall ſatisfy for Man, be judg'd and die,
And dying riſe, and riſing with him raiſe
His brethren, ranſom'd with his own dear life.
So heav'nly love ſhall outdo helliſh hate,
Giving to death, and dying to redeem,
So dearly to redeem what helliſh hate
So eaſily deſtroy'd, and ſtill deſtroys
In thoſe who, when they may, accept not grace.
Nor ſhalt thou, by deſcending to aſſume,

Man's

" tion) is wanting. But to pay a price im-
" plying a voluntary act, the poet therefore
" well expreſſes it by *giving to death* that is
" giving himſelf to death; ſo that the ſenſe
" of the line fully expreſſes Milton's notion,
" *Heavenly love gave a price for the redemption*
" *of mankind, and by virtue of that price really*
" *redeemed them.*"

301 —— *and ſtill deſtroys*] Dr. Bentley objects to *ſtill deſtroys*, that this ſpeech is before Adam's fall, and therefore he thinks that Milton gave it *and will deſtroy*. But there are many paſſages in theſe ſpeeches of God and Meſſiah, where the fall is ſpoken of as a thing paſt; perhaps becauſe all things, even future ones, are preſent to the divine Mind. Thus we read in ver. 151.

Thy creature late ſo lov'd:

and ver. 181.

— that he may know how frail
His fall'n condition is: —

And yet theſe two paſſages, with others of the ſame kind, Dr. Bentley has ſuffer'd to ſtand uncenſur'd. *Pearce.*

Man's nature, leſſen or degrade thine own.
Becauſe thou haſt, though thron'd in higheſt bliſs
Equal to God, and equally enjoying
God-like fruition, quitted all to ſave
A world from utter loſs, and haſt been found
By merit more than birthright Son of God,
Found worthieſt to be ſo by being good,
Far more than great or high; becauſe in thee
Love hath abounded more than glory' abounds,
Therefore thy humiliation ſhall exalt
With thee thy manhood alſo to this throne;
Here ſhalt thou ſit incarnate, here ſhalt reign
Both God and Man, Son both of God and Man,
Anointed univerſal king; all power
I give thee; reign for ever, and aſſume
Thy merits; under thee as head ſupreme
Thrones,

317. — *all power*
I give thee;] Mat. XXVIII. 18. *All power is given unto me.*

318. — *and aſſume*
Thy merits;] Imitated from Horace's *Sume ſuperbiam quæſitam meritis*, Od. III. XXX. 14. but adapted to the divine Perſon to whom it is ſpoken.

321. *All knees to thee ſhall bow*, &c.] *That at the name of Jeſus every knee ſhould bow, of things in Heaven, and things in Earth, and things under the Earth*, Philip. II. 10.

334. *The world ſhall burn*, &c.] *The Heavens being on fire ſhall be diſſolved, and the elements ſhall melt with fervent heat; nevertheleſs we, according to his promiſe, look for new Heavens, and a new Earth, wherein dwelleth righteouſneſs*, 2 Pet. III. 12, 13.

335. *New*

Thrones, Princedoms, Pow'rs, Dominions I reduce:
All knees to thee ſhall bow, of them that bide
In Heav'n, or Earth, or under Earth in Hell.
When thou attended glorioufly from Heaven
Shalt in the ſky appear, and from thee ſend
The ſummoning Arch-Angels to proclame
Thy dread tribunal; forthwith from all winds
The living, and forthwith the cited dead
Of all paſt ages, to the general doom
Shall haſten, ſuch a peal ſhall rouſe their ſleep.
Then all thy ſaints aſſembled, thou ſhalt judge
Bad men and Angels; they arraign'd ſhall ſink
Beneath thy ſentence; Hell, her numbers full,
Thenceforth ſhall be for ever ſhut. Mean while
The world ſhall burn, and from her aſhes ſpring
New Heav'n and Earth, wherein the juſt ſhall dwell,
And

335. *New Heav'n and Earth,*] Dr. Bentley reads *Heav'ns*; for (he ſays) *Heav'n* is the ſeat of God, *Heav'ns* are the viſible ones, all not beyond the fixed ſtars: but I find Milton almoſt always uſing the known Jewiſh phraſe of *Heaven and Earth* to expreſs the whole creation by. See inſtances in VII. 62, 167, 232, 256, 617. VIII. 15, 70. X. 638, 647. XI. 66, 901. *Pearce.* The laſt verſe cited by Dr. Pearce is almoſt the ſame as this we are here conſidering.

New Heav'n and Earth, wherein the juſt ſhall dwell.
Both Heav'n and Earth, wherein the juſt ſhall dwell.

We may add too, that tho' St. Peter ſays *new Heavens and a new Earth*, yet St. John, Rev. XXI. 1. makes uſe of the phraſe of *Heaven*

And after all their tribulations long
See golden days, fruitful of golden deeds,
With joy and love triumphing, and fair truth.
Then thou thy regal ſcepter ſhalt lay by,
For regal ſcepter then no more ſhall need,
God ſhall be all in all. But all ye Gods,
Adore him, who to compaſs all this dies;
Adore the Son, and honor him as me.
No ſooner had th' Almighty ceas'd, but all
The multitude of Angels, with a ſhout
Loud as from numbers without number, ſweet
As

and Earth. And I ſaw a new Heaven and a new Earth, for the firſt Heaven and the firſt Earth were paſſed away.

337. *See golden days, fruitful of golden deeds,*] Toto ſurget gens aurea mundo. Virg. Ecl. IV. 9.
Hume.

341. *God ſhall be all in all.*] According to 1 Cor. XV. 28. *And when all things ſhall be ſubdued unto him, then ſhall the Son alſo himſelf be ſubject unto him that put all things under him, that God may be all in all.*

341. — *But all ye Gods,*
Adore him,] From Pſal. XCVII. 7. *Worſhip him, all ye Gods*, that is *all ye Angels*; and ſo it is tranſlated by the Seventy, and ſo it is cited by St. Paul, Heb. I. 6. *And let all the Angels of God worſhip him.*

343. *Adore the Son, and honor him as me.*] *That all men ſhould honor the Son, even as they honor the Father.* John V. 23.

344. *No ſooner had th' Almighty ceas'd,* &c.] The cloſe of this divine colloquy, with the hymn of Angels that follows upon it, are ſo wonderfully beautiful and poetical, that I ſhould not forbear inſerting the whole, if the bounds of my paper would give me leave.
Addiſon.

If the reader pleaſes to compare this divine dialogue with the ſpeeches of the Gods in Homer and Virgil, he will find the Chriſtian poet to tranſcend the Heathen, as much as the religion of the one ſurpaſſes that of the others. Their deities talk and act like men, but Milton's divine Perſons are divine Perſons indeed, and talk in the language of God, that is in the language of Scripture. He is ſo very ſcrupulous and exact in this particular, that perhaps

As from bleſt voices, uttering joy, Heav'n rung
With jubilee, and loud Hoſanna's fill'd
Th' eternal Regions: lowly reverent
Tow'ards either throne they bow, and to the ground
With ſolemn adoration down they caſt
Their crowns inwove with amarant and gold;
Immortal amarant, a flow'r which once
In Paradiſe, faſt by the tree of life,
Began to bloom; but ſoon for man's offenſe
To Heav'n remov'd, where firſt it grew, there grows,
And flow'rs aloft ſhading the fount of life,

And

haps there is not a ſingle expreſſion, which may not be juſtify'd by the authority of holy Writ. We have taken notice of ſeveral, where he ſeems to have copied the letter of Scripture, and the ſpirit of Scripture breathes in all the reſt.

345. *The multitude of Angels*, &c.] The Conſtruction is this, *All the multitude of Angels uttering joy with a ſhout loud as* &c. *Heav'n rung*, &c. where the firſt words are put in the ablative caſe abſolutely. *Pearce.*

351. — *down they caſt*
Their crowns] So they are repreſented Rev. IV. 10. *The four and twenty elders fall down before him that ſat on the throne, and worſhip him that liveth for ever and ever, and caſt their crowns before the throne.*

353. *Immortal amarant,*] *Amarant* Αμαραντος Greek, for unfading, that decayeth not; a flower of a purple velvet color, which tho' gather'd, keeps its beauty, and when all other flowers fade, recovers its luſtre by being ſprinkled with a little water, as Pliny affirms, Lib. 21. c. 11. Our author ſeems to have taken this hint from 1 Pet. I. 4. *To an inheritance incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away*, αμαραντον: and 1 Pet. V. 4. *Ye ſhall receive a crown of glory that fadeth not away*, αμαραντινον: both relating to the name of his everlaſting *amarant*, which he has finely ſet near the tree of life. Amarantus flos, ſymbolum eſt immortalitatis. Clem. Alexand. *Hume.*

357. — *the fount of life, and river of bliſs*] The abundant happineſs and immortal joys of Heaven are in Scripture generally expreſs'd by *the fountain of life* and *rivers of pleaſure*: So, *Thou ſhalt make them drink of the river of thy pleaſures,*

And where the riv'er of bliſs through midſt of Heaven
Rolls o'er Elyſian flow'rs her amber ſtream;
With theſe that never fade the Spi'rits elect
Bind their reſplendent locks inwreath'd with beams,
Now in looſe garlands thick thrown off, the bright
Pavement, that like a ſea of jaſper ſhone,
Impurpled with celeſtial roſes ſmil'd.
Then crown'd again, their golden harps they took,
Harps ever tun'd, that glittering by their ſide
Like quivers hung, and with preamble ſweet

Of

pleaſures, for with thee is the fountain of life, Pſal. XXXVI. 8, 9. *For the Lamb which is in the midſt of the throne ſhall feed them, and ſhall lead them unto living fountains of waters,* Rev. VII. 17. and Rev. XXII. 1. *He ſhowed me a pure river of water of life.* Hume.

359. *Rolls o'er Elyſian flow'rs her amber ſtream;*] Dr. Bentley reads *Rolls o'er relucent gems* &c. becauſe (he ſays) it is not well conceiv'd that *flow'rs* grow at the bottom of a river. But (as Dr. Pearce replies) Milton's words don't neceſſarily imply ſo much; the river might only ſometimes *roll over* them, to water them. And yet (ſays Dr. Pearce) I am rather inclin'd to think, that the poet here by *over* means *through* or *among*. So Mr. Jortin underſtands *Rolls o'er* for *rolls through* or *by*; and obſerves that Horace uſes the verb *præterire* in much the ſame manner, Od. IV. VII. 3.

— et decreſcentia ripas
Flumina prætereunt,

roll by and within their banks. But if we underſtand the paſſage as it is expreſs'd, there is no kind of abſurdity in it; for we frequently ſee graſs and weeds and flowers growing under water: and we may therefore ſuppoſe the fineſt flowers to grow at the bottom of *the river of bliſs*, or rather the river to *roll over* them ſometimes, to water them. The author ſeems to intend much the ſame thing that he has expreſs'd in IV. 240. where ſpeaking of the brooks in Paradiſe he ſays they

Ran nectar, viſiting each plant, and fed
Flow'rs worthy of Paradiſe.

And as there they are flow'rs *worthy of Paradiſe*, ſo here they are worthy of *Elyſium*, the region of the Bleſſed: and he makes uſe of the ſame expreſſion in his poem call'd L'Allegro,

From

Of charming ſymphony they introduce
Their ſacred ſong, and waken raptures high;
No voice exempt, no voice but well could join
Melodious part, ſuch concord is in Heaven.
Thee, Father, firſt they ſung Omnipotent,
Immutable, Immortal, Infinite,
Eternal King; thee Author of all being,
Fountain of light, thyſelf inviſible
Amidſt the glorious brightneſs where thou ſitſt
Thron'd inacceſſible, but when thou ſhad'ſt

The

From golden ſlumber on a bed
Of heap'd *Elyſian flow'rs.*

And then as to his calling it *amber ſtream*, it is only on account of its clearneſs and tranſparency, and not at all on account of its color, that he compares it to amber. The clearneſs of amber was proverbial among the Ancients; Callimachus in his hymn to Ceres, ver. 29. has αλεκλρυνον υδωρ; and in like manner Virgil ſays of a river, Geor. III. 522.

Purior electro campum petit amnis.

360. *With theſe that never fade*] Dr. Bentley reads *with this that never fades*, that is *amarant*. But *theſe* is right, and refers to *crowns* ſpoken of in ver. 352. all the intermediate verſes being in a parentheſis. Milton alludes here to 1 Pet. V. 4. *Ye ſhall receive a crown of glory that fadeth not away*. Pearce. Or perhaps *theſe* may more probably refer to *Elyſian flow'rs* mention'd in the verſe preceding. It is more natural and eaſy, and agrees better with what follows, with their being *thrown off in looſe garlands*, which it is better to underſtand of *flow'rs* than of *crowns*, which are themſelves garlands: but then there muſt be no parentheſis, as there is none in Milton's own editions.

363. — *like a ſea of jaſper ſhone,*] Jaſper is a precious ſtone of ſeveral colors, but the green is moſt eſteem'd, and bears ſome ſimilitude and reſemblance to the ſea.

372. *Thee, Father, firſt they ſung* &c.] This hymn ſeems to be compoſed ſomewhat in the ſpirit and manner of the hymn to Hercules in the 8th book of the Æneid; but is as much ſuperior as the ſubject of the one tranſcends that of the other.

377. *Thron'd inacceſſible, but when thou ſhad'ſt*] The word *but* here is the ſame as *except*, *unleſs*; *inacceſſible but when thou ſhad'ſt*, that is then

The full blaze of thy beams, and through a cloud
Drawn round about thee like a radiant ſhrine,
Dark with exceſſive bright thy skirts appear,
Yet dazle Heav'n, that brighteſt Seraphim
Approach not, but with both wings veil their eyes.
Thee next they ſang of all creation firſt,
Begotten Son, Divine Similitude,
In whoſe conſpicuous count'nance, without cloud
Made viſible, th' almighty Father ſhines,
Whom elſe no creature can behold; on thee
Impreſs'd th' effulgence of his glory abides,
Transfus'd on thee his ample Spirit reſts.
He Heav'n of Heav'ns and all the Pow'rs therein
By thee created, and by thee threw down
Th' aſpiring

then only acceſſible, when thou ſhad'ſt &c. Perhaps Milton had in view what Ovid ſays of Phœbus when his ſon Phaeton came to him, Met. II. 39.

— circum caput omne micantes
Depoſuit radios, propiuſque accedere juſſit.
Pearce.

380. *Dark with exceſſive bright thy ſkirts appear,*] Milton has the ſame thought of darkneſs occaſion'd by glory, V. 599. *Brightneſs had made inviſible.* This alſo explains his meaning here; the exceſs of brightneſs had the effect of darkneſs, inviſibility. What an idea of glory! the ſkirts only not to be look'd on by the beings neareſt to God, but when doubly or trebly ſhaded by a cloud and both wings. What then is the full blaze!
Richardſon.

382. *Approach not,*] So Ovid Met. II. 22.

Conſiſtitque procul, neque enim propiora ferebat
Lumina.

but with both wings veil their eyes. So they are repreſented in Iſaiah's viſion of the throne of God: *Above it ſtood the Seraphims; each one had*

Th' aſpiring Dominations: thou that day
Thy Father's dreadful thunder didſt not ſpare,
Nor ſtop thy flaming chariot wheels, that ſhook
Heav'n's everlaſting frame, while o'er the necks
Thou drov'ſt of warring Angels diſarray'd.
Back from purſuit thy Pow'rs with loud acclame
Thee only' extoll'd, Son of thy Father's might,
To execute fierce vengeance on his foes,
Not ſo on Man: Him through their malice fall'n,
Father of mercy' and grace, thou didſt not doom
So ſtrictly, but much more to pity' incline:
No ſooner did thy dear and only Son
Perceive thee purpos'd not to doom frail Man
So ſtrictly, but much more to pity' inclin'd,
He

had ſix wings; with twain he cover'd his face, &c. Iſa. VI. 2.

383. — *of all creation firſt*,] So in Col. I. 15. *the firſt-born of every creature* or *of all creation*, πασης κτισεως; and Rev. III. 14. *the beginning of the creation of God.*

387. *Whom elſe no creature can behold*;] No creature can otherwiſe behold the Father but in and through the Son. *No man hath ſeen God at any time; the only begotten Son which is in the boſom of the Father, he hath declared him*, John I. 18. But *He that hath ſeen me, hath ſeen the Father*, John XIV. 9.

398. *Thee only' extoll'd*,] We muſt not underſtand it thus, Thy Powers returning from purſuit extoll'd, &c. but Thy Powers extoll'd thee returning from purſuit, and *thee only*; for he was the *ſole victor*, all the reſt *ſtood ſilent eye-witneſſes of his almighty acts*, VI. 880. &c. So perfectly doth this hymn of the good Angels agree with the account given by Raphael in Book VI. and whenever mention is made of the good Angels joining in the purſuit, it is by the evil Angels, the reaſon of which ſee before in the note upon I. 169.

He to appeaſe thy wrath, and end the ſtrife
Of mercy and juſtice in thy face diſcern'd,
Regardleſs of the bliſs wherein he ſat
Second to thee, offer'd himſelf to die
For Man's offenſe. O unexampled love,
Love no where to be found leſs than Divine!
Hail Son of God, Saviour of Men, thy name
Shall be the copious matter of my ſong
Henceforth, and never ſhall my harp thy praiſe
Forget, nor from thy Father's praiſe disjoin.

Thus they in Heav'n, above the ſtarry ſphere,
Their happy hours in joy and hymning ſpent.
Mean while upon the firm opacous globe
Of

406. *He to appeaſe thy wrath,*] As an ingenious perſon obſerves, *than* or *but* muſt be underſtood before *He* to complete the ſenſe. Such omiſſions are frequent in poetry, and this may have a beauty here, as it expreſſes the readineſs of the Son to interpoſe on Man's behalf immediately upon perceiving the Father's gracious purpoſe.

412. *Hail Son of God,*] So in the concluſion of the hymn to Hercules mention'd before. Æn. VIII. 301.

Salve vera Jovis proles, decus addite Divis.

413. —— *the copious matter of my ſong*] Dr. Bentley reads here *our ſong*; but why may not Milton take the liberty us'd in the ancient chorus, where ſometimes the plural, and ſometimes the ſingular number is uſed? Or it may be ſaid that Milton ſpeaks in his own perſon, or rather narrates than gives us the words as the words of the Angels. If we read it over, we ſhall ſee this plainly; *Thee firſt they ſung*, ver. 372. and again, *Thee next they ſang*, ver. 383; and this accounts for what Dr. Bentley objects to ver. 381. that *Seraphim* are mention'd. *Pearce.* It is to be noted that the ending of this hymn is in imitation of the hymns of Homer and Callimachus, who always promiſe to return in future hymns.

Richardſon.

418. *Mean*

Of this round world, whoſe firſt convex divides
The luminous inferior orbs inclos'd
From Chaos and th' inroad of Darkneſs old,
Satan alighted walks: a globe far off
It ſeem'd, now ſeems a boundleſs continent
Dark, waſte, and wild, under the frown of Night
Starleſs expos'd, and ever-threatning ſtorms
Of Chaos bluſt'ring round, inclement sky;
Save on that ſide which from the wall of Heaven,
Though diſtant far, ſome ſmall reflection gains
Of glimmering air leſs vex'd with tempeſt loud:
Here walk'd the Fiend at large in ſpacious field.

As when a vultur on Imaus bred,

Whoſe

418. *Mean while upon the firm* &c.] Satan's walk upon the outſide of the univerſe, which at a diſtance appeared to him of a globular form, but upon his nearer approach looked like an unbounded plain, is natural and noble: as his roaming upon the frontiers of the creation between that maſs of matter, which was wrought into a world, and that ſhapeleſs unformed heap of materials, which ſtill lay in Chaos and confuſion, ſtrikes the imagination with ſomething aſtoniſhingly great and wild. *Addiſon.*

431. *As when a vultur* &c.] This ſimile is very appoſite and lively, and correſponds exactly in all the particulars. Satan coming from Hell to Earth in order to deſtroy mankind, but lighting firſt on the bare convex of this world's outermoſt orb, *a ſea of land* as the poet calls it, is very fitly compared to a vultur flying, in queſt of his prey, tender lambs or kids new-yean'd, from the barren rocks to the more fruitful hills and ſtreams of India, but lighting in his way on the plains of Sericana, which were in a manner *a ſea of land* too, the country being ſo ſmooth and open that carriages were driven (as travelers report) with ſails and wind. *Imaus* is a celebrated mountain in Aſia; its name ſignifies *ſnowy* in the language of the inhabitants according to Pliny, Lib. 6. cap. 21. incolarum lingua nivoſum

Whoſe ſnowy ridge the roving Tartar bounds,
Diſlodging from a region ſcarce of prey
To gorge the fleſh of lambs or yeanling kids
On hills where flocks are fed, flies tow'ard the ſprings
Of Ganges or Hydaſpes, Indian ſtreams;
But in his way lights on the barren plains Of

ſignificante; and therefore it is ſaid here *whoſe ſnowy ridge*. It is the boundary to the eaſt of the Weſtern Tartars, who are called *roving*, as they live chiefly in tents, and remove from place to place for the convenience of paſturage, their herds of cattel and what they take in hunting being their principal ſubſiſtence. *Ganges* and *Hydaſpes* are famous rivers of India; and *Serica* is a region betwixt China to the eaſt and the mountain Imaus to the weſt: and what our author here ſays of the *Chineſes*, he ſeems to have taken from Heylin's Coſmography, p. 867. where it is ſaid, "Agree-" able unto the obſervation of modern writers, " the country is ſo plain and level, that they " have carts and coaches driven with ſails, as " ordinarily as drawn with horſes, in theſe " parts." Our author ſuppoſes theſe carriages to be made of *cane*, to render the thing ſomewhat more probable. It may be thought the leſs incredible, as there was a man lately at Bath who attempted ſomething of the ſame nature, and could really drive his machine without horſes by the help of wind and ſail upon Marlborough Downs, but it would not ſerve upon the road; it did well enough upon the plain, but he could not make it go up hill.

442. —— *in this place*] I have before ſpoken of the Limbo of Vanity, which the poet places upon the outermoſt ſurface of the univerſe, and ſhall here explain myſelf more at large on that, and other parts of the poem, which are of the ſame ſhadowy nature. Ariſtotle obſerves, that the fable of an epic poem ſhould abound in circumſtances that are both credible and aſtoniſhing; or as the French critics chooſe to phraſe it, the fable ſhould be filled with the probable and the marvelous. This rule is as fine and juſt as any in Ariſtotle's whole art of poetry. If the fable is only probable, it differs nothing from a true hiſtory; if it is only marvelous, it is no better than a romance. The great ſecret therefore of heroic poetry is to relate ſuch circumſtances, as may produce in the reader at the ſame time both belief and aſtoniſhment. This is brought to paſs in a well-choſen fable, by the account of ſuch things as have really happen'd, or at leaſt of ſuch things as have happen'd according to the received opinions of mankind. Milton's fable is a maſter-piece of this nature; as the war in Heaven, the condition of the fallen Angels, the ſtate of innocence, the temptation of the Serpent and the fall of Man, though they are very aſtoniſhing in themſelves, are not only credible, but actual points of faith. The next method of reconciling miracles with credibility, is by a happy invention of the poet; as in particular, when he introduces agents of a ſuperior nature, who are capable of effecting what is wonderful, and what is not to be met with in the ordinary courſe of things. Ulyſſes's ſhip being turned into a rock, and Æneas's fleet into a ſhoal of Water-nymphs, though they are very ſurpriſing accidents, are

Of Sericana, where Chineſes drive
With ſails and wind their cany waggons light:
So on this windy ſea of land, the Fiend
Walk'd up and down alone, bent on his prey;
Alone, for other creature in this place
Living or lifeleſs to be found was none; None

nevertheleſs probable, when we are told that they were the Gods who thus transformed them. It is this kind of machinery which fills the poems both of Homer and Virgil with ſuch circumſtances as are wonderful, but not impoſſible, and ſo frequently produce in the reader the moſt pleaſing paſſion that can riſe in the mind of man, which is admiration. If there be any inſtance in the Æneid liable to exception upon this account, it is in the beginning of the third book, where Æneas is repreſented as tearing up the myrtle that dropped blood. To qualify this wonderful circumſtance, Polydorus tells a ſtory from the root of the myrtle, that the barbarous inhabitants of the country having pierced him with ſpears and arrows, the wood which was left in his body took root in his wounds, and gave birth to that bleeding tree. This circumſtance ſeems to have the marvelous without the probable, becauſe it is repreſented as proceeding from natural cauſes, without the interpoſition of any God, or other ſupernatural power capable of producing it. The ſpears and arrows grow of themſelves, without ſo much as the modern help of an inchantment. If we look into the fiction of Milton's fable, though we find it full of ſurpriſing incidents, they are generally ſuited to our notions of the things and perſons deſcribed, and tempered with a due meaſure of probability. I muſt only make an exception to the Limbo of Vanity, with his epiſode of Sin and Death, and ſome of the imaginary perſons in his Chaos. Theſe paſſages are aſtoniſhing, but not credible; the reader cannot ſo far impoſe upon himſelf, as to ſee a poſſibility in them; they are the deſcription of dreams and ſhadows, not of things or perſons. I know that many critics look upon the ſtories of Circe, Polypheme, the Sirens, nay the whole Odyſſey and Iliad, to be allegories; but allowing this to be true, they are fables, which conſidering the opinions of mankind that prevailed in the age of the poet, might poſſibly have been according to the letter. The perſons are ſuch as might have acted what is aſcribed to them, as the circumſtances in which they are repreſented, might poſſibly have been truths and realities. This appearance of probability is ſo abſolutely requiſite in the greater kinds of poetry, that Ariſtotle obſerves the ancient tragic writers made uſe of the names of ſuch great men as had actually lived in the world, tho' the tragedy proceeded upon adventures they were never engaged in, on purpoſe to make the ſubject more credible. In a word, beſides the hidden meaning of an epic allegory, the plain litteral ſenſe ought to appear probable. The ſtory ſhould be ſuch as an ordinary reader may acquieſce in, whatever natural, moral, or political truth may be diſcovered in it by men of greater penetration.

Addiſon.

443. — *lifeleſs*] Milton writes it *liveleſs*; but I conceive the word to be compounded of *leſs* and the ſubſtantive *life*, and not of the verb

None yet, but ſtore hereafter from the earth
Up hither like aereal vapors flew
Of all things tranſitory and vain, when ſin
With vanity had fill'd the works of men;
Both all things vain, and all who in vain things
Built their fond hopes of glory or laſting fame,
Or happineſs in this or th' other life;
All who have their reward on earth, the fruits
Of painful ſuperſtition and blind zeal,
Nought ſeeking but the praiſe of men, here find
Fit

verb *live*; *lifeleſs* without life, as *fearleſs* without fear, *liſtleſs* without liſt or deſire, *peerleſs*, *ruthleſs*, *ſhapeleſs*, &c.

444. *None yet*, &c.] Dr. Bentley is for rejecting this verſe and fifty four more which follow as an inſertion of the editor; but I think there can be no doubt of their genuinneſs, whatever there may be of their goodneſs. Mr. Richardſon thinks the Paradiſe of fools is finely imagin'd, but it muſt be own'd that it is formed more upon the taſte of the Italian poets than of the Ancients.

457. — *and in vain*,] To wander in vain as commonly underſtood would be a weak expreſſion, but it has the force of the Greek ματος, the Latin *fruſtrà*, *temerè*, *fortuitò*, *nullo conſilio*, at random. *Richardſon.*

459. *Not in the neighb'ring moon, as ſome have dream'd*;] Arioſto particularly, who in his Orlando Furioſo, Cant. 34. St. 70, &c. gives a much larger deſcription of things loſt upon earth and treaſur'd up in the moon, than our poet here makes of the Limbo of Vanity. The reader may have a taſte of it in the following ſtanza's of Harrington's tranſlation,

A ſtore-houſe ſtrange, that what on earth is loſt
By fault, by time, by fortune, there is found,
And like a merchandiſe is there ingroſt,
In ſtranger ſort than I can well expound:
Nor ſpeak I ſole of wealth, or things of coſt,
In which blind fortune's pow'r doth moſt abound,
But e'en of things quite out of fortune's pow'r,
Which wilfully we waſte each day and hour.

The precious time that fools miſpend in play,
The vain attempts that never take effect,
The vows that ſinners make and never pay,
The counſels wiſe that careleſs men neglect,
The fond deſires that lead us oft aſtray,
The praiſes that with pride the heart infect,
And

Fit retribution, empty as their deeds;
All th' unaccompliſh'd works of Nature's hand,
Abortive, monſtrous, or unkindly mix'd,
Diſſolv'd on earth, fleet hither, and in vain,
Till final diſſolution, wander here,
Not in the neighb'ring moon, as ſome have dream'd;
Thoſe argent fields more likely habitants,
Tranſlated Saints, or middle Spirits hold
Betwixt th' angelical and human kind.
Hither of ill-join'd ſons and daughters born

Firſt

And all we loſe with folly and miſpending,
May there be found unto this place aſcending.

And ſo he proceeds in enumerating other particulars, the vanity of titles, falſe flatteries, fond loves, great men's promiſes, court-ſervices, death-bed alms, *&c.* and men's wits kept in jars like oil. Our late great Engliſh poet has likewiſe made fine uſe of this notion in his Rape of the Lock, Cant. 5. as indeed it ſeems to be fitter for a mock-heroic poem than for the true epic.

Some thought it mounted to the lunar ſphere,
Since all things loſt on earth are treaſur'd there.
There hero's wits are kept in pond'rous vaſes,
And beau's in ſnuff-boxes and tweezer-caſes.
There broken vows, and death-bed alms are found,
And lover's hearts with ends of ribband bound,
The courtier's promiſes, and ſick man's pray'rs,
The ſmiles of harlots, and the tears of heirs,
Cages for gnats, and chains to yoke a flea,
Dry'd butterflies, and tomes of caſuiſtry.

460. *Thoſe argent fields* &c.] There is no queſtion I believe now among philoſophers, that the moon is inhabited; but it is greatly to be queſtion'd whether this notion of our author be true, that the inhabitants there are *tranſlated Saints* or *Spirits* of a middle nature between Angels and Men; for as the moon is certainly leſs conſiderable in itſelf than our earth, it is not likely that its inhabitants ſhould be ſo much more conſiderable.

463. *Hither of ill-join'd ſons and daughters born* &c.] He means *the ſons of God* ill join'd with *the daughters of men*, alluding to that text of Scripture, *Gen.* VI. 4. *There were giants in the earth in thoſe days; and alſo after that, when the ſons of God came in unto the daughters of men, and they bore children to them; the ſame became mighty men, which were, of old,*

men

Firſt from the ancient world thoſe giants came
With many a vain exploit, though then renown'd:
The builders next of Babel on the plain
Of Sennaar, and ſtill with vain deſign
New Babels, had they wherewithal, would build:
Others came ſingle; he who to be deem'd
A God, leap'd fondly into Ætna flames,
Empedocles; and he who to enjoy

Plato's

men of renown: where by *the ſons of God* ſome Fathers and Commentators have ridiculouſly underſtood *Angels*, as if the Angels had been enamour'd and married to women; but the true meaning is that the poſterity of Seth and other patriarchs, who were worſhippers of the true God, and therefore call'd *the ſons of God*, intermarried with the idolatrous poſterity of wicked Cain.

467. *Of Sennaar*;] Or Shinar, for they are both the ſame name of this province of Babylonia. But Milton follows the Vulgate as he frequently does in the names of places.

471. *Empedocles*;] The ſcholar of Pythagoras, a philoſopher and poet, born at Agrigentum in Sicily: he wrote of the nature of things in Greek, as Lucretius did in Latin verſe. He ſtealing one night from his followers threw himſelf into the flaming Ætna, that being no where to be found, he might be eſteemed to be a God, and to be taken up into Heaven; but his iron pattens, being thrown out by the fury of the burning mountain, diſcover'd his defeated ambition, and ridiculed his folly. Hor de Art. Poet. 464.

——— Deus immortalis haberi
Dum cupit Empedocles, ardentem frigidus Ætnam
Inſiluit. *Hume.*

473. *Cleombrotus*;] The name is rightly placed the laſt word in the ſentence, as *Empedocles* was before. He was called Ambraciota of Ambracia, a city of Epirus in Greece. Having read over Plato's book of the Soul's immortality and happineſs in another life, he was ſo raviſh'd with the account of it, that he leap'd from a high wall into the ſea, that he might immediately enjoy it. His death is celebrated by Callimachus in one of his epigrams, Ep. 29. which we will ſubjoin with Friſchlinus his tranſlation.

Ειπας ηλιε χαιρε, Κλεομβροτῳ ω' μβραχιωτης,
Ηλατ' αφ' υψηλυ τειχεῳ εις αϊδην·
Αξιον υδεν ιδων θανατυ κακον, αλλα Πλατωνος
Εν το περι ψυχης γραμμ' αναλεξαμενῳ.

Phœbe vale dicens, de rupe Clembrotus alta
Ambraciota, Stygis vivus adivit aquas.
Funere nil dignum paſſus: ſolúmque Platonis
De vita mentis perpete legit opus.

And

Plato's Elyſium, leap'd into the ſea,
Cleombrotus; and many more too long,
Embryo's and idiots, eremits and friers
White, black, and gray, with all their trumpery.
Here pilgrims roam, that ſtray'd ſo far to ſeek
In Golgotha him dead, who lives in Heaven;
And they who to be ſure of Paradiſe
Dying put on the weeds of Dominic,

Or

And from hence other authors ſeem to have taken his ſtory, as Cicero Tuſc. Diſp. I. 34. Callimachi quidem epigramma in Ambraciotam Cleombrotum eſt: quem ait, cum ei nihil accidiſſet adverſi, e muro ſe in mare abjeciſſe lecto Platonis libro: and Ovid Ibis. ver. 493.

Vel de præcipiti venias in Tartara ſaxo,
Ut qui Socraticum de nece legit opus.

473. — *and many more too long*,] Poorly and deficiently expreſs'd for, *and more too long to name*. Bentley. It ſeems as if a line were by miſtake of the printer left out here; for (as Dr. Bentley ſays) it is *deficiently expreſs'd*. Beſides Milton had been mentioning thoſe who *came ſingle*; and therefore he could not fall upon the mention of *embryo's*, *idiots*, *hermits*, and *friers* without ſome other verſe interpos'd, which ſhould finiſh the account of thoſe who *came ſingle*, and contain a verb for the nominative caſes *embryo's*, *idiots*, &c. which at preſent is wanting. *Pearce.*
A very ingenious perſon queſtions, whether Milton by this appearance of inaccuracy and negligence did not deſign to expreſs his contempt of their *trumpery* as he calls it, by huſtling it all together in this diſorder and confuſion.

475. *White, black, and gray,*] So named according to their habits, white friers or Carmelites, black friers or Dominicans, gray friers or Franciſcans, of their founders St. Francis, St. Dominic, and mount Carmel where that order pretend they were firſt inſtituted. Our author here, as elſewhere, ſhows his diſlike and abhorrence of the church of Rome, by placing the religious orders *with all their trumpery*, cowls, hoods, reliques, beads, *&c.* in the Paradiſe of Fools, and not only placing them there, but making them the principal figures.

476. *Here pilgrims* &c.] Thoſe who had gone upon pilgrimages to the Holy Land, to viſit our Lord's ſepulchre: but to ſuch perſons that may be ſaid, which was to the women after his reſurrection, Luke XXIV. 5, 6. *Why ſeek ye the living among the dead? He is not here but is riſen*; to which text our author ſeems to allude in this paſſage.

Or in Franciſcan think to paſs diſguis'd;
They paſs the planets ſev'n, and paſs the fix'd,
And that cryſtallin ſphere whoſe balance weighs
The trepidation talk'd, and that firſt mov'd;
And now Saint Peter at Heav'n's wicket ſeems
To wait them with his keys, and now at foot
Of Heav'n's aſcent they lift their feet, when lo
A violent croſs wind from either coaſt
Blows them tranſverſe ten thouſand leagues awry
Into the devious air; then might ye ſee
Cowls, hoods, and habits with their wearers toſt
And flutter'd into rags, then reliques, beads,

In-

482. *And that cryſtallin ſphere* &c.] He ſpeaks here according to the ancient aſtronomy, adopted and improv'd by Ptolomy. *They paſs the planets ſev'n*, our planetary or ſolar ſyſtem, *and* beyond this *paſs the fix'd*, the firmament or ſphere of the fix'd ſtars, *and* beyond this *that cryſtallin ſphere*, the cryſtallin Heaven, clear as cryſtal, to which the Ptolemaics attributed a ſort of libration or ſhaking (the *trepidation* ſo much talk'd of) to account for certain irregularities in the motion of the ſtars, *and* beyond this *that firſt mov'd*, the primum mobile, the ſphere which was both the firſt mov'd and the firſt mover, communicating its motions to all the lower ſpheres; and beyond this was the empyrean Heaven, the ſeat of God and the Angels. And when the poet mentions *Heav'n's wicket*, he does it the better to ridicule the notions of thoſe whom he places here in the Paradiſe of Fools. This paſſage may receive ſome farther light and illuſtration from another of the ſame nature in Taſſo, where he deſcribes the deſcent of the Arch-Angel Michael from Heaven, and mentions this cryſtallin and all the other ſpheres but only inverting the order, as there the motion is downwards, and here it is upwards, Cant. 9. St. 60, 61.

Paſſa il foco, e la luce &c.

He paſs'd the light, and ſhining fire aſſign'd
The glorious ſeat of his ſelected crew,

The

Indulgences, diſpenſes, pardons, bulls,
The ſport of winds: all theſe upwhirl'd aloft
Fly o'er the backſide of the world far off
Into a Limbo large and broad, ſince call'd
The Paradiſe of Fools, to few unknown
Long after, now unpeopled, and untrod.
All this dark globe the Fiend found as he paſs'd,
And long he wander'd, till at laſt a gleam
Of dawning light turn'd thither-ward in haſte
His travel'd ſteps: far diſtant he deſcries
Aſcending by degrees magnificent
Up to the wall of Heav'n a ſtructure high;

At

The mover firſt, and circle cryſtalline,
The firmament where fixed ſtars all ſhine.
61.
Unlike in working then in ſhape and ſhow,
At his left hand, Saturn he left and Jove,
And thoſe untruly errant call'd I trow,
Since he errs not who them doth guide and move. Fairfax.

489. — *then might ye ſee*] This is one of the paſſages which furniſhes Dr. Bentley here with objections againſt fifty-five verſes of Milton. To the words *might ye ſee* he ſays, how could any one of his readers *ſee* them, unleſs he is himſelf ſuppos'd a *fool?* But was not Satan there? and he is no fool in this poem: it is one thing to be there as an inhabitant, and another as a ſpectator. Milton means if any body was preſent there ſo as to be able to ſee what paſs'd, he would ſee *cowls*, *hoods*, &c. It is very common among poets to talk thus to their readers; *Then might you ſee* is no more than *Then might be ſeen.* See Virgil, Æn. VIII. 676. *Pearce.*

493. *The ſport of winds:*] Ludibria ventis. Virg. Æn. VI. 75.

495. *Into a Limbo large and broad,*] The *Limbus patrum* as it is call'd, is a place that the Schoolmen ſuppoſed to be in the neighbourhood of Hell, where the ſouls of the patriarchs were detain'd, and thoſe good men who died before our Saviour's reſurrection. Our author gives the ſame name to his Paradiſe of

At top whereof, but far more rich appear'd
The work as of a kingly palace gate,
With frontiſpiece of diamond and gold
Embelliſh'd; thick with ſparkling orient gems
The portal ſhone, inimitable on earth
By model, or by ſhading pencil drawn.
The ſtairs were ſuch as whereon Jacob ſaw
Angels aſcending and deſcending, bands
Of guardians bright, when he from Eſau fled
To Padan-Aram, in the field of Luz
Dreaming by night under the open sky,

And

Fools, and more rationally places it beyond *the backſide of the world.*

506. *With frontiſpiece of diamond and gold*] Imitated from Ovid, Met. II. 1.

Regia ſolis erat ſublimibus alta columnis,
Clara micante auro, flammaſque imitante pyropo.

The ſun's bright palace, on high columns rais'd,
With burniſh'd gold and flaming jewels blaz'd.
Addiſon.

507. — *with ſparkling orient gems*] Dr. Bentley would read *ardent* gems, becauſe *orient* is proper to ſay upon earth only: but *ſparkling* and *ardent* are too near akin to be both uſed together, and ſince (as the Doctor allows) the beſt gems come from the Eaſt Indies, it may be allow'd to Milton to mean by *orient* gems no more than the *beſt* and *moſt precious* ones. Milton very frequently uſes the word *orient* in ſuch a ſenſe as this, and Dr. Bentley generally corrects it, tho' he has made no objection to the expreſſion in I. 546.

With *orient* colors waving.

Poets, who write of things out of this world, muſt uſe epithets and metaphors drawn from things in this world, if they would make themſelves underſtood. *Pearce.*

510. *The ſtairs*, the degrees mention'd before, ver. 502. *were ſuch as whereon Jacob ſaw* &c.] A compariſon fetch'd from Gen. XXVIII. 12, 13. *And he dreamed, and behold a ladder ſet upon the earth, and the top of it reached to Heaven, and behold the Angels of God aſcending and deſcending on it; and behold the Lord ſtood above it.* &c. But this line

To

And waking cry'd, This is the gate of Heaven.
Each ſtair myſteriouſly was meant, nor ſtood
There always, but drawn up to Heav'n ſometimes
Viewleſs; and underneath a bright ſea flow'd
Of jaſper, or of liquid pearl, whereon
Who after came from earth, ſailing arriv'd
Wafted by Angels, or flew o'er the lake
Rapt in a chariot drawn by fiery ſteeds.
The ſtairs were then let down, whether to dare
The Fiend by eaſy' aſcent, or aggravate
His ſad excluſion from the doors of bliſs:

Direct

To Padan-Aram in the field of Luz,
muſt not be underſtood as if *Padan-Aram* was *in the field of Luz*; but he was flying to *Padan-Aram* or the country of Aram, that is Syria; and by the way reſted and dreamed this dream in the field of *Luz*, for ſo the adjoining city was called at the firſt; Jacob upon this occaſion gave it the name of Bethel, by which it was better known afterwards. The paſſage was wrong pointed in all the editions, for there ſhould be no comma after *Luz:* the comma ſhould be after *Padan-Aram*, *in the field of Luz* being to be join'd on to *dreaming* in the next verſe.

518. — *and underneath a bright ſea flow'd*] The author himſelf explains this, in the argument of this book, to be meant of *the water above the firmament*. He mentions it again VII. 619. *Heylin.*

521. *Wafted by Angels*, &c.] As Lazarus was *carried by Angels*, Luke XVI. 22; and Elijah was rapt up *in a chariot of fire and horſes of fire*, 2 Kings II. 11.

525. — *doors*] Milton writes this word *dore* and *dores* except only in one inſtance in I. 504. of the ſecond edition, which he alter'd from the firſt edition: but the other approaches nearer in ſound to the original word, if it be deriv'd from the Saxon *duru*, the German *dure*, *dura*, *tura*; and all as Junius ſays from the Greek Θυρα, janua. And yet I think we commonly pronounce it *dore* tho' we conſtantly write it *door*. But in all ſuch caſes we want an advantage, that the French have enjoy'd, of an Academy to fix and ſettle our language. Some propoſals were made for erecting ſuch an Academy to the Lord Treaſurer Oxford at the latter end of the reign of Queen Anne; and

Direct againſt which open'd from beneath,
Juſt o'er the bliſsful ſeat of Paradiſe,
A paſſage down to th' Earth, a paſſage wide,
Wider by far than that of after-times
Over mount Sion, and, though that were large,
Over the Promis'd Land to God ſo dear,
By which, to viſit oft thoſe happy tribes,
On high beheſts his Angels to and fro
Paſs'd frequent, and his eye with choice regard
From Paneas the fount of Jordan's flood
To Beërſaba, where the Holy Land
Borders on Egypt and th' Arabian ſhore;
So wide the opening ſeem'd, where bounds were ſet
To darkneſs, ſuch as bound the ocean wave.
Satan from hence, now on the lower ſtair
That

and it is a pity they were never carried into execution.

534. —— *and his eye with choice regard*] Dr. Pearce thinks that after *regard* a verſe ſeems to be wanting to deſcribe what *his eye* did *with choice regard:* but it may be underſtood thus, his eye *paſs'd frequent*, as well as his Angels to and fro on high beheſts or commands, and ſurvey'd *from Paneas*, a city at the foot of a mountain of the ſame name, part of mount Libanus where the river Jordan has its ſource, to *Beërſaba* or Beerſheba, that is the whole extent of the Promis'd Land from Paneas in the north to Beerſaba in the ſouth, where the Holy Land is bounded by Egypt and Arabia. The limits of the Holy Land are thus expreſs'd in Scripture, *from Dan even unto Beerſheba*, Dan at the northern and Beerſheba at the ſouthern extremity; and the city that was called *Dan* was afterwards named *Paneas*. *So wide the opening ſeem'd*, that is ſo wide as I have repreſented it, wider than the paſſage over mount Sion and the Promis'd Land; *So wide the opening ſeem'd*, where the

ſame

That ſcal'd by ſteps of gold to Heaven gate,
Looks down with wonder at the ſudden view
Of all this world at once. As when a ſcout
Through dark and deſert ways with peril gone
All night, at laſt by break of chearful dawn
Obtains the brow of ſome high-climbing hill,
Which to his eye diſcovers unaware
The goodly proſpect of ſome foreign land
Firſt ſeen, or ſome renown'd metropolis
With glift'ring ſpires and pinnacles adorn'd,
Which now the riſing ſun gilds with his beams:
Such wonder ſeis'd, though after Heaven ſeen,
The Spi'rit malign, but much more envy ſeis'd,
At ſight of all this world beheld ſo fair.
Round he ſurveys (and well might, where he ſtood
So

ſame divine power fixed the limits of darkneſs, that ſaid to the proud ocean *Hitherto ſhalt thou come and no farther.*

540. *Satan from hence*, &c.] Satan, after having long wander'd upon the ſurface, or outmoſt wall of the univerſe, diſcovers at laſt a wide gap in it, which led into the creation, and is deſcribed as the opening through which the Angels paſs to and fro into the lower world upon their errands to mankind. His ſitting upon the brink of this paſſage, and taking a ſurvey of the whole face of nature that appeared to him new and freſh in all its beauties, with the ſimile illuſtrating this circumſtance, fills the mind of the reader with as ſurpriſing and glorious an idea as any that ariſes in the whole poem. He looks down into that vaſt hollow of the univerſe, with the eye, or (as Milton calls it) with the ken of an Angel. He ſurveys all the wonders in this immenſe amphitheatre that lie between both the poles of Heaven, and takes in at one view the whole round of the creation. *Addiſon.*

555. *Round he ſurveys* &c.] Satan is here repreſented

So high above the circling canopy
Of night's extended ſhade) from eaſtern point
Of Libra to the fleecy ſtar that bears
Andromeda far off Atlantic ſeas
Beyond th' horizon; then from pole to pole
He views in breadth, and without longer pauſe
Down right into the worlds firſt region throws
His flight precipitant, and winds with eaſe

Through

preſented as taking a view of the whole creation from eaſt to weſt, and then from north to ſouth; but poetry delights to ſay the moſt common things in an uncommon manner. *Round he ſurveys*, as *well* he *might* in his preſent ſituation, *ſo high above the circling canopy of night's extended ſhade.* Dr. Bentley objects to the expreſſion of *circling canopy*, when the ſhade of night muſt needs be a *cone:* but as Dr. Pearce replies, to Satan who look'd down upon it from ſuch an highth, it appear'd not a *cone* as it really was, but a *circle.* In this ſituation then *he ſurveys from eaſtern point of Libra*, one of the twelve ſigns exactly oppoſit to Aries, *to the fleecy ſtar*, Aries or the Ram, that is from eaſt to weſt, for when Libra riſes in the eaſt, Aries ſets full weſt; and Aries is ſaid to *bear Andromeda*, becauſe that conſtellation repreſented as a woman is placed juſt over Aries, and therefore when Aries ſets he ſeems to bear Andromeda *far off Atlantic ſeas*, the great weſtern ocean, *beyond th' horizon; then from pole to pole he views in breadth*, that is from north to ſouth, and that is ſaid to be *in breadth*, becauſe the Ancients knowing more of the earth from eaſt to weſt than from north to ſouth, and ſo having a much greater journey one way than the other, one was called length or longitude, the other breadth or latitude. It is fine, as it is natural, to repreſent Satan as taking a view of the world before he threw himſelf into it.

562. *Downright into the world's* &c.] Satan after having ſurvey'd the whole creation, immediately *without longer pauſe* throws himſelf into it, and is deſcrib'd as making two different motions. At firſt he drops down perpendicularly ſome way into it, *downright into the world's firſt region throws his flight precipitant*, and afterwards *winds his oblique way*, turns and winds this way and that, if he might any where eſpy the ſeat of Man; for tho' in ver. 527 it is ſaid that the paſſage was *juſt over Paradiſe*, yet it is evident that Satan did not know it, and therefore as it was natural for him to do, winds about in ſearch of it *through the pure marble air.* The firſt epithet *pure* determins the ſenſe of the ſecond, and ſhows why the air

is

Through the pure marble air his oblique way
Amongſt innumerable ſtars, that ſhone
Stars diſtant, but nigh hand ſeem'd other worlds;
Or other worlds they ſeem'd, or happy iles,
Like thoſe Heſperian gardens fam'd of old,
Fortunate fields, and groves, and flow'ry vales,
Thrice happy iles, but who dwelt happy there
He ſtay'd not to inquire: above them all

The

is compared to *marble*, namely for its clearneſs and whiteneſs without any regard to its hardneſs: and the word *marmor*, *marble*, is derived from a Greek word μαρμαιρω that ſignifies to ſhine and gliſter. And as Milton uſes the expreſſion of the *marble air*, ſo Virgil does likewiſe of the *marble ſea*, Georg. I. 254.

Et quando infidum remis impellere *marmor*
Conveniat:

And Æn. VI. 729.

Et quæ *marmoreo* fert monſtra ſub æquore pontus:

And elſewhere he calls Orpheus's neck *marble*, Georg. IV. 523.

Tum quoque *marmorea* caput a cervice revulſum.

And Ovid in like manner ſpeaks of Narciſſus his *marble hands*, Met. III. 481.

Nudaque *marmoreis* percuſſit pectora palmis.

And a famous poet of our own (Waller) has ſaid in his verſes upon his miſtreſſes paſſing through a croud of people;

The yielding *marble* of a ſnowy breaſt.

And what is nearer to our purpoſe, Othello in Shakeſpear is repreſented as ſwearing Act III.

—— Now by yond *marble* Heaven.

It is common with the Ancients, and thoſe who write in the ſpirit and manner of the Ancients, in their metaphors and ſimile's, if they agree in the main circumſtance, to have no regard to leſſer particulars.

565. —— *that ſhone*
Stars diſtant,] They appeared by their ſhining to be ſtars. 'Tis a Greek expreſſion, as Plato in an epigram on his friend Stella preſerved by Diogenes Laertius. *You ſhone whilſt living a morning ſtar, but dead you now ſhine Heſperus among the ſhades.* *Richardſon.*

568. *Like thoſe Heſperian gardens*] So call'd

The golden ſun in ſplendor likeſt Heaven
Allur'd his eye: thither his courſe he bends
Through the calm firmament, (but up or down,
By center, or eccentric, hard to tell,
Or longitude,) where the great luminary
Aloof the vulgar conſtellations thick,
That from his lordly eye keep diſtance due,
Diſpenſes light from far; they as they move
Their ſtarry dance in numbers that compute
Days months and years, tow'ards his all-chearing lamp
Turn

of *Heſperus*, *Veſper*, becauſe placed in the weſt under the evening ſtar. Thoſe famous gardens were the iles about Cape Verd in Africa, whoſe moſt weſtern point is ſtill call'd *Heſperium cornu*. Others will have 'em the Canaries. *Hume*.

573. — *thither his courſe he bends* &c.] His flight between the ſeveral worlds that ſhined on every ſide of him, with the particular deſcription of the ſun, are ſet forth in all the wantonneſs of a luxuriant imagination. His ſhape, ſpeech, and behaviour upon his tranſforming himſelf into an Angel of light, are touch'd with exquiſite beauty. The poet's thought of directing Satan to the ſun, which in the vulgar opinion of mankind is the moſt conſpicuous part of the creation, and the placing in it an Angel, is a circumſtance finely contrived, and the more adjuſted to a poetical probability, as it was a received doctrin among the moſt famous philoſophers, that every orb had its *Intelligence*, and as an Apoſtle in ſacred Writ is ſaid to have ſeen ſuch an Angel in the ſun. *Addiſon*.

574. —— (*but up or down,*
By center, or eccentric, hard to tell,
Or longitude,)] Theſe words (as Dr. Pearce obſerves) ſhould be included in a parentheſis, and then the conſtruction of the reſt will be plain and eaſy. Satan had now paſſed the fix'd ſtars, and was directing his courſe towards the ſun; but it is hard to tell (ſays the poet) whether his courſe was *up or down*, that is north or ſouth, for ſo *up and down* ſignifies in IX. 78 and X. 675, the north being uppermoſt in our globes,

— hic

Turn ſwift their various motions, or are turn'd
By his magnetic beam, that gently warms
The univerſe, and to each inward part
With gentle penetration, though unſeen,
Shoots inviſible virtue ev'n to the deep;
So wondrouſly was ſet his ſtation bright.
There lands the Fiend, a ſpot like which perhaps
Aſtronomer in the ſun's lucent orb
Through his glaz'd optic tube yet never ſaw.
The place he found beyond expreſſion bright,

Compar'd

— hic vertex nobis ſemper ſublimis:
Virg. Georg. I. 242.

or whether it was *by center, or eccentric*, towards the center, or from the center, it not being determin'd whether the ſun is the center of the world or not; or whether it was by *longitude*, that is in length, eaſt or weſt, as appears from IV. 539. and VII. 373.

580. — *in numbers*] That is in meaſures. *Richardſon.*

586. *Shoots inviſible virtue ev'n to the deep*;] Dr. Bentley ſays *inviſible* makes mere tautology with *though unſeen*; but I think not; the words *though unſeen* relate to *penetration*, and *inviſible* is the epithet to *virtue*, which is a diſtinct thing from the *penetration* before mention'd, and which might have been viſible, though the other was not ſo. But the Doctor ſays that *inviſible* ſpoils the meaſure of the verſe. Milton ſeems to have thought this no blemiſh to his poem, for he frequently in the beginning of a verſe chooſes this artificial negligence of meaſure: So in II. 302, 880. III. 358. XI. 79, 377. There is no need therefore of reading with Dr. Bentley *Shoots vital virtue*, &c. *Pearce.* The number of ſyllables in this verſe ſeems not ill contriv'd to expreſs the depth to which the ſun's beams penetrated.

590. *Through his glaz'd optic tube*] The ſpots in the ſun are viſible with a teleſcope: but aſtronomer perhaps never yet ſaw *through his glaz'd optic tube*, that is his teleſcope, ſuch a ſpot as Satan now he was in the ſun's orb. The poet mentions this glaſs the oftner in honor of Galileo, whom he means here by the *aſtronomer*.

Compar'd with ought on earth, metal or ſtone;
Not all parts like, but all alike inform'd
With radiant light, as glowing iron with fire;
If metal, part ſeem'd gold, part ſilver clear;
If ſtone, carbuncle moſt or chryſolite,
Ruby or topaz, to the twelve that ſhone
In Aaron's breaſt-plate, and a ſtone beſides
Imagin'd rather oft than elſewhere ſeen,

That

592. — *metal or ſtone*;] In the firſt editions it is *medal or ſtone*, and Mr. Richardſon juſtifies it, as the repetition of the ſame word immediately after is avoided: but for that very reaſon it appears that this is an error of the preſs, and that it ought to be read *metal or ſtone*, as both *metal* and *ſtone* are repeated afterwards; ver. 595. *If metal*, ſo and ſo; and ver. 596. *If ſtone*, ſo and ſo.

593. *Not all parts like*, &c.] Ovid has given us a deſcription of the palace of the ſun, but few have deſcribed the ſun himſelf: and I know not whether our author has ſhown more fancy or more judgment in the deſcription. An ordinary poet would in all probability have inſiſted chiefly upon its exceſſive heat; but that was nothing to Satan who was come from the hotter region of Hell; and therefore Milton judiciouſly omits it, and inlarges upon the riches of the place, the gold and ſilver and precious ſtones which abounded therein, and by theſe means exhibits a pleaſing picture inſtead of a diſagreeable one.

597. —— *to the twelve that ſhone* &c.] A friend of Dr. Pearce's obſerving that *carbuncle* and *topaz* were two of the twelve ſtones plac'd in Aaron's breaſt-plate, thinks that Milton wrote

Ruby or topaz, *two o'th' twelve* that ſhone, *&c.*

o'th' for *of the* is not unfrequent in Milton: in XI. 432. we read *i'th' midſt*, and in the Maſk *Queen o'th' wood*. But it is not very likely that the poet ſhould ſay *two o'th' twelve*, and not intend the two laſt mention'd of the four, but the firſt and the laſt. And there is very good reaſon to think that not *two* only, but *four* of the twelve ſtones in Aaron's breaſt-plate are here mention'd. For what we tranſlate the *ſardius*, Exod. XXVIII. 17. is render'd in the margin of our Bibles the *ruby*: and what we call the *beryl*, Exod. XXVIII. 20. the Seventy, the Vulgate, and moſt of the verſions, and Joſephus, and many others take for a *chryſolite*. This alteration therefore of Dr. Pearce's friend cannot be admitted, and Mr. Fenton's reading is much worſe, *or the twelve*, which cannot be ſaid after ſome of the twelve have been already mention'd. The paſſage may be underſtood thus without any alteration, Ruby

or

That ſtone, or like to that which here below
Philoſophers in vain ſo long have ſought,
In vain, though by their pow'rful art they bind
Volatil Hermes, and call up unbound
In various ſhapes old Proteus from the ſea,
Drain'd through a limbec to his native form.
What wonder then if fields and regions here
Breathe forth Elixir pure, and rivers run
Potable

or topaz *to the twelve*, that is, *and all the reſt reckoning to the twelve*, that ſhone in Aaron's breaſt-plate. The poet had particularly mention'd ſome of the ſtones in Aaron's breaſt-plate, and now he includes all the reſt *to the number twelve*. Such a conciſe manner of ſpeaking is not unuſual with our author.

602. —— *though by their pow'rful art they bind* &c.] Tho' by their powerful art they bind and fix quickſilver, and change their matter, unbound, unfix'd, into as many various ſhapes as Proteus, till it be reduced at laſt to its firſt original form. *Hermes*, another word for Mercury or quickſilver, which is very fluid, and volatil, and hard to be fixed. *Proteus*, a Sea-God, who could transform himſelf into various ſhapes, till being cloſely preſs'd he return'd to his own proper form. By this the Ancients underſtood the firſt principle of things and the ſubject matter of nature; and our poet therefore very fitly employs this metaphor or ſimilitude to expreſs the matter, which the chemiſts make experiments upon thro' all its mutations, and which they drain thro' their limbecs or ſtills, till it reſume its native and original form.

606. *What wonder then* &c.] And if chemiſts can do ſo much, what wonder then if in the ſun itſelf is the true philoſopher's ſtone, the grand Elixir, and rivers of liquid gold; when the ſun, the chief of chemiſts, tho' at ſo great a diſtance, can perform ſuch wonders upon earth, and produce ſo many precious things? The thought of making the ſun the chief chemiſt or alchemiſt ſeems to be taken from Shakeſpear, King John, Act. III.

> To ſolemnize this day, the glorious ſun
> Stays in his courſe, and plays the alchemiſt,
> Turning with ſplendor of his precious eye
> The meager cloddy earth to glittering gold.

606. —— *and regions here*] Dr. Bentley reads *there* in this place and two others which follow in the next page: but is it likely that the ſame miſtake ſhould creep into three different places? Is it not more probable that Milton ſpeaking of the ſun ſaid *here*, becauſe he was then deſcribing it, and expreſſing its nature? This is poetical and common with Milton, as may

Potable gold, when with one virtuous touch
Th' arch-chemic ſun, ſo far from us remote,
Produces, with terreſtrial humor mix'd,
Here in the dark ſo many precious things
Of color glorious and effect ſo rare?
Here matter new to gaze the Devil met
Undazled; far and wide his eye commands;
For ſight no obſtacle found here, nor ſhade,
But all ſun-ſhine, as when his beams at noon
Culminate from th' equator, as they now
Shot upward ſtill direct, whence no way round
Shadow from body' opaque can fall; and th' air,
No where ſo clear, ſharpend his viſual ray
To objects diſtant far, whereby he ſoon

Saw

may be ſeen in many inſtances. See my note on II. 362. where I ſhow that Milton frequently uſes the word *here*, not meaning thereby a place preſent to him when he is ſpeaking, but that place only which he is then ſpeaking of. *Pearce.*

616. — *as when his beams at noon*
Caluminate from th' equator, as they now
Shot upward ſtill direct,] The firſt *as* is uſed by way of ſimilitude, in the ſenſe of *like as*; There was no ſhadow but all ſun-ſhine, like *as when his beams at noon culminate from th' equator*, that is are vertical and ſhoot directly from the equator, which is the reaſon why thoſe who live under the equator, under the line, are called Aſcii, and at noon caſt no ſhadows. The other *as* is uſed by way of reaſon, in the ſenſe of *for as much as*; There was no ſhadow but all ſun-ſhine, for as much *as his beams ſhot now directly upward.*

623. *The ſame whom John ſaw alſo in the ſun:*] *And I ſaw an Angel ſtanding in the ſun.* Rev. XIX. 17.

625. —— *a golden tiar*] A golden coronet of

Saw within ken a glorious Angel ſtand,
The ſame whom John ſaw alſo in the ſun:
His back was turn'd, but not his brightneſs hid;
Of beaming ſunny rays a golden tiar
Circled his head, nor leſs his locks behind
Illuſtrious on his ſhoulders fledge with wings
Lay waving round; on ſome great charge employ'd
He ſeem'd, or fix'd in cogitation deep.
Glad was the Spi'rit impure, as now in hope
To find who might direct his wand'ring flight
To Paradiſe the happy ſeat of Man,
His journey's end and our beginning woe.
But firſt he caſts to change his proper ſhape,
Which elſe might work him danger or delay:

And

of ſhining rays circled his head, yet nevertheleſs did not hinder his lovely locks, that hung behind over his ſhoulders adorn'd with wings, from waving themſelves into curls and rings. *Tiar* of *Tiara*, the Perſian word for a round cap, high and ending in a point, the uſual covering and ornament the eaſtern princes wore on their heads. *Hume.*

627. —— *fledge with wings*] We now commonly ſay *fledg'd*, but our author uſes *fledge* again in VII. 420. *but feather'd ſoon and fledge* &c. He prefers it doubtleſs as of a ſofter ſound; and there are ſeveral ſuch words that want mollifying in our language.

628. —— *employ'd*] Milton conſtantly ſpells this word *imploy'd*, but the French word from whence it is deriv'd is *employer*.

634. *But firſt he caſts* &c.] He conſiders. The metaphor ſeems to be taken from caſting the eye around every way. Spenſer has the ſame expreſſion, Fairy Queen, B. I. Cant. 11. St. 40.

He

And now a ſtripling Cherub he appears,
Not of the prime, yet ſuch as in his face
Youth ſmil'd celeſtial, and to every limb
Suitable grace diffus'd, ſo well he feign'd:
Under a coronet his flowing hair
In curls on either cheek play'd; wings he wore
Of many a color'd plume ſprinkled with gold,
His habit fit for ſpeed ſuccinct, and held
Before his decent ſteps a ſilver wand.
He drew not nigh unheard; the Angel bright,
Ere he drew nigh, his radiant viſage turn'd,
Admoniſh'd by his ear, and ſtrait was known
Th' Arch-Angel Uriël, one of the ſeven
Who in God's preſence, neareſt to his throne,
Stand

He caſt at once him to avenge for all.
And Milton himſelf again, XII. 43.
Richardſon.

636. — *a ſtripling Cherub*] The evil Spirit, the better to diſguiſe his purpoſe, aſſumes the appearance of a ſtripling Cherub, not of one of thoſe of the prime order and dignity, for ſuch could not ſo well be ſuppoſed to be ignorant of what Satan wanted now to be inform'd. And a finer picture of a young Angel could not be drawn by the pencil of Raphael than by the pen of Milton. In Taſſo likewiſe, when the Angel Gabriel is ſent to rouſe the Chriſtian army, he appears as a ſtripling, Cant. 1. St. 13.

Tra giovane, e fanciullo età confine
Preſe, et ornò di raggi il biondo crine.

A ſtripling ſeem'd he thrice five winters old,
And radiant beams adorn'd his locks of gold.
Fairfax.

But there doth not ſeem to be any particular reaſon for it in that place, as there is in the paſſage before us.

643. *His habit fit for ſpeed ſuccinct,*] If the author meant that Satan had clothes on as well as

Stand ready at command, and are his eyes
That run through all the Heav'ns, or down to th' Earth
Bear his ſwift errands over moiſt and dry,
O'er ſea and land: him Satan thus accoſts.
  Uriel, for thou of thoſe ſev'n Spi'rits that ſtand
In ſight of God's high throne, gloriouſly bright,
The firſt art wont his great authentic will
Interpreter through higheſt Heav'n to bring,
Where all his ſons thy embaſſy attend;
And here art likelieſt by ſupreme decree
Like honor to obtain, and as his eye
To viſit oft this new creation round;
Unſpeakable deſire to ſee, and know
All theſe his wondrous works, but chiefly Man,
His

as wings, it is contrary to his uſual manner of repreſenting the Angels; but I rather underſtand it that the *wings he wore* were *his habit*, and they were certainly a habit *fit for ſpeed ſuccinct*, but *ſuccinct* I underſtand with Dr. Pearce, not in its firſt and litteral ſenſe *girded* or *tuck'd up*; but in the metaphorical ſenſe, *ready* and *prepar'd*; as Fabius in Inſt. Orat. II. 2. ſays Proni ſuccinctique &c.

650. —— *and are his eyes* &c.] An expreſſion borrow'd from Zech. IV. 10. *Thoſe ſeven, they are the eyes of the Lord, which run to and fro through the whole earth.* The Jews therefore believed there were *ſeven* principal Angels, who were the captains and leaders as it were of the heavenly hoſt. See Tobit XII. 15. Rev. I. 4. V. 6. VIII. 2.

654. *Uriel,*] His name is derived from two Hebrew words which ſignify *God is my light*. He is mention'd as a good Angel in the ſecond book of Eſdras, chapters 4 and 5; and the Jews and ſome Chriſtians conceive him to be an Angel of light according to his name, and therefore he has properly his ſtation in the ſun.

663. —— *but chiefly Man,*
His chief delight and favor, him for whom &c.]

His chief delight and favor, him for whom
All theſe his works ſo wondrous he ordain'd,
Hath brought me from the quires of Cherubim
Alone thus wand'ring. Brighteſt Seraph, tell
In which of all theſe ſhining orbs hath Man
His fixed ſeat, or fixed ſeat hath none,
But all theſe ſhining orbs his choice to dwell;
That I may find him, and with ſecret gaze
Or open admiration him behold,
On whom the great Creator hath beſtow'd
Worlds, and on whom hath all theſe graces pour'd;
That both in him and all things, as is meet,
The univerſal Maker we may praiſe;
Who juſtly hath driv'n out his rebel foes
To deepeſt Hell, and to repair that loſs

Created

Dr. Bentley reads *and favourite whom*, and ſays that *Man his chief favor* is not Engliſh. But, as Dr. Pearce replies, by *favor* ſurely may be meant the object of his favor; as by *delight* is plainly meant not his delight itſelf, but the object of his delight. And as Mr. Upton obſerves, it is only uſing the abſtract for the concrete. So Terence uſes *ſcelus* for ſceleſtus, Andria, Act. V. *Scelus quem hic laudat.* And Virgil, Æn. V. 541.

Nec bonus Eurytio prælato invidit honori:

honori is the honorable perſon, *prælato* which was preferr'd before him.

678. —— *that loſs*] This is Milton's own reading

Created this new happy race of Men
To ſerve him better: wiſe are all his ways.
So ſpake the falſe diſſembler unperceiv'd;
For neither Man nor Angel can diſcern
Hypocriſy, the only evil that walks
Inviſible, except to God alone,
By his permiſſive will, through Heav'n and Earth:
And oft though wiſdom wake, ſuſpicion ſleeps
At wiſdom's gate, and to ſimplicity
Reſigns her charge, while goodneſs thinks no ill
Where no ill ſeems: Which now for once beguil'd
Uriel, though regent of the ſun, and held
The ſharpeſt ſighted Spirit of all in Heaven;
Who to the fraudulent impoſtor foul
In his uprightneſs anſwer thus return'd.

Fair

reading in both his editions. Dr. Bentley and Mr. Fenton read not ſo well *their loſs*.

683. *Hypocriſy*, &c.] What is ſaid here of hypocriſy is cenſur'd as a digreſſion, but it ſeems no more than is abſolutely neceſſary; for otherwiſe it might be thought very ſtrange, that the evil Spirit ſhould paſs undiſcover'd by the Arch-Angel Uriel, the regent of the ſun, and the ſharpeſt-ſighted Spirit in Heaven, and therefore the poet endevors to account for it by ſaying, that hypocriſy cannot be diſcern'd by Man or Angel, it is inviſible to all but God, *&c.* But yet the evil Spirit did not paſs wholly undiſcover'd, for though Uriel was not aware of him now, yet he found rea-

Fair Angel, thy deſire which tends to know
The works of God, thereby to glorify
The great Work-Maſter, leads to no exceſs
That reaches blame, but rather merits praiſe
The more it ſeems exceſs, that led thee hither
From thy empyreal manſion thus alone,
To witneſs with thine eyes what ſome perhaps
Contented with report hear only in Heaven:
For wonderful indeed are all his works,
Pleaſant to know, and worthieſt to be all
Had in remembrance always with delight;
But what created mind can comprehend
Their number, or the wiſdom infinite

That

ſon to ſuſpect him afterwards from his furious geſtures in the mount.

694. *Fair Angel*, &c.] In the anſwer which this Angel returns to the diſguis'd evil Spirit, there is ſuch a becoming majeſty as is altogether ſuitable to a ſuperior being. The part of it, in which he repreſents himſelf as preſent at the creation, is very noble in itſelf, and not only proper where it is introduced, but requiſite to prepare the reader for what follows in the ſeventh book. In the following part of the ſpeech he points out the earth with ſuch circumſtances, that the reader can ſcarce forbear fancying himſelf employ'd on the ſame diſtant view of it. *Addiſon.*

715. *The cumbrous elements*,] Even air and fire are ſo in compariſon of the ethereal quinteſſence, celeſtial fire, or pure ſpirit.
Richardſon.

716. *And this ethereal quinteſſence of Heaven*] The four elements haſted to their quarters, but this fifth eſſence flew upward. It ſhould be *this*, as it is in Milton's own editions: and not *the ethereal quinteſſence*, as it is in Bentley's,

That brought them forth, but hid their cauſes deep?
I ſaw when at his word the formleſs maſs,
This world's material mold, came to a heap:
Confuſion heard his voice, and wild uproar
Stood rul'd, ſtood vaſt infinitude confin'd;
Till at his ſecond bidding darkneſs fled,
Light ſhone, and order from diſorder ſprung:
Swift to their ſeveral quarters haſted then
The cumbrous elements, earth, flood, air, fire;
And this ethereal quinteſſence of Heaven
Flew upward, ſpirited with various forms,
That roll'd orbicular, and turn'd to ſtars
Numberleſs, as thou ſeeſt, and how they move;

Each

ley's, Fenton's, and ſome other editions. For the Angel who ſpeaks is in the ſun, and therefore ſays *this*, as the ſun was a part of this ethereal quinteſſence. And this notion our author borrow'd from Ariſtotle and others of the ancient philoſophers, who ſuppoſed that beſides the four elements there was likewiſe an ethereal quinteſſence or fifth eſſence, out of which the ſtars and Heavens were formed, and its motion was orbicular: ειναι δ' ε ωαρα τα τεσσαρα σοιχεια, και αλλο ωεμπ∫ον, εξ ε τα αιθερια συνεσαναι· αλλοιαν δ' αυτε την κινησιν ειναι, κυκλοφορικην γαρ: which are the very words of Diogenes Laertius in his life of Ariſtotle; and it would be eaſy to make a parade of learning and multiply quotations, but this is authority ſufficient to juſtify our author. Theſe ſtars are *numberleſs, as thou ſeeſt*, (ſays the Angel) *and* ſeeſt *how they move*; and the reſt of this fifth eſſence that is not formed into ſtars ſurrounds and like a wall incloſes the univerſe. Lucret. V. 470.

Et latè diffuſus in omnes undique partes
Omnia ſic avido complexu cætera ſepſit.

730. — *her*

Each had his place appointed, each his courſe;
The reſt in circuit walls this univerſe.
Look downward on that globe, whoſe hither ſide
With light from hence, though but reflected, ſhines;
That place is Earth the ſeat of Man, that light
His day, which elſe as th' other hemiſphere
Night would invade; but there the neighb'ring moon
(So call that oppoſit fair ſtar) her aid
Timely interpoſes, and her monthly round
Still ending, ſtill renewing, through mid Heaven,
With borrow'd light her countenance triform
Hence fills and empties to inlighten th' Earth,
And in her pale dominion checks the night.
That ſpot to which I point is Paradiſe,
Adam's abode, thoſe lofty ſhades his bower.
Thy way thou canſt not miſs, me mine requires.

Thus ſaid, he turn'd; and Satan bowing low,
As to ſuperior Spi'rits is wont in Heaven,
Where honor due and reverence none neglects,
Took

730. —— *her countenance triform*] Increaſing with horns towards the eaſt, decreaſing with horns towards the weſt, and at the full.

741. — *in*

Took leave, and tow'ard the coaſt of earth beneath,
Down from th' ecliptic, ſped with hop'd ſucceſs,
Throws his ſteep flight in many an aery wheel,
Nor ſtay'd, till on Niphates top he lights.

741. — *in many an aery wheel,*] This ſportive motion is attributed to Satan for joy, that he was now ſo near his journey's end: and it is very properly taken notice of here, as it is ſaid to have been obſerved by the Angel Uriel afterwards in IV. 567.

—— I deſcrib'd his way,
Bent on all ſpeed, and mark'd his aery gate.

So beautifully do not only the greater, but even the minuter parts of this poem hang together.

742. — *on Niphates top he lights.*] A mountain in the borders of Armenia, not far from the ſpring of Tigris, as Xenophon affirms upon his own knowledge. The poet lands Satan on this mountain, becauſe it borders on Meſopotamia, in which the moſt judicious deſcribers of Paradiſe place it. *Hume.*

I muſt not conclude my reflections upon this third book of Paradiſe Loſt, without taking notice of that celebrated complaint of Milton with which it opens, and which certainly deſerves all the praiſes that have been given it; tho' as I have before hinted, it may rather be looked upon as excreſcence, than as an eſſential part of the poem. The ſame obſervation might be apply'd to that beautiful digreſſion upon hypocriſy, in the ſame book.

Addiſon.

The end of the Third Book.

BRITISH MUSEUM



F. Hayman inv. et delin.

C. Grignion Sculp.

Book 4.

THE

FOURTH BOOK

OF

PARADISE LOST.

THE ARGUMENT.

Satan now in proſpect of Eden, and nigh the place where he muſt now attempt the bold enterpriſe which he undertook alone againſt God and Man, falls into many doubts with himſelf, and many paſſions, fear, envy, and deſpair; but at length confirms himſelf in evil, journeys on to Paradiſe whoſe outward proſpect and ſituation is deſcribed, overleaps the bounds, ſits in the ſhape of a cormorant on the tree of life, as higheſt in the garden, to look about him. The garden deſcrib'd; Satan's firſt ſight of Adam and Eve; his wonder at their excellent form and happy ſtate, but with reſolution to work their fall; overhears their diſcourſe, thence gathers that the tree of knowledge was forbidden them to eat of, under penalty of death; and thereon intends to found his temptation, by ſeducing them to tranſgreſs: then leaves them a while, to know further of their ſtate by ſome other means. Mean while Uriel deſcending on a ſun-beam warns Gabriel, who had in charge the gate of Paradiſe, that ſome evil Spirit had eſcap'd the deep, and paſs'd at noon by his ſphere in the ſhape of a good Angel down to Paradiſe, diſcovered after by his furious geſtures in the mount. Gabriel promiſes to find him ere morning. Night coming on, Adam and Eve diſcourſe of going to their reſt: their bower deſcrib'd; their evening worſhip. Gabriel drawing forth his bands of night-watch to walk the round of Paradiſe, appoints two ſtrong Angels to Adam's bower, leſt the evil Spirit ſhould be there doing ſome harm to Adam or Eve ſleeping; there they find him at the ear of Eve, tempting her in a dream, and bring him, though unwilling, to Gabriel; by whom queſtion'd, he ſcornfully anſwers, prepares reſiſtance, but hinder'd by a ſign from Heaven, flies out of Paradiſe.

PARADISE LOST.

BOOK IV.

O For that warning voice, which he who ſaw
Th' Apocalyps heard cry in Heav'n aloud,
Then

Thoſe, who know how many volumes have been written on the poems of Homer and Virgil, will eaſily pardon the length of my diſcourſe upon Milton. The Paradiſe Loſt is looked upon, by the beſt judges, as the greateſt production, or at leaſt the nobleſt work of genius in our language, and therefore deſerves to be ſet before an Engliſh reader in its full beauty. For this reaſon, tho' I have endevor'd to give a general idea of its graces and imperfections in my ſix firſt papers, I thought myſelf obliged to beſtow one upon every book in particular. The three firſt books I have already diſpatched, and am now entring upon the fourth. I need not acquaint my reader that there are multitudes of beauties in this great author, eſpecially in the deſcriptive parts of his poem, which I have not touched upon, it being my intention to point out thoſe only, which appear to me the moſt exquiſite, or thoſe which are not ſo obvious to ordinary readers. Every one that has read the critics who have written upon the Odyſſey, the Iliad, and the Æneid, knows very well, that though they agree in their opinions of the great beauties in thoſe poems, they have nevertheleſs each of them diſcovered ſeveral maſter-ſtrokes, which have eſcaped the obſervation of the reſt. In the ſame manner, I queſtion not, but any writer who ſhall treat of this ſubject after me, may find ſeveral beauties in Milton, which I have not taken notice of. I muſt likewiſe obſerve, that as the greateſt maſters of critical learning differ among one another, as to ſome particular points in an epic poem, I have not bound myſelf ſcrupulouſly to the rules which any one of them has laid down upon that art, but have taken the liberty ſometimes to join with one, and ſometimes with another, and ſometimes to differ from all of them, when I have thought that the reaſon of the thing was on my ſide. *Addiſon.*

1. *O for that warning voice*, &c.] The poet opens this book with a wiſh in the manner of Shakeſpear, *O for a Muſe of fire* &c. Prolog. to Henry V. *O for a falkner's voice* &c. Romeo and Juliet, Act. II. and in order to raiſe the horror and attention of his reader, introduces his relation of Satan's adventures upon earth by wiſhing that the ſame warning voice had been utter'd now at Satan's firſt coming, that St. John, who in a viſion ſaw the *Apocalyps* or Revelation of the moſt remarkable events which were to befall the Chriſtian Church to the end of the world, heard when the Dragon (*that old Serpent, called the Devil and Satan*) was put to ſecond rout. Rev. XII. 12. *Woe to the inhabiters of the earth and of the ſea, for the Devil is come down unto you, having great wrath.*

10. — *th' occa-*

Then when the Dragon, put to ſecond rout,
Came furious down to be reveng'd on men,
Woe to th' inhabitants on earth! that now,
While time was, our firſt parents had been warn'd
The coming of their ſecret foe, and ſcap'd,
Haply ſo ſcap'd his mortal ſnare: for now
Satan, now firſt inflam'd with rage, came down,
The tempter ere th' accuſer of man-kind,
To wreck on innocent frail man his loſs
Of that firſt battel, and his flight to Hell:
Yet not rejoicing in his ſpeed, though bold
Far off and fearleſs, nor with cauſe to boaſt,
Begins his dire attempt, which nigh the birth
Now rolling boils in his tumultuous breaſt,
And like a deviliſh engin back recoils

Upon

10. —— *th' accuſer of man-kind,*] As he is repreſented in that ſame chapter of the Revelation, which the poet is ſtill alluding to. *For the accuſer of our brethren is caſt down, which accuſed them before our God day and night*, ver. 10.

24. —— *the memory*
Of what he was, what is, and what muſt be] Dr. Bentley reads *theory* inſtead of *memory:* becauſe he does not underſtand what is the *memory* of a thing preſent or future. But if the Doctor will allow that it is ſenſe to ſay μεμνησο ανθρωπε ων, or *remember that you muſt die*, we may keep the word *memory* here, and prefer it to his *theory*. Memory is *recordatio*, or the thinking and reflecting upon any thing, as well preſent and future as paſt. *Pearce.* Thus Virgil ſays of his bees, that *remembring the winter coming on* they lay by proviſions in the ſummer, Georg. IV. 156.

Venturæque hyemis memores æſtate laborem
Experiuntur, et in medium quæſita reponunt,

30. — *meridian*

Upon himſelf; horror and doubt diſtract
His troubled thoughts, and from the bottom ſtir
The Hell within him; for within him Hell
He brings, and round about him, nor from Hell
One ſtep no more than from himſelf can fly
By change of place: now conſcience wakes deſpair
That ſlumber'd, wakes the bitter memory
Of what he was, what is, and what muſt be
Worſe; of worſe deeds worſe ſufferings muſt enſue.
Sometimes tow'ards Eden, which now in his view
Lay pleaſant, his griev'd look he fixes ſad;
Sometimes tow'ards Heav'n and the full-blazing ſun,
Which now ſat high in his meridian tower:
Then much revolving, thus in ſighs began.

O thou that with ſurpaſſing glory crown'd,
Look'ſt

30. — *meridian tower*:] At noon the ſun is lifted up as in a tower. The metaphor is uſed by Virgil in his Culex, ver. 41.

Igneus æthereas jam ſol penetrârat in *arces*.

Spenſer in his admirable tranſlation of that poem has follow'd him punctually.

The fiery ſun was mounted now on highth
Up to the heav'nly *tow'rs*. *Richardſon.*

32. *O thou* &c.] Satan being now within proſpect of Eden, and looking round upon the glories of the creation, is filled with ſentiments different from thoſe which he diſcover'd while he was in Hell. The place inſpires him with thoughts more adapted to it: He reflects upon the happy condition from whence he fell, and breaks forth into a ſpeech that is ſoften'd with ſeveral tranſient touches of remorſe and ſelf-accuſation: but at length he confirms himſelf in impenitence, and in his deſign of drawing Man into his own ſtate of guilt and miſery. This

Look'ſt from thy ſole dominion like the God
Of this new world; at whoſe ſight all the ſtars
Hide their diminiſh'd heads; to thee I call,
But with no friendly voice, and add thy name
O Sun, to tell thee how I hate thy beams,
That bring to my remembrance from what ſtate
I fell, how glorious once above thy ſphere;
Till pride and worſe ambition threw me down
Warring in Heav'n againſt Heav'n's matchleſs king:
Ah wherefore! he deſerv'd no ſuch return
From me, whom he created what I was
In that bright eminence, and with his good
Upbraided none; nor was his ſervice hard.
What could be leſs than to afford him praiſe,

The

This conflict of paſſions is raiſed with a great deal of art, as the opening of his ſpeech to the ſun is very bold and noble. This ſpeech is, I think, the fineſt that is aſcribed to Satan in the whole poem. *Addiſon.* When Milton deſign'd to have made only a tragedy of the Paradiſe Loſt, it was his intention to have begun it with the firſt ten lines of the following ſpeech, which he ſhow'd to his nephew Edward Philips and others, as Philips informs us in his account of the life of his uncle. And what a noble opening of a play would this have been! The lines were certainly too good to be loſt, and the author has done well to employ them here, they could not have been better employ'd any where. Satan is made to addreſs the ſun, as it was the moſt conſpicuous part of the creation; and the thought is very natural of addreſſing it like the God of this world, when ſo many of the Heathen nations have worſhipped and adored it as ſuch.

40. *Till pride and worſe ambition*] Pride is a kind of exceſſive and vicious ſelf-eſteem, that raiſes men in their own opinions above what is juſt and right: but ambition is that which adds fuel to this flame, and claps ſpurs to

theſe

The eaſieſt recompenſe, and pay him thanks,
How due! yet all his good prov'd ill in me,
And wrought but malice; lifted up ſo high
I ſdeind ſubjection, and thought one ſtep higher
Would ſet me higheſt, and in a moment quit
The debt immenſe of endleſs gratitude,
So burdenſome ſtill paying, ſtill to owe,
Forgetful what from him I ſtill receiv'd,
And underſtood not that a grateful mind
By owing owes not, but ſtill pays, at once
Indebted and diſcharg'd; what burden then?
O had his pow'rful deſtiny ordain'd
Me ſome inferior Angel, I had ſtood
Then happy; no unbounded hope had rais'd
Ambition.

theſe furious and inordinate deſires that break forth into the moſt execrable acts to accompliſh their haughty deſigns; which makes our author ſtigmatize ambition as a worſe ſin than pride. *Hume.* Dr. Bentley reads *and curs'd ambition*, becauſe he thinks it hard to ſay whether *pride* or *ambition* is worſe: but Milton ſeems to mean by *pride* the vice conſider'd in itſelf, and only as it is the temper of the proud man; and by *ambition* the vice that carry'd him to aim at being equal with God: and was not this vice the worſt of the two? I obſerve that Satan always lays the blame on his *ambition*, as in ver. 61 and 92. *Pearce.*

50. *I ſdeind*] For diſdain'd; an imitation of the Italian *ſdegnare*. *Hume.* The ſame word is uſed by Spenſer, Fairy Queen, B. 5. Cant. 5. St. 44. and other places.

55. *And underſtood not*] This verb is to be connected with the other verbs in ver. 50. *I ſdeind* and *thought*.

55. —— *a grateful mind*
By owing owes not, but ſtill pays,] Satan here has anticipated a ſentence, afterwards us'd by Cicero; Gratiam autem et qui retulerit, habere, et qui habeat, retuliſſe. *Bentley.*

Ambition. Yet why not? ſome other Power
As great might have aſpir'd, and me though mean
Drawn to his part; but other Pow'rs as great
Fell not, but ſtand unſhaken, from within
Or from without, to all temptations arm'd.
Hadſt thou the ſame free will and pow'r to ſtand?
Thou hadſt: whom haſt thou then or what to' accuſe,
But Heav'n's free love dealt equally to all?
Be then his love accurs'd, ſince love or hate,
To me alike, it deals eternal woe.
Nay curs'd be thou; ſince againſt his thy will
Choſe freely what it now ſo juſtly rues.
Me miſerable! which way ſhall I fly
Infinite wrath, and infinite deſpair?
Which way I fly is Hell; myſelf am Hell;
And in the loweſt deep a lower deep
Still threatning to devour me opens wide,
To which the Hell I ſuffer ſeems a Heaven.

O

79. *O then at laſt relent:*] There is no fault to be found with this reading, but I am ſometimes inclin'd to think that the author might have given it

O then at laſt *repent*:

becauſe of what follows,

—— is there no place
Left for *repentance*,

and

O then at laſt relent: is there no place
Left for repentance, none for pardon left?
None left but by ſubmiſſion; and that word
Diſdain forbids me, and my dread of ſhame
Among the Spirits beneath, whom I ſeduc'd
With other promiſes and other vaunts
Than to ſubmit, boaſting I could ſubdue
Th' Omnipotent. Ay me, they little know
How dearly I abide that boaſt ſo vain,
Under what torments inwardly I groan,
While they adore me on the throne of Hell.
With diadem and ſcepter high advanc'd,
The lower ſtill I fall, only ſupreme
In miſery; ſuch joy ambition finds.
But ſay I could repent and could obtain
By act of grace my former ſtate; how ſoon
Would highth recall high thoughts, how ſoon unſay
What feign'd ſubmiſſion ſwore? eaſe would recant
Vows

and again, ver. 93.

But ſay I could *repent*, &c.

And it is not improbable, that he had Shakeſpear in his thoughts, Hamlet, Act. III.

Try, what repentance: what can it not?
Yet what can it, when one cannot repent?

81. —— *and that word*
Diſdain forbids me,] Diſdain forbids me that word *ſubmiſſion*. Bentley.

Vows made in pain, as violent and void.
For never can true reconcilement grow
Where wounds of deadly hate have pierc'd ſo deep:
Which would but lead me to a worſe relapſe
And heavier fall: ſo ſhould I purchaſe dear
Short intermiſſion bought with double ſmart.
This knows my puniſher; therefore as far
From granting he, as I from begging peace:
All hope excluded thus, behold in ſtead
Of us out-caſt, exil'd, his new delight,
Mankind created, and for him this world.
So farewel hope, and with hope farewel fear,
Farewel remorſe: all good to me is loſt;
Evil be thou my good; by thee at leaſt
Divided empire with Heav'n's king I hold,

By

112. *By thee, and more than half perhaps will reign*;] This paſſage has occaſion'd much perplexity and confuſion, but it may eaſily be underſtood thus. *Evil be thou my good*; be thou all my delight, all my happineſs; *by thee I hold at leaſt divided empire with Heav'n's king* at preſent, I ruling in Hell as God in Heaven: *by thee* I ſay; he is made to repeat it with emphaſis, to add the greater force to his diabolical ſentiment, and to mark it more ſtrongly to the reader: *and* in a ſhort time *will reign perhaps more than half*, in this new world as well as in Hell; *as Man ere long and this new world ſhall know.* And he is very properly made to conclude his ſpeech with this, as this was now his main buſineſs and the end of his coming hither.

114. — *each paſſion dimm'd his face*
Thrice chang'd with pale, ire, envy, and deſpair;] Each paſſion, ire, envy, and deſpair, dimm'd his countenance which was thrice chang'd with pale through the ſucceſſive agitations of theſe three

By thee, and more than half perhaps will reign;
As Man ere long, and this new world ſhall know.
Thus while he ſpake, each paſſion dimm'd his face
Thrice chang'd with pale, ire, envy, and deſpair;
Which marr'd his borrow'd viſage, and betray'd
Him counterfeit, if any eye beheld.
For heav'nly minds from ſuch diſtempers foul
Are ever clear. Whereof he ſoon aware,
Each perturbation ſmooth'd with outward calm,
Artificer of fraud; and was the firſt
That practic'd falſhood under ſaintly ſhow,
Deep malice to conceal, couch'd with revenge:
Yet not enough had practic'd to deceive
Uriel once warn'd; whoſe eye purſued him down
The way he went, and on th' Aſſyrian mount
Saw

three paſſions. For that paleneſs is the proper hue of envy and deſpair every body knows, and we always reckon that ſort of anger the moſt deadly and diabolical, which is accompanied with a pale livid countenance. It is remarkable that in the argument to this book we read, inſtead of *ire, fear, envy, and deſpair*; and as *fear* may be juſtify'd by ver. 18. *horror and doubt diſtract*, and other places; ſo is *anger* warranted by ver. 9. and by his curſing God and himſelf, and by his threatning of Man in the cloſe of his ſpeech.

126. — *on th' Aſſyrian mount*] Dr. Bentley reads *Armenian mount:* but Niphates is by Pliny reckon'd between Armenia and Aſſyria, and therefore may be called *Aſſyrian.* It is plain from Milton's account of the ſituation of Eden, ver. 210, 285, that Eden was in Aſſyria; and it is plain from comparing III. 742. with IV. 27. that Niphates was not far from Eden; ſo that Milton muſt have plac'd it in Aſſyria, at leaſt on the borders of it.

Pearce.

132. — *where*

Saw him disfigur'd, more than could befall
Spirit of happy sort: his gestures fierce
He mark'd and mad demeanour, then alone,
As he suppos'd, all unobserv'd, unseen.
So on he fares, and to the border comes
Of Eden, where delicious Paradise,
Now nearer, crowns with her inclosure green,
As with a rural mound, the champain head
Of a steep wilderness, whose hairy sides
With thicket overgrown, grotteſque and wild,
Access deny'd; and over head up grew
Insuperable highth of loftiest shade,
Cedar, and pine, and fir, and branching palm,

A

132. — *where delicious Paradise*, &c.] Satan is now come to the border of Eden, where he has a nearer prospect of Paradise, which the poet represents as situated in a champain country upon the top of a steep hill, called the Mount of Paradise. The sides of this hill were overgrown with thickets and bushes, so as not to be passable; and over-head above these, on the sides of the hill likewise, grew the loftiest trees, and as they ascended in ranks shade above shade, they formed a kind of natural theatre, the rows of trees rising one above another in the same manner as the benches in the theatres and places of public shows and spectacles. And yet higher than the highest of these trees grew up the verdurous wall of Paradise, a green inclosure like a rural mound, like a bank set with a hedge, but this hedge grew not up so high as to hinder Adam's prospect into the neighbouring country below, which is called his *empire*, as the whole earth was his *dominion*, V. 751. But above this hedge or green wall grew a circling row of the finest fruit trees; and the only entrance into Paradise was a gate on the eastern side. This account in prose may perhaps help the reader the better to understand the description in verse.

140. *A sylvan scene*,] So Virgil, Æn. I. 164.

Tum

A ſylvan ſcene, and as the ranks aſcend
Shade above ſhade, a woody theatre
Of ſtatelieſt view. Yet higher than their tops
The verd'rous wall of Paradiſe up ſprung:
Which to our general ſire gave proſpect large
Into his nether empire neighb'ring round.
And higher than that wall a circling row
Of goodlieſt trees loaden with faireſt fruit,
Bloſſoms and fruits at once of golden hue,
Appear'd, with gay enamel'd colors mix'd:
On which the ſun more glad impreſs'd his beams
Than in fair evening cloud, or humid bow,
When God hath ſhow'rd the earth; ſo lovely ſeem'd
That

Tum ſylvis ſcena coruſcis
Deſuper, horrentique atrum nemus imminet umbra. *Hume.*

147. —— *with faireſt fruit,*
Bloſſoms and fruits at once of golden hue,] Dr. Bentley reads *fruits* in the firſt Verſe, becauſe *fruits* follows in the next: but I ſhould chooſe to read *fruit* in both places; becauſe I obſerve that when Milton ſpeaks of what is hanging on the trees, he calls it *fruit* in the ſingular number (when gather'd, in the plural) as in V. 341. *fruit of all kinds.* See alſo VIII. 307. and IV. 422. and in IV. 249. he repeats this very thought again thus,

Others whoſe *fruit* burniſh'd with golden rind *&c.*

and in the Mask we have

To ſave her *bloſſoms*, and defend her *fruit*. *Pearce.*

We may add another inſtance from the Paradiſe Loſt, VII. 324.

—— and ſpread
Their branches hung with copious *fruit*, or gemm'd
Their *bloſſoms*.

151. *Than in fair evening cloud,*] Dr. Bentley reads *Than on fair evening cloud.*

152. —— *ſo lovely ſeem'd*
That landſkip:] And now if we compare our

That landskip: And of pure now purer air
Meets his approach, and to the heart inſpires
Vernal delight and joy, able to drive
All ſadneſs but deſpair: now gentle gales
Fanning their odoriferous wings diſpenſe
Native perfumes, and whiſper whence they ſtole
Thoſe balmy ſpoils. As when to them who ſail
Beyond the Cape of Hope, and now are paſt
Mozambic, off at ſea north-eaſt winds blow
Sabean odors from the ſpicy ſhore
Of Araby the bleſt; with ſuch delay
Well pleas'd they ſlack their courſe, and many a league
Chear'd

our poet's topography of Paradiſe with Homer's deſcription of Alcinous's gardens, or with that of Calypſo's ſhady grotto, we may without affectation affirm, that in half the number of verſes that they conſiſt of, our author has outdone them. But to make a compariſon more obvious to moſt underſtandings, read the deſcription of *the bower of bliſs* by a poet of our own nation and famous in his time; but 'tis impar congreſſus, and rime fetter'd his fancy. Spenſer's Fairy Queen, B. 2. Cant. 12. St. 42. &c. *Hume.*

158. — *and whiſper whence they ſtole*
Thoſe balmy ſpoils.] This fine paſſage is undoubtedly taken from as fine a one in Shakeſpear's Twelfth Night at the beginning

— like the ſweet ſouth
That breathes upon a bank of violets,
Stealing and giving odor.

163. — *with ſuch delay*
Well pleas'd they ſlack their courſe,] The north-eaſt winds blowing contrary to thoſe who have doubled the *Cape of Good Hope*, and are paſt the iland *Mozambic* on the eaſtern coaſt of Africa near the continent, and are ſailing forwards, they muſt neceſſarily *ſlack their courſe*; but yet they are well enough *pleas'd with ſuch delay*, as it gives them the pleaſure of ſmelling ſuch delicious odors, *Sabean odors*, from Saba, a city and country of Arabia Felix *Araby the bleſt*, the moſt famous for frankincenſe. Sabæi Arabum

Chear'd with the grateful ſmell old Ocean ſmiles:
So entertain'd thoſe odorous ſweets the Fiend
Who came their bane, though with them better pleas'd
Than Aſmodëus with the fiſhy fume,
That drove him, though enamour'd, from the ſpouſe
Of Tobit's ſon, and with a vengeance ſent
From Media poſt to Egypt, there faſt bound.

Now to th' aſcent of that ſteep ſavage hill
Satan had journey'd on, penſive and ſlow;
But further way found none, ſo thick intwin'd,
As one continued brake, the undergrowth
Of ſhrubs and tangling buſhes had perplex'd

All

Arabum propter thura clariſſimi. Plin. Nat. Hiſt. L. 6. C. 28. and Virg. Georg. II. 117.

— ſolis eſt thurea virga Sabæis.

168. *Than Aſmodeüs with* &c.] Aſmodeüs was the evil Spirit, enamour'd of Sarah the daughter of Raguel, whoſe ſeven huſbands he deſtroy'd; but after that ſhe was marryed to the ſon of Tobit, he was driven away by the fumes of the heart and liver of a fiſh; *the which ſmell when the evil Spirit had ſmelled, he fled into the utmoſt parts of Egypt, and the Angel bound him.* See the book of Tobit, Chap. VIII.

173. *Satan had journey'd on,* &c.] The evil Spirit proceeds to make his diſcoveries concerning our firſt parents, and to learn after what manner they may be beſt attack'd. His bounding over the walls of Paradiſe; his ſitting in the ſhape of a cormorant upon the tree of life, which ſtood in the center of it and overtopped all the other trees of the garden; his alighting among the herd of animals, which are ſo beautifully repreſented as playing about Adam and Eve, together with his tranſforming himſelf into different ſhapes, in order to hear their converſation, are circumſtances that give an agreeable ſurpriſe to the reader, and are deviſed with great art to connect that ſeries of adventures, in which the poet has engaged this artificer of fraud. *Addiſon.*

177. *All*

All path of man or beaſt that paſs'd that way:
One gate there only was, and that look'd eaſt
On th' other ſide: which when th' arch-felon ſaw,
Due entrance he diſdain'd, and in contempt,
At one ſlight bound high over leap'd all bound
Of hill or higheſt wall, and ſheer within
Lights on his feet. As when a prowling wolf,
Whom hunger drives to ſeek new haunt for prey,
Watching where ſhepherds pen their flocks at eve
In hurdled cotes amid the field ſecure,

Leaps

177. *All path of man or beaſt that paſs'd that way:*] Satan is now come to the aſcent of the hill of Paradiſe, which was ſo overgrown with thicket and underwood, that neither man nor beaſt could paſs that way. *That paſs'd that way*, that would have paſs'd that way, a remarkable manner of ſpeaking, ſomewhat like that in II. 642. *So ſeem'd far off the flying Fiend*, that is (ſpeaking ſtrictly) would have ſeem'd if any one had been there to have ſeen him. And the like manner of ſpeaking we may obſerve in the beſt claſſic authors, as in Virg. Æn. VI. 467.

Talibus Æneas ardentem et torva tuentem
Lenibat dictis animum, lacrimaſque ciebat.

Lenibat animum, did appeaſe her mind, that is would have appeas'd her mind, for what he ſaid was without the deſir'd effect. So Euripides in Ion. 1326.

Ηκουσας ως μ' εκλεινεν ηδ' μηχαναις;

Have you heard how ſhe kill'd me, that is, would have kill'd me?

183. — *As when a prowling wolf,*] A *wolf* is often the ſubject of a ſimile in Homer and Virgil, but here is conſider'd in a new light, and perhaps never furniſh'd out a ſtronger reſemblance; and the hint of this and the additional ſimile of a *thief* ſeems to have been taken from thoſe words of our Saviour in St. John's goſpel, X. 1. *He that entereth not by the door into the ſheep-fold, but climbeth up ſome other way, the ſame is a thief and a robber.*

193. — *lewd hirelings*] The word *lewd* was formerly underſtood in a larger acceptation than it is at preſent, and ſignified profane, impious, wicked, vicious, as well as wanton: and in this larger ſenſe it is employ'd by Milton

Leaps o'er the fence with eaſe into the fold:
Or as a thief bent to unhord the caſh
Of ſome rich burgher, whoſe ſubſtantial doors,
Croſs-barr'd and bolted faſt, fear no aſſault,
In at the window climbs, or o'er the tiles:
So clomb this firſt grand thief into God's fold;
So ſince into his church lewd hirelings climb.
Thence up he flew, and on the tree of life,
The middle tree and higheſt there that grew,
Sat like a cormorant; yet not true life

Thereby

Milton in the other places where he uſes it, as well as here; I. 490.

— than whom a Spirit more *lewd:*

and VI. 182.

Yet *lewdly* dar'ſt our miniſtring upbraid.

195. *The middle tree and higheſt there that grew,*] *The tree of life alſo in the midſt of the garden*, Gen. II. 9. *In the midſt* is a Hebrew phraſe, expreſſing not only the local ſituation of this inlivening tree, but denoting its excellency, as being the moſt conſiderable, the talleſt, goodlieſt, and moſt lovely tree in that beauteous garden planted by God himſelf: So Scotus, Duran, Valeſius, *&c.* whom our poet follows, affirming it the *higheſt there that grew. To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the tree of life, which is in the midſt of the Paradiſe of God*, Rev. II. 7. *Hume.*

196. *Sat like a cormorant;*] The thought of Satan's transformation into a cormorant, and placing himſelf on the tree of life, ſeems raiſed upon that paſſage in the Iliad, where two deities are deſcribed, as perching on the top of an oak in the ſhape of vulturs. *Addiſon.* The poet had compared Satan to a vultur before, III. 431. and here again he is well liken'd to a cormorant, which being a very voracious ſea-fowl, is a proper emblem of this deſtroyer of mankind.

196. — *yet not true life* &c.] The poet here moralizes, and reprehends Satan for making no better uſe of the tree of life. He ſat upon it, but did not thereby regain true life to himſelf, but ſat deviſing death to others who were alive. Neither did he think at all on the virtues of the tree, but uſed it only for the convenience of proſpect, when it might have been uſed ſo as to have been a pledge of

Thereby regain'd, but ſat deviſing death
To them who liv'd; nor on the virtue thought
Of that life-giving plant, but only us'd
For proſpect, what well us'd had been the pledge
Of immortality. So little knows
Any, but God alone, to value right
The good before him, but perverts beſt things
To worſt abuſe, or to their meaneſt uſe.
Beneath him with new wonder now he views
To all delight of human ſenſe expos'd

In

immortality. And ſo he perverted the beſt of things *to worſt abuſe*, by ſitting upon the tree of life deviſing death, *or to meaneſt uſe*, by uſing it only for proſpect, when he might have applied it to nobler purpoſes. But what uſe then would our author have had Satan to have made of the tree of life? Would eating of it have alter'd his condition, or have render'd him more immortal than he was already? What other uſe then could he have made of it, unleſs he had taken occaſion from thence to reflect duly on life and immortality, and thereby had put himſelf in a condition to regain true life and a happy immortality. If the poet had not ſome ſuch meaning as this, it is not eaſy to ſay what is the ſenſe of the paſſage.

209. *Of God the garden was, by him in th' eaſt Of Eden planted;*] So the ſacred text, Gen. II. 8. *And the Lord God planted a garden eaſtward in Eden*, that is eaſtward of the place where Moſes writ his hiſtory, tho' Milton ſays *in th' eaſt of Eden*; and then we have in a few lines our author's topography of Eden. This province (in which the terreſtrial Paradiſe was planted) extended from *Auran* or Haran or Charran or Charræ a city of Meſopotamia near the river Euphrates, extended, I ſay, from thence eaſtward to *Seleucia*, a city built by Seleucus one of the ſucceſſors of Alexander the great, upon the river Tigris. Or in other words, this province was the ſame, where the children of Eden dwelt in *Telaſſar* (as Iſaiah ſays Chap. XXXVII. 12.) which *Telaſſar* or Talatha was a province and a city of the children of Eden, placed by Ptolomy in Babylonia, upon the common ſtream of Tigris and Euphrates. See Sir Iſaac Newton's Chronol. p. 275. So that our author places Eden, agreeably to the accounts in Scripture, ſomewhere in Meſopotamia.

215. *His*

In narrow room Nature's whole wealth, yea more,
A Heav'n on Earth: for bliſsful Paradiſe
Of God the garden was, by him in th' eaſt
Of Eden planted; Eden ſtretch'd her line
From Auran eaſtward to the royal towers
Of great Seleucia, built by Grecian Kings,
Or where the ſons of Eden long before
Dwelt in Telaſſar: in this pleaſant ſoil
His far more pleaſant garden God ordain'd;
Out of the fertil ground he caus'd to grow

All

215. *His far more pleaſant garden*] In the deſcription of Paradiſe, the poet has obſerved Ariſtotle's rule of laviſhing all the ornaments of diction on the weak unactive parts of the fable, which are not ſupported by the beauty of ſentiments and characters. Accordingly the reader may obſerve, that the expreſſions are more florid and elaborate in theſe deſcriptions, than in moſt other parts of the poem. I muſt farther add, that tho' the *drawings* of gardens, rivers, rainbows, and the like dead pieces of nature, are juſtly cenſured in an heroic poem, when they run out into an unneceſſary length; the deſcription of Paradiſe would have been faulty, had not the poet been very particular in it, not only as it is the ſcene of the principal action, but as it is requiſite to give us an idea of that happineſs from which our firſt parents fell. The plan of it is wonderfully beautiful, and formed upon the ſhort ſketch which we have of it in holy Writ. Milton's exuberance of imagination has poured forth ſuch a redundancy of ornaments on this ſeat of happineſs and innocence, that it would be endleſs to point out each particular. I muſt not quit this head without further obſerving, that there is ſcarce a ſpeech of Adam and Eve in the whole poem, wherein the ſentiments and alluſions are not taken from this their delightful habitation. The reader, during their whole courſe of action, always finds himſelf in the walks of Paradiſe. In ſhort, as the critics have remarked that in thoſe poems, wherein ſhepherds are actors, the thoughts ought always to take a tincture from the woods, fields, and rivers; ſo we may obſerve, that our firſt parents ſeldom loſe ſight of their happy ſtation in any thing they ſpeak or do; and, if the reader will give me leave to uſe the expreſſion, that their thoughts are always *Paradiſiacal*. *Addiſon.*

All trees of nobleſt kind for ſight, ſmell, taſte;
And all amid them ſtood the tree of life,
High eminent, blooming ambroſial fruit
Of vegetable gold; and next to life,
Our death the tree of knowledge grew faſt by,
Knowledge of good bought dear by knowing ill.
Southward through Eden went a river large,
Nor chang'd his courſe, but through the ſhaggy hill
Paſs'd underneath ingulf'd; for God had thrown
That mountain as his garden mold high rais'd
Upon the rapid current, which through veins
Of porous earth with kindly thirſt up drawn,
Roſe a freſh fountain, and with many a rill
Water'd the garden; thence united fell
Down the ſteep glade, and met the nether flood,

Which

223. *Southward through Eden went a river large,*] This is moſt probably the river formed by the junction of the Euphrates and Tigris, which flows *ſouthward*, and muſt needs be *a river large* by the joining of two ſuch mighty rivers. Upon this river it is ſuppoſed by the beſt commentators that the terreſtrial Paradiſe was ſituated. Milton calls this river Tigris in IX. 71.

233. *And now divided into four main ſtreams,*] This is grounded upon the words of Moſes, Gen. II. 10. *And a river went out of Eden to water the garden, and from thence it was parted, and became into four heads.* Now the moſt probable account that is given of theſe four rivers we conceive to be this. The river that water'd the garden of Eden was, as we think, the river formed by the junction of Euphrates and Tigris; and this river was parted into four other main ſtreams or rivers; two above the

Which from his darkſome paſſage now appears,
And now divided into four main ſtreams,
Runs diverſe, wand'ring many a famous realm
And country, whereof here needs no account;
But rather to tell how, if Art could tell,
How from that ſaphir fount the criſped brooks,
Rolling on orient pearl and ſands of gold,
With mazy error under pendent ſhades
Ran nectar, viſiting each plant, and fed
Flow'rs, worthy' of Paradiſe, which not nice Art
In beds and curious knots, but Nature boon
Pour'd forth profuſe on hill and dale and plain,
Both where the morning ſun firſt warmly ſmote
The open field, and where the unpierc'd ſhade
Imbrown'd the noontide bow'rs: Thus was this place

A

the garden, namely Euphrates and Tigris before they are join'd, and two below the garden, namely Euphrates and Tigris after they are parted again; for Euphrates and Tigris they were ſtill called by the Greeks and Romans, though in the time of Moſes they were named Piſon and Gihon. Our poet expreſſes it as if the river had been parted into four other rivers below the garden; but there is no being certain of theſe particulars, and Milton, ſenſible of the great uncertainty of them, wiſely avoids giving any farther deſcription of the countries thro' which the rivers flow'd, and ſays in the general that no account needs to be given of them here.

238. *Rolling on orient pearl and ſands of gold,*] Pactolus, Hermus, and other rivers are deſcribed by the poets as having golden ſands; but the deſcription is made richer here, and the water rolls on *the choiceſt pearls* as well as

ſand:

A happy rural ſeat of various view;
Groves whoſe rich trees wept odorous gums and balm,
Others whoſe fruit burniſh'd with golden rind
Hung amiable, Heſperian fables true,
If true, here only, and of delicious taſte:
Betwixt them lawns, or level downs, and flocks
Grazing the tender herb, were interpos'd,
Or palmy hilloc; or the flow'ry lap
Of ſome irriguous valley ſpread her ſtore,
Flow'rs

ſands of gold. So in III. 507. we have *orient gems*; ſee the note there. We have likewiſe *orient pearl* in Shakeſpear, Richard III. Act IV. and in Beaumont and Fletcher, The faithful Shepherdeſs, Act III.

248. *Groves whoſe rich trees* &c.] There were groves bearing aromatics, and there were others bearing fruit for ſuſtenance. The former are called *rich trees*, as *odorous gums and balm* carry uſually a higher price than *fruit*; and they are ſaid to *weep* gums and balm by a beautiful metaphor not unuſual in poetry: as Ovid ſays of the myrrh-tree, Met. X. 500.

Flet tamen, et tepidæ manant ex arbore guttæ,
Eſt honor et *lacrymis*.

250. —— *Heſperian fables true*, &c.] Dr. Bentley prefers *apples* to *fables*, and aſks how *fables* can be true any where? If they cannot, I wonder how the Doctor in his edition of Phædrus, ſuffer'd the following paſſage to ſtand without any cenſure,

Hanc emendare, ſi tamen poſſum, volo
Vera fabella.

The firſt and moſt proper ſenſe of the word *fabula*, as all the dictionaries inform us, is ſomething commonly talked of, whether true or falſe: and if Milton us'd the word *fable* ſo here, the ſenſe is clear of the objection. But the Doctor would rather throw out the words *Heſperian apples* (or *fables*) *true*, *If true*, *here only*, becauſe (ſays he) *the Heſperian apples* are repreſented by the poets as of ſolid gold, far from being *of delicious taſte*. This objection is anſwer'd by reading, as I think we ought to do, the whole paſſage thus,

Others, whoſe fruit burniſh'd with golden rind
Hung amiable, (Heſperian fables true,
If true, here only) and of delicious taſte.
Pearce.

Fables, ſtories as XI. 11. What is ſaid of the Heſperian gardens is true here only; if all is not pure invention, this garden was meant: and moreover theſe fruits have a delicious taſte, thoſe there had none. *Richardſon.*

255. —— *irriguous valley*] Well-water'd, full

Flow'rs of all hue, and without thorn the roſe:
Another ſide, umbrageous grots and caves
Of cool receſs, o'er which the mantling vine
Lays forth her purple grape, and gently creeps
Luxuriant; mean while murm'ring waters fall
Down the ſlope hills, diſpers'd, or in a lake,
That to the fringed bank with myrtle crown'd
Her cryſtal mirror holds, unite their ſtreams.
The birds their quire apply; airs, vernal airs,
Breathing

full of ſprings and rills: it is the epithet of a garden in Horace, Sat. II. IV. 16.

Irriguo nihil eſt elutius horto. *Hume.*

256. *Flow'rs of all hue, and without thorn the roſe:*] Dr. Bentley rejects this verſe, becauſe he thinks it *a jejune identity* in the poet to ſay *The flow'ry lap—ſpread flow'rs:* but, as Dr. Pearce obſerves, tho' the expreſſion be not very exact, it is not ſo bad as Dr. Bentley repreſents it; for the conſtruction and ſenſe is, *The flow'ry lap of ſome valley ſpread her ſtore*, which ſtore was what? why *flow'rs* of every color or *hue*. Dr. Bentley objects too to the latter part of the verſe, *and without thorn the roſe*, and calls it a puerile fancy. But it ſhould be remember'd, that it was part of the curſe denounced upon the earth for Adam's tranſgreſſion, that it ſhould *bring forth thorns and thiſtles*, Gen. III. 18. and from hence the general opinion has prevailed that there were no thorns before; which is enough to juſtify a poet in ſaying the roſe was without thorns or prickles.

257. *Another ſide, umbrageous grots and caves*] Another ſide of the garden was umbrageous grots and caves *&c.* Or on another ſide were ſhady grots and caves *&c.* the præpoſition being omitted as is not unuſual with our author. See I. 282 and 723. *On one ſide* were groves of aromatics, others of fruit, and betwixt them lawns or downs. *On another ſide* were ſhady grotto's and caves of cool receſs. Our author indeed has not mention'd *one ſide* before, but without that he often makes uſe of the expreſſion, *on th' other ſide*, as you may ſee in II. 108, 706. IV. 985. IX. 888. as Virgil frequently ſays *in parte alia, in another part*, though he has not ſaid expreſly *in one part* before, Æn. I. 474. VIII. 682. IX. 521.

261. —— *diſpers'd, or in a lake,*] The waters fall diſperſed, or unite their ſtreams in a lake, that preſents her clear looking-glaſs, holds her cryſtal mirror to the fringed bank crown'd with myrtle. He makes the lake we may obſerve a perſon, and a critic like Dr. Bentley may find fault with it; but it is uſual with the poets to perſonify lakes and rivers, as Homer does

Breathing the ſmell of field and grove, attune
The trembling leaves, while univerſal Pan
Knit with the Graces and the Hours in dance
Led on th' eternal ſpring. Not that fair field
Of Enna, where Proſerpin gathering flowers,
Herſelf a fairer flow'r by gloomy Dis
Was gather'd, which coſt Ceres all that pain
To ſeek her through the world; nor that ſweet grove
Of Daphne by Orontes, and th' inſpir'd
Caſtalian ſpring, might with this Paradiſe

Of

does the river Scamander and Virgil the Tiber; and Milton himſelf makes a perſon of the river of bliſs, and a female perſon too, III. 359. as he does here of the lake. This language is certainly more poetical; and I ſuppoſe he thought *Her cryſtal mirror* ſounded ſmoother and better than *Its cryſtal mirror*, or even *His cryſtal mirror*.

266. — *while univerſal Pan* &c.] While univerſal Nature link'd with the graceful ſeaſons danc'd a perpetual round, and throughout the earth yet unpolluted led eternal ſpring. All the poets favor the opinion of the world's creation in the ſpring. Virg. Georg. II. 338.

Ver illud erat, ver magnus agebat
Orbis, et hibernis parcebant flatibus Euri,
Cum primum lucem pecudes hauſere &c.

Ov. Met. I. 107.

Ver erat æternum, placidique tepentibus auris
Mulcebant Zephyri natos ſine ſemine flores.

That the Graces were taken for the beautiful ſeaſons in which all things ſeem to dance and ſmile in an univerſal joy is plain from Horace, Od. IV. VII. 1.

Diffugere nives, redeunt jam gramina campis--
Gratia cum nymphis geminiſque ſororibus
audet
Ducere nuda choros.

And Homer joins both the Graces and Hours hand in hand with Harmony, Youth, and Venus in his Hymn to Apollo. *Hume.*

The Ancients perſoniz'd every thing. *Pan* is nature, the *Graces* are the beautiful ſeaſons, and the *Hours* are the time requiſite for the production and perfection of things. Milton only ſays in a moſt poetical manner (as Homer in his hymn to Apollo had done before him) that now all nature was in beauty, and every hour produc'd ſomething new, without any change for the worſe. *Richardſon.*

268. — *Not*

Of Eden ſtrive; nor that Nyſeian ile
Girt with the river Triton, where old Cham,
Whom Gentiles Ammon call and Lybian Jove,
Hid Amalthea and her florid ſon
Young Bacchus from his ſtepdame Rhea's eye;
Nor where Abaſſin kings their iſſue guard,
Mount Amara, though this by ſome ſuppos'd
True Paradiſe under the Ethiop line
By Nilus head, inclos'd with ſhining rock,
A whole day's journey high, but wide remote
From

268. — *Not that fair field* &c.] Not that fair field of *Enna* in Sicily, celebrated ſo much by Ovid and Claudian for its beauty, from whence *Proſerpin* was carried away by the gloomy God of Hell *Dis* or Pluto, which occaſion'd her mother *Ceres* to ſeek her all the world over; nor that ſweet grove of *Daphne* near Antioch, the capital of Syria, ſeated on the banks of the river *Orontes*, together with the *Caſtalian* ſpring there, of the ſame name with that in Greece, and extoll'd for its prophetic qualities; nor the iland *Nyſa*, incompaſs'd with the river *Triton* in Africa, where *Cham* or Ham the ſon of Noah, therefore called *old*, (who firſt peopled Egypt and Lybia, and among the Gentiles goes by the name of *Ammon* or *Lybian Jove*) hid his miſtreſs *Amalthea* and her beautiful ſon *Bacchus* (therefore called Dionyſus) from his ſtepdame *Rhea*'s eye, the ſtepdame of Bacchus and wife of the Libyan Jove according to ſome authors, particularly Diodorus Siculus, Lib. 3. and Sir Walter Raleigh's Hiſt. B. 1. ch. 6. ſect. 5. tho' different from others; nor mount *Amara*, where the kings of *Abaſſinia* or Abyſſinia (a kingdom in the upper Ethiopia) keep their children guarded, a place of moſt delightful proſpect and ſituation, inclos'd with alabaſter rocks, which it is a day's journey to aſcend, ſuppoſed by ſome (tho' ſo far diſtant from the true Paradiſe) to be the ſeat of Paradiſe under the *Ethiopian* or equinoctial line near the ſprings of the river *Nile:* Not any nor all of theſe could vy with this Paradiſe of Eden; this exceeded all that hiſtorians have written or poets have feign'd of the moſt beautiful places in the world. By the way we ſhould obſerve his manner of pronouncing *Proſérpin* with the accent upon the ſecond ſyllable, like the Latin, and as Spenſer and the old Engliſh authors pronounce it, Fairy Queen, B. 1. Cant. 2. St. 2.

From this Aſſyrian garden, where the Fiend
Saw undelighted all delight, all kind
Of living creatures new to ſight and ſtrange.
Two of far nobler ſhape erect and tall,
Godlike erect, with native honor clad
In naked majeſty ſeem'd lords of all,
And worthy ſeem'd; for in their looks divine
The image of their glorious Maker ſhone,
Truth, wiſdom, ſanctitude ſevere and pure,
(Severe

And ſad Proſerpin's wrath, them to affright;

but not as it is commonly uſed at this time, as in Cato,

So Pluto feis'd of Proſerpin convey'd.

285. —— *Aſſyrian garden,*] Milton here follows Strabo, who comprehends Meſopotamia in the ancient Aſſyria. *Richardſon.*

288. *Two of far nobler ſhape* &c.] The deſcription of Adam and Eve, as they firſt appeared to Satan, is exquiſitely drawn, and ſufficient to make the fallen Angel gaze upon them with all that aſtoniſhment and thoſe emotions of envy, in which he is repreſented. There is a fine ſpirit of poetry in the lines which follow, wherein they are deſcribed as ſitting on a bed of flowers by the ſide of a fountain, amidſt a mixed aſſembly of animals.

Addiſon.

293. *Truth, wiſdom, ſanctitude ſevere and pure,*
(Severe but in true filial freedom plac'd)

Whence true authority in men;] The middle verſe ought to have been put thus in a parentheſis; for the *true authority in men* ariſes not from *filial freedom*, but from their having *truth, wiſdom*, and *ſanctitude ſevere and pure*, that is ſtrict holineſs; which are qualities that give to magiſtrates *true authority*, that proper authority which they may want who yet have legal authority. This is Milton's meaning: and for explaining the word *ſevere*, he inſerts a verſe to ſhow that he does not mean ſuch a *ſanctitude* or holineſs as is rigid and auſtere, but ſuch as is *plac'd in filial freedom*; alluding to the ſcriptural expreſſions, which repreſent good Chriſtians as *free* and as the *ſons* of God: on which foundation our obedience (from whence our ſanctitude ariſes) is a *filial*, and not a ſlaviſh one; a reverence rather than a fear of the Deity. From hence we may ſee that Dr. Bentley had no ſufficient reaſon to change *ſevere* in the firſt verſe into *ſerene*, and to throw out the ſecond verſe entirely.

Pearce.

297. *For*

(Severe but in true filial freedom plac'd)
Whence true authority in men; though both
Not equal, as their ſex not equal ſeem'd;
For contemplation he and valor form'd,
For ſoftneſs ſhe and ſweet attractive grace,
He for God only, ſhe for God in him:
His fair large front and eye ſublime declar'd
Abſolute rule; and hyacinthin locks
Round from his parted forelock manly hung
Cluſtring,

297. *For contemplation he and valor form'd,*
For ſoftneſs ſhe and ſweet attractive grace,] The curious reader may pleaſe to obſerve upon theſe two charming lines, how the numbers are varied, and how artfully *he* and *ſhe* are placed in each verſe, ſo as the tone may fall upon them, and yet fall upon them differently. The author might have given both exactly the ſame tone, but every ear muſt judge this alteration to be much for the worſe.

For valor he and contemplation form'd,
For ſoftneſs ſhe and ſweet attractive grace.

299. *He for God only, ſhe for God in him:*] The author gave it thus, ſays Dr. Bentley,

He for God only, ſhe for God *and* him.

The oppoſition demonſtrates this, and ver. 440, Eve ſpeaks to Adam,

—— O thou *for whom*
And from whom I was form'd ——

Dr. Pearce approves this reading of Dr. Bentley, and to the proof which he brings, adds X. 150.

—— made of thee
And *for thee.*

And indeed, tho' ſome have endevor'd to juſtify the common reading, yet this is ſo much better, that we cannot but wiſh it was admitted into the text.

301. — *hyacinthin locks*] Thus Minerva in Homer gives Ulyſſes hyacinthin locks to make him more beautiful,

Καδ' δε χαριτ@
Ουλας ηκε κομας, υακινθινῳ ανθει ομοιας.
Odyſſ. VI. 231.

Back from his brows a length of hair unfurls,
His hyacinthin locks deſcend in wavy curls.
Broome.

Euſtathius interprets hyacinthin locks by black locks; and Milton in like manner means dark or black locks, diſtinguiſhing Adam's hair from

Cluſtring, but not beneath his ſhoulders broad:
She as a veil down to the ſlender waſte
Her unadorned golden treſſes wore
Diſhevel'd, but in wanton ringlets wav'd
As the vine curls her tendrils, which imply'd
Subjection, but requir'd with gentle ſway,
And by her yielded, by him beſt receiv'd,
Yielded with coy ſubmiſſion, modeſt pride,
And ſweet reluctant amorous delay.

Nor

from Eve's in the color as well as in other particulars. It is probable the hyacinth among the Ancients might be of a darker color than it is among us.

303. *Cluſtring*,] His hair hung *cluſtring*, or like bunches of grapes, as her's was like the young ſhoots or *tendrils* of the *vine*. They are oppos'd, you ſee, the one to the other.

303. — *his ſhoulders broad:*] Broad ſhoulders are always aſſign'd to the ancient heroes; in Homer they have ευρεας ωμους, in Virgil *latos humeros*. But I wonder that Milton has given no indication that Adam had a beard; not the leaſt down or bloſſom on his chin, the firſt acceſs to manhood; which the Greek and Latin poets dwell on, as the principal part of manly beauty: and our Spenſer, B. 2. Cant. 12. St. 79. and B. 3. Cant. 5. St. 29. *Bentley.* His beard is a particular that the poet could not have forgot, but I ſuppoſe he purpoſely omitted it, becauſe Raphael and the principal painters always repreſent him without one; I believe no one remembers ever to have ſeen a good print or picture of him with one, and Milton frequently fetches his ideas from the works of the greateſt maſters in painting.

305. — *golden treſſes*] This ſort of hair was moſt admir'd and celebrated by the Ancients, I ſuppoſe as it uſually betokens a fairer ſkin and finer complexion. It would be almoſt endleſs to quote paſſages to this purpoſe in praiſe of Helen and the other famous beauties of antiquity. Venus herſelf, the Goddeſs of beauty, is deſcribed of this color and complexion; and therefore is ſtiled *golden Venus*, χρυσην Αφροδιτην by Homer, and *Venus aurea* by Virgil. As Milton had the taſte of the Ancients in other things, ſo likewiſe in this particular. He muſt certainly have preferred this to all other colors, or he would never have beſtow'd it upon Eve, whom he deſign'd as a pattern of beauty to all her daughters. And poſſibly he might at the ſame time intend a compliment to his wife; for I remember to have heard from a gentleman who had ſeen his widow in Cheſhire, that ſhe had red hair.

It

Nor thoſe myſterious parts were then conceal'd,
Then was not guilty ſhame, diſhoneſt ſhame
Of nature's works, honor diſhonorable,
Sin-bred, how have ye troubled all mankind
With ſhows inſtead, mere ſhows of ſeeming pure,
And baniſh'd from man's life his happieſt life,
Simplicity and ſpotleſs innocence!
So paſs'd they naked on, nor ſhunn'd the ſight
Of God or Angel, for they thought no ill:

So

It is the more probable, that he intended a compliment to his wife in the drawing of Eve; as it is certain, that he drew the portrait of Adam not without regard to his own perſon, of which he had no mean opinion.

307. —— *which imply'd*
Subjection,] The poet manifeſtly alludes to St. Paul's firſt Epiſtle to the Corinthians, Chap. XI. *Doth not even nature itſelf teach you* (ſays the Apoſtle) *that if a man have long hair, it is a ſhame unto him?* And therefore Milton gives Adam locks, that *hung cluſtring, but not beneath his ſhoulders broad. But if a woman have long hair* (continues the Apoſtle) *it is a glory to her, for her hair is given her for a covering* or *veil* as it is render'd in the margin: and therefore our author gives Eve very long hair, *ſhe wore her golden treſſes as a veil down to the ſlender waſte.* And this long hair the Apoſtle conſiders as an argument and token of her ſubjection, a covering, a veil, in ſign that ſhe is under the power of her husband; and for the ſame reaſon the poet ſays that it *imply'd ſubjection:* ſuch excellent uſe doth he make of the ſacred Writings. The poet adds that this ſubjection was *requir'd* by him *with gentle ſway, and yielded by her*, but it was *beſt receiv'd by him*, when *yielded with coy ſubmiſſion, modeſt pride, and ſweet reluctant amorous delay*, which is expreſs'd with more elegance than that admir'd paſſage in Horace, which no doubt Milton had in his thoughts, Od. II. XII. 26.

—— facili ſævitia negat
Quæ poſcente magis gaudeat eripi,
Interdum rapere occupat.

314. —— *honor diſhonorable*,] He alludes to 1 Cor. XII. 23. *And thoſe members of the body which we think to be leſs honorable, upon theſe we beſtow more abundant honor.* But the honor paid to thoſe parts is really a diſhonor, a token of our fall, and an indication of our guilt. Innocent nature made no ſuch diſtinction. *Sin-bred, how have ye troubled* &c. Should we not read,

Sin-bred, how have *you* troubled ——

for what is he ſpeaking to beſides *Shame?*

323. *Adam*

So hand in hand they paſs'd, the loveliеſt pair
That ever ſince in love's embraces met;
Adam the goodlieſt man of men ſince born
His ſons, the faireſt of her daughters Eve.
Under a tuft of ſhade that on a green
Stood whiſp'ring ſoft, by a freſh fountain ſide
They ſat them down; and after no more toil
Of their ſweet gard'ning labor than ſuffic'd
To recommend cool Zephyr, and made eaſe
More eaſy, wholſome thirſt and appetite
More grateful, to their ſupper fruits they fell,
Nectarin fruits which the compliant boughs
Yielded them, ſide-long as they ſat recline
On the ſoft downy bank damask'd with flowers:

The

323. *Adam the goodlieſt man of men* &c.] Theſe two lines are cenſur'd by Mr. Addiſon, and are totally rejected by Dr. Bentley, as implying that Adam was one of his ſons, and Eve one of her daughters: but this manner of expreſſion is borrow'd from the Greek language, in which we find ſometimes the ſuperlative degree uſed inſtead of the comparative. The meaning therefore is, that Adam was a goodlier man than any of his ſons, and Eve fairer than her daughters. So Achilles is ſaid to have been ωκυμορωτατ@ αλλων Iliad. I. 505. that is more ſhort-liv'd than others. So Nireus is ſaid to have been the handſomeſt of the other Grecians, Iliad. II. 673.

—— ος καλλις@ ανηρ υπο Ιλιον ηλθε,
Των αλλων Δαναων. ——

And the ſame manner of ſpeaking has paſs'd from the Greeks to the Latins. So a freed woman is call'd in Horace, Sat. I. I. 100. *fortiſſima Tyndaridarum*, not that ſhe was one of the Tyndaridæ, but more brave than any of them. And as Dr. Pearce obſerves, ſo Diana is ſaid by one of the poets to have been *comitum pulcherrima*, not one of her own companions, but more

The ſavory pulp they chew, and in the rind
Still as they thirſted ſcoop the brimming ſtream;
Nor gentle purpoſe, nor indearing ſmiles
Wanted, nor youthful dalliance as beſeems
Fair couple, link'd in happy nuptial league,
Alone as they. About them frisking play'd
All beaſts of th'earth, ſince wild, and of all chaſe
In wood or wilderneſs, foreſt or den;
Sporting the lion ramp'd, and in his paw
Dandled the kid; bears, tigers, ounces, pards,
Gambol'd before them; th'unwieldy elephant
To make them mirth us'd all his might, and wreath'd
His lithe proboſcis; cloſe the ſerpent ſly
Inſinuating, wove with Gordian twine
His

more handſome than any of them. And I believe a man would not be corrected for writing falſe Engliſh, who ſhould ſay *the moſt learned of all others* inſtead of *more learned than all others.*

345. —— *th' unwieldy elephant*] Mind the accent of *unwieldy* in the firſt ſyllable. The author knew the common pronunciation to be in the ſecond, as VII. 411. *Wallowing unwieldy.* But with great art and judgment following his principals Homer and Virgil, he made the verſe itſelf *unwieldy*, that the reader might feel it as well as underſtand it.

Bentley.

347. *His lithe proboſcis*;] His limber trunk, ſo pliant and uſeful to him, that Cicero calls it *elephantorum manum*, the elephants hand.

Hume.

348. *Inſinuating, wove with Gordian twine*
His breaded train, &c.] *Inſinuating*, wrapping, or rolling up, and as it were imboſoming himſelf. Virgil frequently uſes the words *ſinuoſus* and *ſinuare* to expreſs the winding motions of this animal. *With Gordian twine*, with many intricate turnings and twiſtings, like the famous Gordian knot, which no body could unty, but Alexander cut it with his ſword. *His breaded train*,

His breaded train, and of his fatal guile
Gave proof unheeded; others on the graſs
Couch'd, and now fill'd with paſture gazing ſat,
Or bedward ruminating; for the ſun
Declin'd was haſting now with prone carreer
To th'ocean iles, and in th'aſcending ſcale
Of Heav'n the ſtars that uſher evening roſe:
When Satan ſtill in gaze, as firſt he ſtood,
Scarce thus at length fail'd ſpeech recover'd ſad.

O Hell! what do mine eyes with grief behold!

Into

train, his plaited twiſted tail. *And of his fatal guile gave proof unheeded*; That intricate form into which he put himſelf was a ſort of ſymbol or type of his fraud, tho' not then regarded. *Hume* and *Richardſon.*

We may obſerve that the poet is larger in the deſcription of the ſerpent, than of any of the other animals, and very judiciouſly as he is afterwards made the inſtrument of ſo much miſchief; and at the ſame time an intimation is given *of his fatal guile*, to prepare the reader for what follows.

351. *Couch'd*,] Let the reader obſerve how artfully the word *couch'd* is placed, ſo as to make the ſound expreſſive of the ſenſe,

—— others on the graſs
Couch'd. ——

Such a reſt upon the firſt ſyllable of the verſe is not very common, but is very beautiful when it is ſo accommodated to the ſenſe. The learned reader may obſerve a beauty of the like kind in theſe verſes of Homer, Iliad. I. 51.

Αυταρ επειτ' αυτοισι βελος εχεπευκες εφιεις
Βαλλ'· αιει δε πυραι νεκυων καιονλο θαμειαι.

and Iliad. V. 146.

Τον δ' ετερον ξιφει μεγαλω κληιδα παρ' ωμον
Πληξ'·

and again, ver. 156.

--- Πατερι δε γοον και κηδεα λυγρα
Λειπ'. and in ſeveral other places.

And the Engliſh reader may ſee ſimilar inſtances in our Engliſh Homer. Pope's Homer, B. 16. ver. 445.

Chariots on chariots roll; the claſhing ſpokes
Shock; | while the madding ſteeds break
ſhort their yokes.

And

Into our room of bliſs thus high advanc'd
Creatures of other mold, earth-born perhaps,
Not Spirits, yet to heav'nly Spirits bright
Little inferior; whom my thoughts purſue
With wonder, and could love, ſo lively ſhines
In them divine reſemblance, and ſuch grace
The hand that form'd them on their ſhape hath pour'd.
Ah gentle pair, ye little think how nigh
Your change approaches, when all theſe delights
Will vaniſh and deliver ye to woe,

More

And in the Temple of Fame, ver. 85.

Amphion there the loud creating lyre
Strikes, | and behold a ſudden Thebes aſpire!

And it is obſervable that this pauſe is uſually made upon the verb, to mark the action more ſtrongly to the reader.

352. *Or bedward ruminating:*] Chewing the cud before they go to reſt. *Hume.*

354. *To th' ocean iles,*] The ilands in the weſtern ocean; for that the ſun ſet in the ſea, and roſe out of it again, was an ancient poetic notion, and is become part of the phraſeology of poetry. *And in th' aſcending ſcale of Heav'n,* The *balance* of Heaven or Libra is one of the twelve ſigns, and when the ſun is in that ſign, as he is at the autumnal equinox, the days and nights are equal, as if weigh'd in a balance:

Libra diei ſomnique pares ubi fecerit horas:
Virg. Georg. I. 208.

and from hence our author ſeems to have borrow'd his metaphor of the *ſcales* of Heaven, weighing night and day, the one aſcending as the other ſinks.

357. *Scarce thus at length fail'd ſpeech recover'd ſad.*] Tho' Satan came in queſt of Adam and Eve, yet he is ſtruck with ſuch aſtoniſhment at the ſight of them, that it is a long time before he can recover his ſpeech, and break forth into this ſoliloquy: and at the ſame time this dumb admiration of Satan gives the poet the better opportunity of inlarging his deſcription of them. This is very beautiful.

362. *Little inferior;*] For this there is the authority of Scripture. *Thou haſt made him a little lower than the Angels,* Pſal. VIII. 5. Heb. II. 7.

More woe, the more your taſte is now of joy;
Happy, but for ſo happy ill ſecur'd
Long to continue, and this high ſeat your Heaven
Ill fenc'd for Heav'n to keep out ſuch a foe
As now is enter'd; yet no purpos'd foe
To you, whom I could pity thus forlorn,
Though I unpitied: League with you I ſeek,
And mutual amity ſo ſtrait, ſo cloſe,
That I with you muſt dwell, or you with me
Henceforth; my dwelling haply may not pleaſe,
Like this fair Paradiſe, your ſenſe, yet ſuch
Accept your Maker's work; he gave it me,
Which I as freely give; Hell ſhall unfold,
To entertain you two, her wideſt gates,
And ſend forth all her kings; there will be room,
Not like theſe narrow limits, to receive

Your

389. — *yet public reaſon juſt*, &c.] Public reaſon *compels me*, and that public reaſon is honor and empire inlarg'd with revenge, by conquering this new world. And thus Satan is made to plead *public reaſon juſt*, and *neceſſity*, to *excuſe his deviliſh deeds*; *the tyrant's plea*, as the poet calls it, probably with a view to his own times, and particularly to the plea for ſhip-money.

395. *Then from his lofty ſtand on that high tree* &c.] The tree of life, higher than the reſt, where he had been perching all this while from ver. 196. And then for the tranſformations which follow, what changes in Ovid's Metamorphoſis are ſo natural, and yet ſo ſurpriſing as theſe? He is well liken'd to the fierceſt beaſts, the lion and the tiger, and

Adam

Your numerous ofspring; if no better place,
Thank him who puts me loath to this revenge
On you who wrong me not for him who wrong'd.
And ſhould I at your harmleſs innocence
Melt, as I do, yet public reaſon juſt,
Honor and empire with revenge inlarg'd,
By conqu'ring this new world, compels me now
To do what elſe though damn'd I ſhould abhor.
So ſpake the Fiend, and with neceſſity,
The tyrant's plea, excus'd his deviliſh deeds.
Then from his lofty ſtand on that high tree
Down he alights among the ſportful herd
Of thoſe four-footed kinds, himſelf now one,
Now other, as their ſhape ſerv'd beſt his end
Nearer to view his prey, and uneſpy'd
To mark what of their ſtate he more might learn

By

Adam and Eve in their native innocence to two gentle fawns.

400. *To mark what of their ſtate he more might learn*

By word or action mark'd:] Tho' the poet uſes *mark* and *mark'd* too, yet ſuch repetitions of the ſame word are common with him; ſo common that we may ſuppoſe he did not do it for want of attention, and that it was not merely the effect of his blindneſs. See inſtances of it in my note on III. 147. and we have another following here, ver. 405.

Strait *couches* cloſe, then riſing changes oft
His *couchant* watch. *Pearce.*

By word or action mark'd: about them round
A lion now he ſtalks with fiery glare;
Then as a tiger, who by chance hath ſpy'd
In ſome purlieu two gentle fawns at play,
Strait couches cloſe, then riſing changes oft
His couchant watch, as one who choſe his ground,
Whence ruſhing he might ſureſt ſeiſe them both
Grip'd in each paw: when Adam firſt of men
To firſt of women Eve thus moving ſpeech,
Turn'd him all ear to hear new utterance flow.

Sole partner, and ſole part, of all theſe joys,
Dearer thyſelf than all; needs muſt the Power
That made us, and for us this ample world,
Be infinitely good, and of his good

As

410. *Turn'd him all ear* &c.] A pretty expreſſion borrow'd from the Latin,

Totum te cupias, Fabulle, naſum. *Bentley.*

So in the Maſk, *I was all ear.* Richardſon.

411. *Sole partner*, &c.] The ſpeeches of theſe two firſt lovers flow equally from paſſion and ſincerity. The profeſſions they make to one another are full of warmth, but at the ſame time founded upon truth. In a word they are the gallantries of Paradiſe. *Addiſon.*

Sole partner, and ſole part, of all theſe joys,

So the paſſage ought to be read (I think) with a comma after *part*; and *of* here ſignifies *among*. The ſenſe is, among all theſe joys Thou alone art my partner, and (what is more) Thou alone art part of me, as in ver. 487.

Part of my ſoul I ſeek thee, and thee clame
My other half.

Of in Milton frequently ſignifies *among*. The want of obſerving this made Dr. Bentley read *beſt part* for *ſole part*, thinking that *ſole part* is a contradiction, and ſo it is as he underſtands

of

As liberal and free as infinite;
That rais'd us from the duſt and plac'd us here
In all this happineſs, who at his hand
Have nothing merited, nor can perform
Ought whereof he hath need, he who requires
From us no other ſervice than to keep
This one, this eaſy charge, of all the trees
In Paradiſe that bear delicious fruit
So various, not to taſte that only tree
Of knowledge, planted by the tree of life;
So near grows death to life, whate'er death is,
Some dreadful thing no doubt; for well thou know'ſt
God hath pronounc'd it death to taſte that tree,
The only ſign of our obedience left

Among

of here, to be the mark of the genitive caſe govern'd of *part*. Pearce.

421. *This one, this eaſy charge*, &c.] It was very natural for Adam to diſcourſe of this, and this was what Satan wanted more particularly to learn; and it is expreſs'd from God's command, Gen. II. 16, 17. *Of every tree of the garden thou mayeſt freely eat; but of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, thou ſhalt not eat of it, for in the day that thou eateſt thereof, thou ſhalt ſurely die.* And in like manner when Adam ſays afterwards

——— *dominion given*
Over all other creatures that poſſeſs
Earth, air, and ſea,

it is taken from the divine commiſſion, Gen. I. 28. *Have dominion over the fiſh of the ſea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth.* Theſe things are ſo evident, that it is almoſt ſuperfluous to mention them. If we take notice of them, it is that every reader may be ſenſible how much of Scripture our author hath wrought into this divine poem.

449. *That*

Among ſo many ſigns of pow'r and rule
Conferr'd upon us, and dominion given
Over all other creatures that poſſeſs
Earth, air, and ſea. Then let us not think hard
One eaſy prohibition, who enjoy
Free leave ſo large to all things elſe, and choice
Unlimited of manifold delights:
But let us ever praiſe him, and extol
His bounty, following our delightful task
To prune theſe growing plants, and tend theſe flowers,
Which were it toilſome, yet with thee were ſweet.

To whom thus Eve reply'd. O thou for whom
And from whom I was form'd fleſh of thy fleſh,
And without whom am to no end, my guide

And

449. *That day I oft remember*, &c.] The remaining part of Eve's ſpeech, in which ſhe gives an account of herſelf upon her firſt creation, and the manner in which ſhe was brought to Adam, is I think as beautiful a paſſage as any in Milton, or perhaps in any other poet whatſoever. Theſe paſſages are all work'd off with ſo much art, that they are capable of pleaſing the moſt delicate reader without offending the moſt ſevere. A poet of leſs judgment and invention than this great author would have found it very difficult to have filled theſe tender parts of the poem with ſentiments proper for a ſtate of innocence; to have deſcribed the warmth of love and the profeſſions of it without artifice or hyperbole; to have made the man ſpeak the moſt indearing things without deſcending from his natural dignity, and the woman receiving them without departing from the modeſty of her character; in a word, to adjuſt the prerogatives of wiſdom and beauty, and make each appear to the other in its proper force and lovelineſs. This mutual ſubordination of the two ſexes is wonderfully kept up in the whole poem, as particularly in this ſpeech of Eve, and the lines following

And head, what thou haſt ſaid is juſt and right.
For we to him indeed all praiſes owe,
And daily thanks; I chiefly who enjoy
So far the happier lot, enjoying thee
Præeminent by ſo much odds, while thou
Like conſort to thyſelf canſt no where find.
That day I oft remember, when from ſleep
I firſt awak'd, and found myſelf repos'd
Under a ſhade on flow'rs, much wond'ring where
And what I was, whence thither brought, and how.
Not diſtant far from thence a murm'ring ſound
Of waters iſſued from a cave, and ſpread
Into a liquid plain, then ſtood unmov'd
Pure as th' expanſe of Heav'n; I thither went

With

lowing it. The poet adds, that the Devil turned away at the ſight of ſo much happineſs.
Addiſon.

That day I oft remember, From this as well as ſeveral other paſſages in the poem it appears, that the poet ſuppoſes Adam and Eve to have been created, and to have lived many days in Paradiſe before the fall. See IV. 639, 680, 712. V. 31. &c.

450. *I firſt awak'd*,] As death is often compar'd to *ſleep*, ſo our coming into life may well be liken'd to *waking*: and Adam ſpeaks in the ſame figure, VIII. 253.

As new wak'd from ſoundeſt ſleep, *&c.*
If we compare his account of himſelf upon his creation with this here given by Eve, the beauty and propriety of each will appear to greater advantage.

451. *Under a ſhade on flow'rs*,] The firſt edition has *under a ſhade on flow'rs*, the ſecond *under a ſhade of flow'rs*; and the ſubſequent editions vary in like manner, ſome exhibiting *on flow'rs*, others *of flow'rs*; but repos'd *on flow'rs* under a ſhade ſeems to be much better than *a ſhade of flow'rs*.

458. — *to*

With unexperienc'd thought, and laid me down
On the green bank, to look into the clear
Smooth lake, that to me ſeem'd another sky.
As I bent down to look, juſt oppoſit
A ſhape within the watry gleam appear'd,
Bending to look on me: I ſtarted back,
It ſtarted back; but pleas'd I ſoon return'd,
Pleas'd it return'd as ſoon with anſw'ring looks
Of ſympathy and love: there I had fix'd
Mine eyes till now, and pin'd with vain deſire,
Had not a voice thus warn'd me, What thou ſeeſt,
What there thou ſeeſt, fair Creature, is thyſelf;
With thee it came and goes: but follow me,
And I will bring thee where no ſhadow ſtays
Thy coming, and thy ſoft embraces, he
Whoſe

458. —— *to look into the clear*
Smooth lake,] It has been aſked, ſarcaſtically enough, (Spectator, Vol. 5. N° 325.) whether ſome moral is not couch'd under this place, where the poet lets us know, that the firſt woman immediately after her creation ran to a looking-glaſs, and became ſo enamour'd of her own face, that ſhe had never removed to view any of the other works of nature, had not ſhe been led off to a man. However that be, this account that Eve gives of her coming to a lake, and there falling in love with her own image, when ſhe had ſeen no other human creature, is much more probable and natural, as well as more delicate and beautiful, than the famous ſtory of Narciſſus in Ovid, from whom our author manifeſtly took the hint, and has expreſly imitated ſome paſſages, but has avoided all his puerilities without loſing any of his beauties, as the reader may eaſily obſerve by comparing both together, Met. III. 457.

Spem

Whoſe image thou art; him thou ſhalt enjoy
Inſeparably thine, to him ſhalt bear
Multitudes like thyſelf, and thence be call'd
Mother of human race. What could I do,
But follow ſtrait, inviſibly thus led?
Till I eſpy'd thee, fair indeed and tall,
Under a platan; yet methought leſs fair,
Leſs winning ſoft, leſs amiably mild,
Than that ſmooth watry image: back I turn'd;
Thou following cry'dſt aloud, Return fair Eve,
Whom fly'ſt thou? whom thou fly'ſt, of him thou art,
His fleſh, his bone; to give thee be'ing I lent
Out of my ſide to thee, neareſt my heart
Subſtantial life, to have thee by my ſide
Henceforth an individual ſolace dear;

Part

Spem mihi neſcio quam vultu promittis amico:
Cumque ego porrexi tibi brachia, porrigis ultro:
Cum riſi, arrides: lacrymas quoque ſæpe notavi
Me lacrymante tuas. ——

Iſta repercuſſæ, quam cernis, imaginis umbra eſt:
Nil habet iſta ſui: tecum venitque manetque;
Tecum diſcedet, ſi tu diſcedere poſſis.

478. *Under a platan*;] The plane tree ſo named from the breadth of its leaves, Πλατυς, Greek, broad; a tree uſeful and delightful for its extraordinary ſhade, Virg. Georg. IV. 146.

Jamque miniſtrantem *platanum* potantibus
umbram. *Hume.*

483. *His fleſh, his bone*;] The Scripture expreſſion; *bone of my bones and fleſh of my fleſh*, Gen. II. 23. as afterwards when he calls her *Part of my ſoul —— my other half*, it is from Horace,

Animæ dimidium meæ. Od. I. III. 8.

Part of my ſoul I ſeek thee, and thee clame
My other half: with that thy gentle hand
Seis'd mine; I yielded, and from that time ſee
How beauty is excell'd by manly grace
And wiſdom, which alone is truly fair.
So ſpake our general mother, and with eyes
Of conjugal attraction unreprov'd,
And meek ſurrender, half embracing lean'd
On our firſt father; half her ſwelling breaſt
Naked met his under the flowing gold
Of her looſe treſſes hid: he in delight
Both of her beauty and ſubmiſſive charms
Smil'd

494. — *embracing*] Milton ſometimes ſpells the word *embrace* after the French *embraſſer*, and ſometimes *imbrace* after the Italian *imbracciare*; but the former has now prevail'd univerſally.

499. —— *as Jupiter* &c.] As the Heaven ſmiles upon the air, when it makes the clouds and every thing fruitful in the ſpring. This ſeems to be the meaning of the allegory; for Jupiter is commonly taken for the Heaven or æther, and Juno for the air, tho' ſome underſtand by them the air and earth. However that be, the congreſs of Jupiter and Juno was accounted the great cauſe of fruitfulneſs. Homer in the fourteenth book of the Iliad inlarges much upon the ſtory of their loves, more than enough to give occaſion to this ſimile, and deſcribes the earth putting forth her faireſt flowers as the immediate effect of them. And Virgil likewiſe in deſcribing the ſpring employs the ſame kind of images, and repreſents Jupiter operating upon his ſpouſe for the production of all things, Georg. II. 325.

Tum pater omnipotens fœcundis imbribus æther
Conjugis in gremium lætæ deſcendit, et omnes
Magnus alit, magno commixtus corpore, fœtus.

For then almighty Jove deſcends, and pours
Into his buxom bride his fruitful ſhow'rs;
And mixing his large limbs with her's, he feeds
Her births with kindly juice, and foſters teeming ſeeds. Dryden.

That expreſſion of *the clouds ſhedding flow'rs* is very

Smil'd with ſuperior love, as Jupiter
On Juno ſmiles, when he impregns the clouds
That ſhed May flow'rs; and preſs'd her matron lip
With kiſſes pure: aſide the Devil turn'd
For envy, yet with jealous leer malign
Ey'd them askance, and to himſelf thus plain'd.
  Sight hateful, ſight tormenting! thus theſe two
Imparadis'd in one another's arms,
The happier Eden, ſhall enjoy their fill
Of bliſs on bliſs; while I to Hell am thruſt,
Where neither joy nor love, but fierce deſire,
Among our other torments not the leaſt,
Still

very poetical, and not unlike that fine one in the Pſalms of *the clouds dropping fatneſs*, Pſal. LXXV. 12. and it is ſaid *May flow'rs* to ſignify that this is done in the ſpring, as Virgil deſcribes it. And then follows *and preſs'd her matron lip*, where the conſtruction is *Adam ſmil'd with ſuperior love, and preſs'd her matron lip*, the ſimile being to be underſtood as included in a parentheſis. *Her matron lip* evidently ſignifies her married lip, in diſtinction from a maiden or a virgin lip, as Ovid Faſt. II. 828. ſpeaking of Lucretia then married, ſays *matron cheeks*,

Et matronales erubuere genæ.

It implies that ſhe was married to him, and that therefore their kiſſes were lawful and innocent. It was the innocence of their loves that made the Devil turn aſide for envy.

506. *Imparadis'd in one another's arms,*] *Imparadis'd* has been remark'd as a word firſt coin'd by Milton. But Sir Philip Sidney has it in Arcadia, p. 109. *So this* imparadis'd *neighbourhood made Zelmane's ſoul cleave unto her.* And the Italians had prior poſſeſſion *Imparadiſato.* Bentley.

509. *Where neither joy nor love,*] This ſentence has no exit, unleſs you'll ſay without ſenſe, where neither joy nor love *pines.* He gave it therefore

Where's neither joy nor love,

Where's contracted for *where is.* Bentley.

Still unfulfill'd with pain of longing pines.
Yet let me not forget what I have gain'd
From their own mouths: all is not theirs it ſeems;
One fatal tree there ſtands of knowledge call'd,
Forbidden them to taſte: Knowledge forbidden? 515
Suſpicious, reaſonleſs. Why ſhould their Lord
Envy them that? can it be ſin to know?
Can it be death? and do they only ſtand
By ignorance? is that their happy ſtate,
The proof of their obedience and their faith? 520
O fair foundation laid whereon to build
Their ruin! Hence I will excite their minds
With more deſire to know, and to reject
Envious commands, invented with deſign
To keep them low whom knowledge might exalt 525
Equal with Gods: aſpiring to be ſuch,

They

But Milton often leaves out the word *is*, as in VIII. 621. *and without love no happineſs.*
Pearce.

515. —— *Knowledge forbidden?*] This is artfully perverted by Satan, as if ſome uſeful and neceſſary knowledge was forbidden: whereas our firſt parents were created with perfect underſtanding, and the only knowledge that was forbidden was the knowledge of evil by the commiſſion of it.

530. *A chance but chance may lead*] Dr. Bentley cenſures this jingle, and thinks it unbecoming Satan at ſo ſerious a juncture to catch at puns; therefore propoſes to read *ſome lucky chance may lead* &c. Dr. Pearce ſays that without any alteration or any pun we may read

A

They taſte and die: what likelier can enſue?
But firſt with narrow ſearch I muſt walk round
This garden, and no corner leave unſpy'd;
A chance but chance may lead where I may meet
Some wand'ring Spi'rit of Heav'n by fountain ſide,
Or in thick ſhade retir'd, from him to draw
What further would be learn'd. Live while ye may,
Yet happy pair; enjoy, till I return,
Short pleaſures, for long woes are to ſucceed.

So ſaying, his proud ſtep he ſcornful turn'd,
But with ſly circumſpection, and began
Through wood, through waſte, o'er hill, o'er dale his [roam.
Mean while in utmoſt longitude, where Heaven
With earth and ocean meets, the ſetting ſun
Slowly deſcended, and with right aſpéct
Againſt the eaſtern gate of Paradiſe

Level'd

A chance (but chance) may lead &c
that is *a chance*, and it can be only *a chance, may lead* &c. But this ſort of jingle is but too common with Milton. This here is not much unlike the *forte fortuna* of the Latins.

539. — *in utmoſt longitude*,] At the utmoſt length, at the fartheſt diſtance. Longitude is length, as in V. 754.

— from one entire globoſe
Stretch'd into longitude;

and it is particularly apply'd to the diſtance from eaſt to weſt. See the notes upon III. 555, 574.

541. *Slowly deſcended*,] Dr. Bentley objects to this verſe for a frivolous reaſon, and reads *Had low deſcended*, becauſe the ſun paſſes equal ſpaces

Level'd his evening rays: it was a rock
Of alabaſter, pil'd up to the clouds,
Conſpicuous far, winding with one aſcent
Acceſſible from earth, one entrance high;
The reſt was craggy cliff, that overhung
Still as it roſe, impoſſible to climb.
Betwixt theſe rocky pillars Gabriel ſat,

Chief

ſpaces in equal times. This is true (as Dr. Pearce replies) in philoſophy, but in poetry it is uſual to repreſent it otherwiſe. But I have a ſtronger objection to this verſe, which is that it ſeems to contradict what is ſaid before, ver. 353.

The ſun—was *haſting now with prone carreer*
To th' ocean iles,

and to reconcile them I think we muſt read *Had low deſcended*, or perhaps *Lowly deſcended*, or underſtand it as Dr. Pearce explains it, that the ſun deſcended *ſlowly* at this time, becauſe Uriel its Angel came on a ſun-beam to Paradiſe, and was to return on the ſame beam; which he could not well have done, if the ſun had mov'd on with its uſual rapidity of courſe.

549. — *Gabriel*] One of the Arch-Angels, ſent to ſhow Daniel the viſion of the four monarchies and the ſeventy weeks, Dan. VII. and IX. and to the Virgin Mary to reveal the incarnation of our Saviour, Luke I. His name in the Hebrew ſignifies *the man of God*, or *the ſtrength and power of God*; well by our author poſted as chief of the angelic guards placed about Paradiſe. *Hume.*

551. — *heroic games*] They were not now upon the watch, they awaited night; but their arms were ready. The Angels would not be idle, but employ'd themſelves in theſe noble exerciſes. So the ſoldiers of Achilles during his quarrel with Agamemnon, and ſo the infernal Spirits, when their chief was gone in ſearch of the new creation, II. 528.

Richardſon.

555. —— *gliding through the even*] That is thro' that part of the hemiſphere, where it was then evening. Evening (ſays Dr. Bentley) is no place of ſpace to glide thro': no more is day or night, and yet in the ſenſe, which I have given to *even*, Milton ſays in the next verſe but one *thwarts the night*, and elſwhere ſpeaks of *the confines of day*. Pearce. In ver. 792. Uriel is ſaid to be arriv'd from *the ſun's decline*, which is no more a place than the evening, but beautifully poetical; and juſtify'd by Virgil, Georg. IV. 59. where a ſwarm of bees ſails thro' the glowing ſummer:

Nare per æſtatem liquidam ſuſpexeris agmen.

Richardſon.

556. *On a ſun beam,*] Uriel's gliding down to the earth upon a ſun-beam, with the poet's device to make him *deſcend*, as well in his re-

turn

Chief of th' angelic guards, awaiting night;
About him exercis'd heroic games
Th' unarmed youth of Heav'n, but nigh at hand
Celeſtial armoury, ſhields, helms, and ſpears,
Hung high with diamond flaming, and with gold.
Thither came Uriel, gliding through the even
On a ſun beam, ſwift as a ſhooting ſtar

In

turn to the ſun, as in his coming from it, is a prettineſs that might have been admired in a little fanciful poet, but ſeems below the genius of Milton. The deſcription of the hoſt of armed Angels walking their nightly round in Paradiſe, is of another ſpirit,

So ſaying, on he led his radiant files
Dazling the moon;

as that account of the hymns which our firſt parents uſed to hear them ſing in theſe their midnight walks, is altogether divine, and inexpreſſibly amuſing to the imagination.

Addiſon.

As Uriel was coming from the ſun to the earth, his coming upon a ſun-beam was the moſt direct and level courſe that he could take; for the ſun's rays were now pointed right againſt the eaſtern gate of Paradiſe, where Gabriel was ſitting, and to whom Uriel was going. And the thought of making him glide *on a ſun beam*, I have been inform'd, is taken from ſome capital picture of ſome great Italian maſter, where an Angel is made to deſcend in like manner.

556. — *ſwift as a ſhooting ſtar* &c.] Homer in like manner compares Minerva's deſcent from Heaven to a ſhooting ſtar, Iliad. IV. 74.

Βη δ' ε κατ' ολυμποιο καρηνων αιξασα.
Οιον δ' αστερα ηκε Κρονω παις αγκυλομητεω,
Η ναυτησι τερας, η στρατῳ ευρεϊ λαων,
Λαμπρον· τω δ' ε τε πολλοι απο αστινθηρες ιενται.

Where Dr. Clarke ſays, Non τον λεγομενον κομητην, ut Scholiaſtes malè (and ſo likewiſe Mr. Pope tranſlates it) ſed ſtellæ trajectionem. The fall of Phaeton is illuſtrated with the ſame compariſon by Ovid, Met. II. 320.

Volvitur in præceps, longoque per aera tractu
Fertur; ut interdum de cœlo ſtella ſereno,
Etſi non cecidit, potuit cecidiſſe videri.

The breathleſs Phaeton, with flaming hair,
Shot from the chariot, like a falling ſtar,
That in a ſummer's evening from the top
Of Heav'n drops down, or ſeems at leaſt to drop. Addiſon.

Milton adds that this ſhooting ſtar *thwarts* or croſſes the night *in autumn*, becauſe then theſe phænomena are moſt common after the heat of ſummer, when the vapors taking fire make violent impreſſions and agitations in the air, and they uſually portend tempeſtuous weather, as

In autumn thwarts the night, when vapors fir'd
Impreſs the air, and ſhows the mariner
From what point of his compaſs to beware
Impetuous winds: he thus began in haſte.
  Gabriel, to thee thy courſe by lot hath given
Charge and ſtrict watch, that to this happy place
No evil thing approach or enter in.
This day at highth of noon came to my ſphere
A Spirit, zealous, as he ſeem'd, to know
More of th' Almighty's works, and chiefly Man,
God's lateſt image: I deſcrib'd his way
Bent all on ſpeed, and mark'd his aery gate;
But in the mount that lies from Eden north,
Where he firſt lighted, ſoon diſcern'd his looks
Alien from Heav'n, with paſſions foul obſcur'd:
Mine

as Virgil himſelf has noted long ago, Georg. I. 365.

Sæpe etiam ſtellas vento impendente videbis
Præcipites cœlo labi, noctiſque per umbram
Flammarum longos a tergo albeſcere tractus.

And oft before tempeſtuous winds ariſe,
The ſeeming ſtars fall headlong from the ſkies;
And ſhooting through the darkneſs gild the night
With ſweeping glories, and long trails of light.
Dryden.

560. — *he thus began in haſte.*] This abruptneſs is here very elegant and proper to expreſs the haſte that he was in.

561. —— *thy courſe by lot*] He ſpeaks as if the Angels had their particular courſes and offices aſſign'd by lot, as the prieſts had in the ſervice of the temple. See 1 Chron. XXIV. and Luke I. 8, 9.

563. *No evil thing approach or enter in.*] Dr. Bentley objects, that the natural order is inverted,

Mine eye purſued him ſtill, but under ſhade
Loſt ſight of him: one of the baniſh'd crew,
I fear, hath ventur'd from the deep, to raiſe
New troubles; him thy care muſt be to find.
To whom the winged warrior thus return'd.
Uriel, no wonder if thy perfect ſight,
Amid the ſun's bright circle where thou ſitſt,
See far and wide: in at this gate none paſs
The vigilance here plac'd, but ſuch as come
Well known from Heav'n; and ſince meridian hour
No creature thence: if Spi'rit of other ſort,
So minded, have o'erleap'd theſe earthy bounds
On purpoſe, hard thou know'ſt it to exclude
Spiritual ſubſtance with corporeal bar.
But if within the circuit of theſe walks,

In

inverted, *enter* after *approach*; for if the very approach was ſtopt, the entrance was impoſſible. But the order ſeems rightly obſerved in the common reading, if we allow the ſenſe to be this, Not to ſuffer any *evil thing to approach*, or at leaſt to *enter in*. Pearce.

567. *God's lateſt image:*] For the firſt was Chriſt, and before Man were the Angels. So in III. 151. Man is called God's *youngeſt ſon.*

567. —— *I deſcrib'd his way*] Some read *deſcry'd*, but *deſcrib'd* is propereſt. He *deſcrib'd* to Satan or ſhow'd him the way to Paradiſe, as it is ſaid he did in III. 722, 733. *and mark'd his aery gate*; For it was ſportive *in many an aery wheel*, as we read in the concluſion of the third book; and it was well taken notice of there, as ſuch uſe is made of it here. And the ſame we may obſerve of the turbulent paſſions diſcover'd in him on mount Niphates in this book, ver. 125—130. Uriel mark'd them then, and reports them now.

In whatſoever ſhape he lurk, of whom
Thou tell'ſt, by morrow dawning I ſhall know.
So promis'd he; and Uriel to his charge
Return'd on that bright beam, whoſe point now rais'd
Bore him ſlope downward to the ſun now fall'n
Beneath th' Azores; whether the prime orb,
Incredible how ſwift, had thither roll'd
Diurnal,

590. *Return'd on that bright beam, whoſe point now rais'd*] He ſuppoſes, that he ſlides back on the ſame beam that he came upon; which ſun-beam he conſiders not as a flowing punctum of light, but as a continued rod extending from ſun to earth. The extremity of this rod, while Uriel was diſcourſing, and the ſun gradually deſcending, muſt needs be raiſed up higher than when he came upon it; and conſequently the rod *bore him ſlope downward* back again. This has been repreſented as a pretty device, but below the genius of Milton, [See Mr. Addiſon's remark on ver. 556.] To make Uriel *deſcend*, for more eaſe and expedition, both in his way *from* the ſun, and *to* the ſun again. But Milton had no ſuch device here: he makes Uriel come from the ſun, not on a *deſcending*, but on a *level* ray, ver. 541, from the ſun's *right aſpect* to the eaſt in the very margin of the horizon. Here's no trick then or device; but perhaps a too great affectation to ſhow his philoſophy; as in the next lines, on this common occaſion of the ſun's ſetting, he ſtarts a doubt whether that is produc'd in the Ptolemaic or Copernican way. But this little foible he makes ample amends for. *Bentley.*

592. *Beneath th' Azores;*] They are ilands in the great Atlantic or weſtern ocean; nine in number; commonly call'd the Terceras, from one of them. Some confound the Canaries with them. *Hume* and *Richardſon.*

592. —— *whether the prime orb*, &c.] The ſun was *now fall'n beneath th' Azores*, with three ſyllables, for ſo it is to be pronounc'd: *whether*, not *whither* as in Milton's own editions, *the prime orb*, the ſun, *had roll'd thither diurnal*, that is in a day's time, with an incredible ſwift motion; *or this leſs volúbil earth*, with the ſecond ſyllable long as it is in the Latin *volubilis*,

Impubeſque manus mirata volubile buxum.
Virg. Æn. VII. 382.

he writes it *voluble* when he makes the ſecond ſyllable ſhort as in IX. 436. *by ſhorter flight to the eaſt, had left him there* at the Azores, it being a leſs motion for the earth to move from weſt to eaſt upon its own axis according to the ſyſtem of Copernicus, than for the Heavens and heavenly bodies to move from eaſt to weſt according to the ſyſtem of Ptolomy. Our author in like manner, III. 575. queſtions whether the ſun was in the center of the world or not,

Diurnal, or this leſs volúbil earth,
By ſhorter flight to th' eaſt, had left him there
Arraying with reflected purple and gold
The clouds that on his weſtern throne attend.
Now came ſtill evening on, and twilight gray
Had in her ſober livery all things clad;
Silence accompanied; for beaſt and bird,

They

not, ſo ſcrupulous was he in declaring for any ſyſtem of philoſophy.

598. *Now came ſtill evening on*, &c.] This is the firſt evening in the poem; for the action of the preceding books lying out of the ſphere of the ſun, the time could not be computed. When Satan came firſt to the earth, and made that famous ſoliloquy at the beginning of this book, the ſun was *high in his meridian tower*; and this is the evening of that day; and ſurely there never was a finer evening; words cannot furniſh out a more lovely deſcription. The greateſt poets in all ages have as it were vy'd one with another in their deſcriptions of evening and night; but for the variety of numbers and pleaſing images I know of nothing parallel or comparable to this to be found among all the treaſures of ancient or modern poetry. There is no need to point out the beauties of it; it muſt charm every body, who does but read it or hear it. I can recollect only one deſcription fit to be mention'd after this, and that is of a fine moonſhiny night by way of ſimilitude in Homer, Iliad VIII. 551. where Mr. Pope has taken more than ordinary pains to make the tranſlation excellent as the original.

Ως δ' οτ' εν ϑρανῳ αϛρα φαεινην αμφι σεληνην
Φαινετ' αριπρεπεα, οτε τ' επλετο νηνεμος αιθηρ,
Εκ τ' εφανον ϖασαι σκοπιαι, και ϖρωονες ακροι,
Και ναπαι· ϑρανοϑεν δ' αρ' υπερραγη ασπετος αιθηϛ,
Παντα δε τ' ειδεται αϛρα· γεγηθε δε τε φρενα ϖοιμην.

As when the moon, refulgent lamp of night,
O'er Heav'n's clear azure ſpreads her ſacred light,
When not a breath diſturbs the deep ſerene,
And not a cloud o'ercaſts the ſolemn ſcene;
Around her throne the vivid planets roll,
And ſtars unnumber'd gild the glowing pole,
O'er the dark trees a yellower verdure ſhed,
And tip with ſilver every mountain's head;
Then ſhine the vales, the rocks in proſpect riſe,
A flood of glory burſts from all the ſkies:
The conſcious ſwains, rejoicing in the ſight,
Eye the blue vault, and bleſs the uſeful light.

Milton's deſcription, we ſee, leaves off, where Homer's begins; and tho' the quotation is ſomewhat long, yet I am perſuaded the reader cannot but be pleas'd with it, as it is a ſort of continuation of the ſame beautiful ſcene.

They to their graſſy couch, theſe to their neſts
Were ſlunk, all but the wakeful nightingale;
She all night long her amorous deſcant ſung;
Silence was pleas'd: now glow'd the firmament
With living ſaphirs: Heſperus, that led
The ſtarry hoſt, rode brighteſt, till the moon
Riſing in clouded majeſty, at length
Apparent queen unveil'd her peerleſs light,
And o'er the dark her ſilver mantle threw.

When Adam thus to Eve. Fair Conſort, th' hour
Of night, and all things now retir'd to reſt
Mind us of like repoſe, ſince God hath ſet
Labor and reſt, as day and night, to men
Succeſſive; and the timely dew of ſleep
Now falling with ſoft ſlumbrous weight inclines
Our eye-lids: other creatures all day long
Rove idle unemploy'd, and leſs need reſt;
Man hath his daily work of body or mind
Appointed,

627. *Our walk*] In the firſt edition it was *our walks*, in the ſecond and all following *our walk*.

628. *That mock our ſcant manuring*,] Manuring is not here to be underſtood in the common ſenſe, but as working with hands, as the French *manouvrer*; 'tis, as immediately after, to lop, to rid away what is ſcatter'd.
Richardſon.

635. *My Author and Diſpoſer*,] *For whom and*

Appointed, which declares his dignity,
And the regard of Heav'n on all his ways;
While other animals unactive range,
And of their doings God takes no account.
To morrow ere freſh morning ſtreak the eaſt
With firſt approach of light, we muſt be riſen,
And at our pleaſant labor, to reform
Yon flow'ry arbors, yonder alleys green,
Our walk at noon, with branches overgrown,
That mock our ſcant manuring, and require
More hands than ours to lop their wanton growth:
Thoſe bloſſoms alſo, and thoſe dropping gums,
That lie beſtrown unſightly and unſmooth,
Ask riddance, if we mean to tread with eaſe;
Mean while, as Nature wills, night bids us reſt.
To whom thus Eve with perfect beauty adorn'd.
My Author and Diſpoſer, what thou bidſt
Unargued I obey; ſo God ordains;

God

and from whom I was form'd in our poet's own words, ver. 440. *My Author*, the author of my being, out of whom I was made. *Hume.*

We have another view of our firſt parents in their evening diſcourſes, which is full of pleaſing images and ſentiments ſuitable to their condition and characters. The ſpeech of Eve in particular is dreſſed up in ſuch a ſoft and natural turn of the words, as cannot be ſufficiently admired, *Addiſon.*

640. *All*

God is thy law, thou mine: to know no more
Is woman's happieſt knowledge and her praiſe.
With thee converſing I forget all time;
All ſeaſons and their change, all pleaſe alike.
Sweet is the breath of morn, her riſing ſweet,
With charm of earlieſt birds; pleaſant the ſun,
When firſt on this delightful land he ſpreads
His orient beams, on herb, tree, fruit, and flower,
Gliſt'ring with dew; fragrant the fertil earth
After ſoft ſhow'rs; and ſweet the coming on
Of grateful evening mild; then ſilent night
With this her ſolemn bird, and this fair moon,
And theſe the gems of Heav'n, her ſtarry train:

But

640. *All ſeaſons and their change,*] We ſhould underſtand here the ſeaſons of the day, and not of the year. So in VIII. 69. we read

His *ſeaſons*, hours, or days, or months, or years:

and in IX. 200. he ſays Adam and Eve partake *the ſeaſon prime for ſweeteſt ſents*, that is the morning. It was now an *eternal ſpring*, ver. 268. and we ſhall read in X. 677. of the changes made after the fall,

—— to bring in change
Of ſeaſons to each clime; elſe had the ſpring
Perpetual ſmil'd on earth with vernant flowers.

And we may farther obſerve, that Eve in the following charming lines mentions *morning*, *evening*, *night*, the times of the day, and not the ſeaſons of the year.

641. *Sweet is the breath of morn*, &c.] Mr. Dryden in his preface to Juvenal has obſerved upon our author, that he could not find any elegant turns in him either on the words or on the thoughts. But Mr. Addiſon in one of the Tatlers (N° 114.) quotes this delightful paſſage in vindication of Milton, and remarks that the variety of images in it is infinitely pleaſing, and the recapitulation of each particular image, with a little varying of the expreſſion,

But neither breath of morn, when ſhe aſcends
With charm of earlieſt birds; nor riſing ſun
On this delightful land; nor herb, fruit, flower,
Gliſt'ring with dew; nor fragrance after ſhowers;
Nor grateful evening mild; nor ſilent night
With this her ſolemn bird, nor walk by moon,
Or glittering ſtar-light without thee is ſweet.
But wherefore all night long ſhine theſe? for whom
This glorious ſight, when ſleep hath ſhut all eyes?
To whom our general anceſtor reply'd.
Daughter of God and Man, accompliſh'd Eve,
Theſe have their courſe to finiſh round the earth,
By morrow evening, and from land to land

In

preſſion, makes one of the fineſt turns of words he had ever ſeen. He farther obſerves, that tho' the ſweetneſs of theſe verſes has ſomething in it of a paſtoral, yet it excels the ordinary kind, as much as the ſcene of it is above an ordinary field or meadow.

648. *With this her ſolemn bird,*] The nightingale, *moſt muſical, moſt melancholy*, as he ſays elſewhere. She is call'd *the ſolemn nightingale*, VII. 435.

660. *Daughter of God and Man, accompliſh'd Eve,*] Mr. Pope in his excellent notes upon Homer, B. 1. ver. 97. obſerves, that thoſe appellations of praiſe and honor, with which the heroes in Homer ſo frequently ſalute each other, were agreeable to the ſtile of the ancient times, as appears from ſeveral of the like nature in Scripture. Milton has not been wanting to give his poem this caſt of antiquity, throughout which our firſt parents almoſt always accoſt each other with ſome title, that expreſſes a reſpect to the dignity of human nature.

661. *Theſe have their courſe*] I have preſum'd to make a ſmall alteration here in the text, and read *Theſe*, though in moſt other editions and even in Milton's own I find *Thoſe*; becauſe it is ſaid before, ver. 657.

But

In order, though to nations yet unborn,
Miniſtring light prepar'd, they ſet and riſe;
Leſt total darkneſs ſhould by night regain
Her old poſſeſſion, and extinguiſh life
In nature and all things, which theſe ſoft fires
Not only inlighten, but with kindly heat
Of various influence foment and warm,
Temper or nouriſh, or in part ſhed down
Their ſtellar virtue on all kinds that grow
On earth, made hereby apter to receive
Perfection from the ſun's more potent ray.
Theſe then, though unbeheld in deep of night,
Shine not in vain; nor think, though men were none,
That Heav'n would want ſpectators, God want praiſe:
Millions of ſpiritual creatures walk the earth
Unſeen,

But wherefore all night long ſhine *theſe?*

and afterwards, ver. 674.

Theſe then, though unbeheld in deep of night,
Shine not in vain;

both which paſſages evince that *Thoſe* here is an error of the preſs.

671. *Their ſtellar virtue*] As Milton was an univerſal ſcholar, ſo he had not a little affectation of ſhowing his learning of all kinds, and makes Adam diſcourſe here ſomewhat like an adept in aſtrology, which was too much the philoſophy of his own times. What he ſays afterwards of numberleſs ſpiritual creatures walking the earth unſeen, and joining in praiſes to their great Creator, is of a nobler ſtrain, more agreeable to reaſon and revelation, as well as more pleaſing to the imagination, and ſeems to be an imitation and improvement of old Heſiod's notion of good geniuſes, the guardians of mortal men, clothed with air, wand'ring every where through the earth. See Heſiod, I. 120—125.

682. *Celeſtial*

Unſeen, both when we wake, and when we ſleep:
All theſe with ceaſeleſs praiſe his works behold
Both day and night: how often from the ſteep
Of echoing hill or thicket have we heard
Celeſtial voices to the midnight air,
Sole, or reſponſive each to others note,
Singing their great Creator? oft in bands
While they keep watch, or nightly rounding walk
With heav'nly touch of inſtrumental ſounds
In full harmonic number join'd, their ſongs
Divide the night, and lift our thoughts to Heaven.
Thus talking hand in hand alone they paſs'd
On to their bliſsful bow'r; it was a place
Chos'n by the ſovran Planter, when he fram'd
All things to Man's delightful uſe; the roof
Of

682. *Celeſtial voices to the midnight air,*] Singing *to* the midnight air. So in Virg. Ecl. I. 57.

—— *canet* frondator *ad auras.*

For as Dr. Pearce obſerves there ſhould be a comma after *note*, that the conſtruction may be *Singing their great Creator to the midnight air.* And this notion of their ſinging thus by night is agreeable to the account given by Lucretius, IV. 586.

Quorum noctivago ſtrepitu, ludoque jocanti
Adfirmant volgò taciturna ſilentia rumpi,
Chordarumque ſonos fieri, dulceſque querelas,
Tibia quas fundit digitis pulſata canentum.

688. *Divide the night,*] Into watches, as the trumpet did among the Ancients, ſounding as the watch was relieved, which was called *dividing the night.*

—— cum buccina noctem
Divideret. Sil. Ital. VII. 154. *Richardſon.*

Of thickeſt covert was inwoven ſhade
Laurel and myrtle, and what higher grew
Of firm and fragrant leaf; on either ſide
Acanthus, and each odorous buſhy ſhrub
Fenc'd up the verdant wall; each beauteous flower,
Iris all hues, roſes, and jeſſamin
Rear'd high their floriſh'd heads between, and wrought
Moſaic; underfoot the violet,
Crocus, and hyacinth with rich inlay
Broider'd the ground, more color'd than with ſtone
Of coſtlieſt emblem: other creature here,
Beaſt,

694. *Laurel and myrtle,*] Virg. Ecl. II. 54.

Et vos, ô lauri, carpam, et te proxima myrte,
Sic poſitæ quoniam ſuaves miſcetis odores.
Hume.

698. *Iris*] The flower-de-luce ſo call'd from reſembling the colors of the Iris or rainbow. *Iris all hues*, that is *of all hues*, as a little before we have *inwoven ſhade laurel and myrtle*, that is inwoven ſhade *of* laurel and myrtle. Such omiſſions are frequent in Milton.

700. —— *the violet,*

Crocus, and hyacinth] Our author has taken this from Homer, who makes the ſame ſort of flowers to ſpring up under Jupiter and Juno as they lay in conjugal embraces upon mount Ida, Iliad. XIV. 347.

Τοισι δ' υπο χθων δια φυεν νεοθηλεα ποιην,
Λωτον θ' ερσηεντα, ιδε κροκον, ηδ' υακινθον
Πυκνον και μαλακον· ος απο χθονος υψοσ' εεργε.
Glad earth perceives, and from her boſom pours
Unbidden herbs, and voluntary flow'rs;
Thick new-born violets a ſoft carpet ſpread,
And cluſtring lotos ſwell'd the riſing bed,
And ſudden hyacinths the turf beſtrow,
And flamy crocus made the mountain glow.

Where Mr. Pope remarks that in our author the very turn of Homer's verſes is obſerved, and the cadence, and almoſt the words finely tranſlated.

703. *Of coſtlieſt emblem:*] *Emblem* is here in the Greek and Latin ſenſe for inlaid floors of ſtone or wood, to make figures mathematical or pictural:

Arte pavimenti atque *emblemate* vermiculato.
Bentley.

705. —— *In ſhadier bower*] So it is in the firſt

Beaſt, bird, inſect, or worm durſt enter none;
Such was their awe of Man. In ſhadier bower
More ſacred and ſequeſter'd, though but feign'd,
Pan or Sylvanus never ſlept, nor Nymph,
Nor Faunus haunted. Here in cloſe receſs
With flowers, garlands, and ſweet-ſmelling herbs
Eſpouſed Eve deck'd firſt her nuptial bed,
And heav'nly quires the hymenæan ſung,
What day the genial Angel to our ſire
Brought her in naked beauty more adorn'd,
More lovely than Pandora, whom the Gods
Endow'd

firſt edition; in the ſecond we read *In ſhadie bower*, but with ſuch a ſpace as is not uſual between two words, as if the letter r had occupy'd the room, and by ſome accident had made no impreſſion. *In ſhadier bower* marks more ſtrongly the ſhadineſs as well as the retiredneſs of the place, and the ſhadineſs is a principal circumſtance of the deſcription, and the bower is ſeldom mention'd but it is called *ſhady bower*, III. 734. V. 367, 375. *ſhady lodge*, IV. 720. *ſhady arborous roof*, V. 137. The purport of the ſimile then is this, There never was a more ſhady, more ſacred and ſequeſter'd bower, though but in fiction, than this was in reality. *Pan*, the God of ſhepherds, or *Sylvanus*, the God of woods and groves, *Wood-nymph*, or *Faunus*, the tutelary God of huſbandmen, were not even feign'd to enjoy a more ſweet receſs than this of Adam and Eve.

709. *With flowers*,] Milton uſually ſpells it *flours*, but here it is with two ſyllables *flowers*, which made me imagin that he writ always *flour* when it was to be pronounc'd as one ſyllable, and *flower* when it was to be pronounc'd as two ſyllables: but upon farther examination we find, that when he pronounces the word as one ſyllable, he ſometimes ſpells it *flower flow'r*, ſometimes *floure*, ſometimes *flouer*: and ſo likewiſe *bower* he ſpells differently *bower*, *bowr*, *bowre*; and *ſhower* likewiſe *ſhower*, *ſhowr*, *ſhowre*. It is fitting that all theſe ſhould be reduced to ſome certain ſtandard, and what ſtandard more proper than the preſent practice, and eſpecially ſince there are ſeveral inſtances of the ſame in Milton himſelf?

714. *More lovely than Pandora*, &c.] The ſtory is this. Prometheus the ſon of *Japhet*

Endow'd with all their gifts, and O too like
In ſad event, when to th' unwiſer ſon
Of Japhet brought by Hermes, ſhe inſnar'd
Mankind with her fair looks, to be aveng'd
On him who had ſtole Jove's authentic fire.
Thus at their ſhady lodge arriv'd, both ſtood,
Both turn'd, and under open ſky ador'd
The God that made both ſky, air, earth and heaven,
Which they beheld, the moon's reſplendent globe,
And ſtarry pole: Thou alſo mad'ſt the night,
Maker

(or Japetus) had ſtol'n fire from Heaven, *Jove's authentic fire*, the original and prototype of all earthly fire, which Jupiter being angry at, to be reveng'd ſent him *Pandora*, ſo call'd becauſe all the Gods had contributed their gifts to make her more charming (for ſo the word ſignifies). She was brought by *Hermes* (Mercury) but was not received by Prometheus the wiſer ſon of *Japhet* (as the name implies) but by his brother Epimetheus *th' unwiſer ſon*. She entic'd his fooliſh curioſity to open a box which ſhe brought, wherein were contain'd all manner of evils. *Richardſon.*

The epithet *unwiſer* does not imply that his brother Prometheus was unwiſe. Milton uſes *unwiſer*, as any Latin writer would *imprudentior*, for *not ſo wiſe as he ſhould have been.* So *audacior*, *timidior*, *vehementior*, *iracundior*, &c. mean *bolder*, &c. *quam par eſt*, than is right and fit, and imply leſs than *audax*, *timidus*, &c. in the poſitive degree. *Jortin.*

720. *Thus at their ſhady lodge arriv'd, both ſtood,*

Both turn'd, &c.] A great admirer of Milton obſerves, that he ſometimes places two monoſyllables at the end of the line ſtopping at the fourth foot, to adapt the meaſure of the verſe to the ſenſe; and then begins the next line in the ſame manner, which has a wonderful effect. This artful manner of writing makes the reader ſee them *ſtand* and *turn* to worſhip God before they went into their bower. If this manner was alter'd, much of the effect of the painting would be loſt.

And now arriving at their ſhady lodge
Both ſtood, both turn'd, and under open ſky
Ador'd the God &c.

723. —— *the moon's reſplendent globe,*
And ſtarry pole:] Virg. Æn. VI. 725.

Lucentemque globum lunæ, Titaniaque aſtra.

724 — *thou*

Maker omnipotent, and thou the day,
Which we in our appointed work employ'd
Have finiſh'd, happy in our mutual help
And mutual love, the crown of all our bliſs
Ordain'd by thee, and this delicious place
For us too large, where thy abundance wants
Partakers, and uncropt falls to the ground.
But thou haſt promis'd from us two a race
To fill the earth, who ſhall with us extol
Thy goodneſs infinite, both when we wake,

And

724. — *Thou alſo mad'ſt the night*, &c.] A maſterly tranſition this, which the poet makes to their evening worſhip. Moſt of the modern heroic poets have imitated the Ancients, in beginning a ſpeech without premiſing, that the perſon ſaid thus and thus; but as it is eaſy to imitate the Ancients in the omiſſion of two or three words, it requires judgment to do it in ſuch a manner as they ſhall not be miſſed, and that the ſpeech may begin naturally without them. There is a fine inſtance of this kind out of Homer, in the 23d chapter of Longinus. *Addiſon.*

I conceive Mr. Addiſon meant Sect. 27. and the inſtance there given is of Hector being firſt nam'd, and then of a ſudden introduced as ſpeaking, without any notice given that he does ſo. But the tranſition here in Milton is of another ſort; it is firſt ſpeaking of a perſon, and then ſuddenly turning the diſcourſe, and ſpeaking to him. And we may obſerve the like tranſition from the third to the ſecond perſon in the hymn to Hercules, Virg. Æn. VIII. 291.

—— ut duros mille labores
Pertulerit. Tu nubigenas, invicte, bimembres &c.

729. —— *and this delicious place*] Dr. Bentley reads *Thou this delicious place*, that is *Thou mad'ſt* &c. as in ver. 724. *Thou alſo mad'ſt the night*. Dr. Pearce chooſes rather to read thus,

—— the crown of all our bliſs
Ordain'd by thee *in* this delicious place.

The conſtruction no doubt is ſomewhat obſcure, but without any alteration we may underſtand the paſſage with Dr. Pearce thus, *and* thou mad'ſt *this delicious place*: or with Mr. Richardſon thus, *happy in our mutual help and mutual love*, the chief of all our bliſs, thy gift, *and* happy *in this delicious* Paradiſe: or thus, *happy in our mutual help and mutual love, the*

crown

And when we ſeek, as now, thy gift of ſleep.
This ſaid unanimous, and other rites
Obſerving none, but adoration pure
Which God likes beſt, into their inmoſt bower
Handed they went; and eas'd the putting off
Theſe troubleſome diſguiſes which we wear,
Strait ſide by ſide were laid; nor turn'd I ween
Adam from his fair ſpouſe, nor Eve the rites
Myſterious of connubial love refus'd:
Whatever hypocrites auſterely talk
Of purity and place and innocence,
Defaming

crown of all our bliſs, and of *this delicious place.*

735. — *thy gift of ſleep.*] Dr. Bentley reads *the gift*, and obſerves that it is word for word from Homer, who has the expreſſion frequently:

Κοιμησανθ' αρ' επειτα, και υπνω δωρον ελοντο.

But *thy gift* is right, for in ver. 612. Milton ſays that *God hath ſet labor and reſt to men ſucceſſive*; therefore ſleep is *God*'s gift: and Virgil (whom Milton oftner imitates than Homer) ſays of ſleep,

—dono Divûm gratiſſima ſerpit. Æn. II. 269.
Pearce.

744. *Whatever hypocrites* &c.] Our author calls thoſe, who under a notion of greater purity and perfection decry and forbid marriage as they do in the Church of Rome, *hypocrites*; and ſays afterwards that it is the doctrin of *our Deſtroyer*, in alluſion to that text of St. Paul, 1 Tim. IV. 1, 2, 3. *Now the Spirit ſpeaketh expreſsly that in the latter times ſome ſhall depart from the faith, giving heed to ſeducing Spirits and doctrins of Devils, ſpeaking lies in hypocriſy, having their conſcience ſeared with a hot iron, forbidding to marry*, &c.

750. *Hail wedded Love*, &c.] An ingenious friend has inform'd me, that this addreſs to wedded love is borrow'd from one of Taſſo's letters; *O dolce congiuntione de 'cuori, o ſoave unione de gli animi noſtri, o legitimo nodo*, &c. The quotation would ſwell this note to too great a length; but the reader, who underſtands Italian, may, if he pleaſe, compare the original

Defaming as impure what God declares
Pure, and commands to ſome, leaves free to all.
Our Maker bids increaſe; who bids abſtain
But our Deſtroyer, foe to God and Man?
Hail wedded Love, myſterious law, true ſource
Of human ofspring, ſole propriety
In Paradiſe of all things common elſe.
By thee adult'rous luſt was driv'n from men
Among the beſtial herds to range; by thee
Founded in reaſon, loyal, juſt, and pure,
Relations dear, and all the charities

Of

original with our author, and he will eaſily perceive what an excellent copier Milton was, as judicious in omitting ſome circumſtances as in imitating others. It is in one of Taſſo's letters to his relation Signor Hercole Taſſo, Lib. 2. p. 150. Edit. In Venetia. 1592.

750. — *myſterious law,*] That is including a myſtery in it, in the ſame ſenſe as *myſterious rites* are ſpoken of before. He plainly alludes to St. Paul's calling matrimony a *myſtery*, Eph. V. 32. No need then for Dr. Bentley's *myſterious league:* and his objection, that a *law* ſuppoſed to be *myſterious* is no law at all, is eaſily anſwer'd; for by *myſterious* he (Dr. Bentley) means, itſelf *hidden* or *conceal'd*; and Milton means, containing ſome hidden meaning in it, beſides the plain precept which appear'd.

Pearce.

752. —— *of all things common elſe.*] Dr. Bentley reads *'mong all things*; but *of* ſignifies *among* in this place, as it does in ver. 411. and in V. 659. VI. 24. and elſwhere.

Pearce.

756. —— *and all the charities*] *Charities* is uſed in the Latin ſignification, and like *caritates* comprehends all the relations, all the indearments of conſanguinity and affinity, as in Cicero De Officiis, I. 17. Cari ſunt parentes, cari liberi, propinqui, familiares; ſed omnes omnium caritates patria una complexa eſt. It is uſed likewiſe in this manner in the Italian, and by Taſſo in the place which our author is here imitating, *Ma la charita del fglivolo, e del padre.*

761. *Whoſe*

Of father, ſon, and brother firſt were known.
Far be' it, that I ſhould write thee ſin or blame,
Or think thee unbefitting holieſt place,
Perpetual fountain of domeſtic ſweets,
Whoſe bed is undefil'd and chaſte pronounc'd,
Preſent, or paſt, as ſaints and patriarchs us'd.
Here love his golden ſhafts employs, here lights
His conſtant lamp, and waves his purple wings,
Reigns here and revels; not in the bought ſmile
Of harlots, loveleſs, joyleſs, unindear'd,
Caſual fruition; nor in court amours,
Mix'd

761. *Whoſe bed is undefil'd and chaſte pronounc'd,*] In alluſion to Heb. XIII. 4. *Marriage is honorable in all, and the bed undefiled.* And Milton muſt have had a good opinion of marriage, or he would never have had three wives. And tho' this panegyric upon wedded love may be condemn'd as a digreſſion, yet it can hardly be call'd a digreſſion, when it grows ſo naturally out of the ſubject, and is introduced ſo properly, while the action of the poem is in a manner ſuſpended, and while Adam and Eve are lying down to ſleep; and if morality be one great end of poetry, that end cannot be better promoted than by ſuch digreſſions as this and that upon hypocriſy at the latter part of the third book.

769. *Or ſerenate, which the ſtarv'd lover ſings*] We commonly ſay *ſerenade* with the French, but Milton keeps, as uſual, the Italian word *ſerenate*, which the ſtarv'd lover ſings, *ſtarv'd* as this compliment was commonly pay'd *in ſereno*, in clear cold nights. Horace mentions this circumſtance, Od. III. X. 1.

Extremum Tanain ſi biberes, Lyce,
Sævo nupta viro, me tamen aſperas
Projectum ante fores objicere incolis
Plorares aquilonibus:

and in another of his odes he has preſerved a fragment of one of theſe ſongs, Od. I. XXV. 7.

Me tuo longas pereunte noctes,
Lydia, dormis.

776. *Now had night meaſur'd with her ſhadowy cone*] A cone is a figure round at bottom, and leſſening all the way ends in a point. This is the form of the ſhadow of the earth, the

Mix'd dance, or wanton mask, or midnight ball,
Or ſerenate, which the ſtarv'd lover ſings
To his proud fair, beſt quitted with diſdain.
Theſe lull'd by nightingales embracing ſlept,
And on their naked limbs the flow'ry roof
Show'rd roſes, which the morn repair'd. Sleep on,
Bleſt pair; and O yet happieſt, if ye ſeek
No happier ſtate, and know to know no more.

Now had night meaſur'd with her ſhadowy cone
Half way up hill this vaſt ſublunar vault,
And from their ivory port the Cherubim

Forth

the baſe of the cone ſtanding upon that ſide of the globe where the ſun is not, and conſequently when 'tis night there. This cone to thoſe who are on the darken'd ſide of the earth, could it be ſeen, would mount as the ſun fell lower, and be at its utmoſt highth in the vault of their heaven when it was midnight. The ſhadowy cone had now ariſen half way, conſequently ſuppoſing it to be about the time when the days and nights were of equal length (as it was X. 329.) it muſt be now about nine o' clock, the uſual time of the Angels ſetting their ſentries, as it immediately follows. This is marking the time very poetically.

Richardſon.

777. *Half way up hill*] The expreſſion is ſomething dark, but it's right. *Half way up hill*, half way towards midnight, the third hour of the night; *th' accuſtom'd hour* for the firſt military watch to take their rounds. Spenſer, Fairy Queen, B. 1. Cant. 2. St. 1.

Phœbus was climbing up the eaſtern *hill.*

Bentley.

777. — *this vaſt ſublunar vault,*] For the ſhadow of the earth ſweeps as it were the whole arch or vault of Heaven between the earth and moon, and extends beyond the orbit of the moon, as appears from the lunar eclipſes.

778. *And from their ivory port* &c.] We cannot conceive that here is any alluſion to the ivory gate of ſleep, mention'd by Homer and Virgil, from whence falſe dreams proceeded; for the poet could never intend to inſinuate that what he was ſaying about the angelic guards was all a fiction. As the rock was of alabaſter, ver. 543. ſo he makes the gate of ivory, which was very proper for an eaſtern gate,

Forth iſſuing at th' accuſtom'd hour ſtood arm'd
To their night watches in warlike parade,
When Gabriel to his next in pow'r thus ſpake.
Uzziel, half theſe draw off, and coaſt the ſouth
With ſtricteſt watch; theſe other wheel the north;
Our circuit meets full weſt. As flame they part,
Half wheeling to the ſhield, half to the ſpear.
From theſe, two ſtrong and ſubtle Spi'rits he call'd
That near him ſtood, and gave them thus in charge.
Ithuriel and Zephon, with wing'd ſpeed
Search through this garden, leave unſearch'd no nook;
But chiefly where thoſe two fair creatures lodge,
Now laid perhaps aſleep ſecure of harm.

This

gate, as the fineſt ivory cometh from the eaſt; *India mittit ebur*, Virg. Georg. I. 57. and houſes and palaces of ivory are mention'd as inſtances of magnificence in Scripture, as are likewiſe doors of ivory in Ovid, Met. IV. 185.

Lemnius extemplo *valvas* patefecit *eburnas*.

782. *Uzziel*,] The next commanding Angel to Gabriel; his name in Hebrew is *the ſtrength of God*, as all God's mighty Angels are.

Hume.

784. —— *As flame they part*,] This break in the verſe is excellently adapted to the ſubject. They part as the flame divides into ſeparate wreaths. A ſhort ſimile, but expreſſive of their quickneſs and rapidity, and of their brightneſs and the ſplendor of their armour at the ſame time. Homer in the ſecond book of the Iliad compares the march of the Trojans to the flame, but this ſimile is better ſuited to thoſe beings, of whom the Scripture ſays, *He maketh his angels ſpirits, and his miniſters a flame of fire.*

785. *Half wheeling to the ſhield, half to the ſpear.*] *Declinare ad haſtam vel ad ſcutum.* Livy. to wheel to the right or left.

Hume.

As all the Angels ſtood in the eaſtern gate, their

This evening from the ſun's decline arriv'd
Who tells of ſome infernal Spirit ſeen
Hitherward bent (who could have thought?) eſcap'd
The bars of Hell, on errand bad no doubt:
Such where ye find, ſeiſe faſt, and hither bring.
So ſaying, on he led his radiant files,
Dazling the moon; theſe to the bow'r direct
In ſearch of whom they ſought: him there they found
Squat like a toad, cloſe at the ear of Eve,
Aſſaying by his deviliſh art to reach
The organs of her fancy, and with them forge
Illuſions as he liſt, phantaſms and dreams,
Or if, inſpiring venom, he might taint
Th'animal

their right hand was to the north, *to the ſpear*; their left hand to the ſouth, *to the ſhield*. From *theſe* that wheel'd to the ſpear Gabriel calls out two: He himſelf then was in that company. *Shield* and *ſpear* for left hand and right, while the men are ſuppoſed in arms, gives a dignity of expreſſion, more than the common words have. *Bentley*.

788. *Ithuriel and Zephon*,] Two Angels having their names as indication of their offices. *Ithuriel* in Hebrew *the diſcovery of God*. *Zephon* in Hebrew *a ſecret* or *ſearcher of ſecrets*. Hume.

796. —— *and hither bring*.] Dr. Bentley reads *thither* to the oppoſit ſide, the weſt; where the parting ſquadrons would meet after their half circuits; and accordingly (ſays he) they brought Satan thither, to the *weſtern point*, ver. 862. But there are twelve lines ſince the *weſt* was mention'd, and that was in another ſpeech, at too great a diſtance for *thither* to be referred to it. It is not mention'd in this ſpeech, and I ſee no reaſon why we may not underſtand theſe words with Mr. Richardſon, *bring hither* that is to me whereſoever I happen to be.

804. *Or if, inſpiring venom*, &c.] So Virg. Æn. VII. 351. where the ſerpent, that the

Th' animal ſpirits that from pure blood ariſe
Like gentle breaths from rivers pure, thence raiſe
At leaſt diſtemper'd, diſcontented thoughts,
Vain hopes, vain aims, inordinate deſires,
Blown up with high conceits ingendring pride.
Him thus intent Ithuriel with his ſpear
Touch'd lightly; for no falſhood can indure
Touch of celeſtial temper, but returns
Of force to its own likeneſs: up he ſtarts
Diſcover'd and ſurpris'd. As when a ſpark
Lights on a heap of nitrous powder, laid
Fit for the tun ſome magazine to ſtore
Againſt a rumor'd war, the ſmutty grain
With ſudden blaze diffus'd inflames the air:
So ſtarted up in his own ſhape the Fiend.

Back

fury Alecto had flung upon Amata, creeps ſoftly over her,

Vipeream inſpirans animam ——
Pertentat ſenſus. *Richardſon.*

The conſtruction is, Aſſaying to reach the organs of fancy, and ſo to work upon her by phantaſms and dreams; or (aſſaying) if he might taint the animal ſpirits, which ariſe from pure blood as ſoft and gentle airs from clear rivers, and by tainting the animal ſpirits might raiſe at leaſt vain thoughts, if not ſinful actions.

816. *Fit for the tun*] 'Tis commonly call'd a *barrel*: but Milton for the ſake of his verſe, and perhaps for the ſake of a leſs vulgar term, calls it a *tun* from the French *tonneau*, any caſk or veſſel.

819. *So ſtarted up in his own ſhape the Fiend.*] His

Back ſtept thoſe two fair Angels half amaz'd
So ſudden to behold the griſly king;
Yet thus, unmov'd with fear, accoſt him ſoon.
Which of thoſe rebel Spirits adjudg'd to Hell
Com'ſt thou, eſcap'd thy priſon? and transform'd,
Why ſatſt thou like an enemy in wait,
Here watching at the head of theſe that ſleep?
Know ye not then, ſaid Satan fill'd with ſcorn,
Know ye not me? ye knew me once no mate
For you, there ſitting where ye durſt not ſoar:
Not to know me argues yourſelves unknown,
The loweſt of your throng; or if ye know,
Why ask ye, and ſuperfluous begin
Your meſſage, like to end as much in vain?
To whom thus Zephon, anſw'ring ſcorn with ſcorn.
Think

His planting himſelf at the ear of Eve under the form of a toad, in order to produce vain dreams and imaginations, is a circumſtance that ſurpriſes the reader; as his ſtarting up in his own form is wonderfully fine, both in the litteral deſcription, and in the moral which is concealed under it. His anſwer, upon his being diſcover'd and demanded to give an account of himſelf, is conformable to the pride and intrepidity of his character. Zephon's rebuke, with the influence it had on Satan, is exquiſitely graceful and moral. *Addiſon.*

834. *To whom thus Zephon,*] Zephon is very properly made to anſwer him, and not Ithuriel, that each of them may appear as actors upon this occaſion. Ithuriel with his ſpear reſtor'd the Fiend to his own ſhape, and Zephon rebukes him. It would not have been ſo well, if the ſame perſon had done both.

835. *Think*

Think not, revolted Spi'rit, thy ſhape the ſame,
Or undiminiſh'd brightneſs to be known,
As when thou ſtood'ſt in Heav'n upright and pure;
That glory then, when thou no more waſt good,
Departed from thee; and thou reſembleſt now
Thy ſin and place of doom obſcure and foul.
But come, for thou, be ſure, ſhalt give account
To him who ſent us, whoſe charge is to keep
This place inviolable, and theſe from harm.
So ſpake the Cherub; and his grave rebuke,
Severe in youthful beauty, added grace
Invincible: abaſh'd the Devil ſtood,
And felt how awful goodneſs is, and ſaw
Virtue in her ſhape how lovely; ſaw, and pin'd
His

835. *Think not, revolted Spi'rit, thy ſhape the ſame,*
Or undiminiſh'd brightneſs to be known,] Dr. Bentley judges rightly enough that the preſent reading is faulty; for if the words *thy ſhape the ſame* are in the ablative caſe put abſolutely, it is neceſſary that *undiminiſh'd* ſhould follow *brightneſs*: and accordingly the Doctor reads *Or brightneſs undiminiſh'd*; which order of the words we muſt follow, unleſs it may be thought as ſmall an alteration to read thus,

Think not, revolted Spi'rit, *by* ſhape the ſame
Or undiminiſh'd brightneſs to be known,

juſt as in I. 732. we have

—— his hand was *known*
In Heav'n *by* many a towred ſtructure high.
Pearce.

But without any alteration may we not underſtand *ſhape* and *brightneſs* as in the accuſative caſe after the verb *think?* Think not thy ſhape the ſame, or undiminiſh'd brightneſs

to

His loſs; but chiefly to find here obſerv'd
His luſtre viſibly impair'd; yet ſeem'd
Undaunted. If I muſt contend, ſaid he,
Beſt with the beſt, the ſender not the ſent,
Or all at once; more glory will be won,
Or leſs be loſt. Thy fear, ſaid Zephon bold,
Will ſave us trial what the leaſt can do
Single againſt thee wicked, and thence weak.
The Fiend reply'd not, overcome with rage;
But like a proud ſteed rein'd, went haughty on,
Champing his iron curb: to ſtrive or fly
He held it vain; awe from above had quell'd
His heart, not elſe diſmay'd. Now drew they nigh
The weſtern point, where thoſe half-rounding guards
Juſt

to be known now, as it was formerly in Heaven.

845. *Severe in youthful beauty, added grace*] Virg. Æn. V. 344.

Gratior et pulchro veniens in corpore virtus.

848. *Virtue in her ſhape how lovely*; &c.] What is ſaid here of *ſeeing Virtue in her ſhape how lovely* is manifeſtly borrow'd from Plato and Cicero, Formam quidem ipſam & quaſi faciem honeſti vides, quæ ſi oculis cerneretur, mirabiles amores (ut ait Plato) excitaret ſapientiæ. Cic. de Off. I. 5. as what follows, *ſaw and pin'd his loſs*, is an imitation of Juvenal,

Virtutem videant intabeſcantque relicta.

858. —— *went haughty on*,] Satan is afterwards led to Gabriel, the chief of the guardian Angels, who kept watch in Paradiſe. His diſdainful behaviour on this occaſion is ſo remarkable a beauty, that the moſt ordinary reader cannot but take notice of it.

Addiſon.

865. *Gabriël*

Juſt met, and cloſing ſtood in ſquadron join'd,
Awaiting next command. To whom their chief
Gabriël from the front thus call'd aloud.
O friends, I hear the tread of nimble feet
Haſting this way, and now by glimpſe diſcern
Ithuriel and Zephon through the ſhade,
And with them comes a third of regal port,
But faded ſplendor wan; who by his gate
And fierce demeanour ſeems the prince of Hell,
Not likely to part hence without conteſt;
Stand firm, for in his look defiance lours.

He ſcarce had ended, when thoſe two approach'd,
And brief related whom they brought, where found,
How

865. *Gabriël from the front*] *Gabriel* is pronounced here as a word of three ſyllables, tho' commonly it is uſed as only of two; a liberty which Milton takes in the names of the Angels.

866. *O friends, I hear* &c.] Gabriel's diſcovering Satan's approach at a diſtance is drawn with great ſtrength and livelineſs of imagination. *Addiſon.*

The learned Mr. Upton in his *Critical Obſervations on Shakeſpear* remarks that Milton in this whole epiſode keeps cloſe to his maſter Homer, who ſends out Ulyſſes and Diomede into the Trojan camp as ſpies, Iliad. X. 533.

Ω φιλοι ——
Ιππων μ' ωκυποδων αμφι κλυπ@ ϗατα βαλλει.
O friends, I hear the tread of nimble feet.

Ουπω ϖαν ειρητο επ@, οτ' αρ' ηλυθον αυτοι.
ver. 540.
He ſcarce had ended when thoſe two approach'd.

877. —— *with ſtern regard*] Anſwering to the Homeric δεινον δερκομεν@, Iliad. III. and υποδρα ιδων, torve intuitus, Iliad. IV. *Hume.*

878. —— *broke the bounds preſcrib'd*
To thy tranſgreſſions,] Dr. Bentley reads *tranſcurſions*; and Mr. Richardſon underſtands *tranſgreſſions* in the ſame ſenſe. But as Dr. Pearce obſerves,

How buſied, in what form and poſture couch'd.
To whom with ſtern regard thus Gabriel ſpake.
Why haſt thou, Satan, broke the bounds preſcrib'd
To thy tranſgreſſions, and diſturb'd the charge
Of others, who approve not to tranſgreſs
By thy example, but have pow'r and right
To queſtion thy bold entrance on this place;
Employ'd it ſeems to violate ſleep, and thoſe
Whoſe dwelling God hath planted here in bliſs?
To whom thus Satan with contemptuous brow.
Gabriel, thou hadſt in Heav'n th' eſteem of wiſe,
And ſuch I held thee; but this queſtion ask'd
Puts me in doubt. Lives there who loves his pain?

Who

obſerves, though it is right to ſay that *bounds* are *preſcrib'd* to hinder *tranſcurſions*, yet I think it is not proper to ſay, that *bounds* are *preſcrib'd to tranſcurſions*. And the common reading is juſtifiable: for though (as Dr. Bentley ſays) no bounds could be ſet to Satan's *tranſgreſſions*, but he could tranſgreſs in his thought and mind every moment; yet it is good ſenſe, if Milton meant (as I ſuppoſe he did) that the bounds of Hell were by God preſcrib'd to Satan's tranſgreſſions, ſo as that it was intended he ſhould tranſgreſs no where elſe, but *within* thoſe bounds; whereas he was now attempting to tranſgreſs *without* them. And by this interpretation we ſhall not underſtand *tranſgreſſions* in the ſenſe of the pure Latin, and *tranſgreſs* in the very next line in the uſual Engliſh acceptation, but ſhall affix the ſame notion both to the one and the other.

883. — *to violate ſleep*,] Shakeſpear in Macbeth has a ſtronger expreſſion, *to murder ſleep*; both equally proper in the places where they are employ'd.

887. —— *but this queſtion aſk'd*
Puts me in doubt.] Homer: Thou ſeemedſt a wiſe man formerly, Νυν δ' αφρονι φωτι εοικας.
Bentley.

Who would not, finding way, break looſe from Hell,
Though thither doom'd? Thou wouldſt thyſelf, no doubt,
And boldly venture to whatever place
Fartheſt from pain, where thou might'ſt hope to change
Torment with eaſe, and ſooneſt recompenſe
Dole with delight, which in this place I ſought;
To thee no reaſon, who know'ſt only good,
But evil haſt not try'd: and wilt object
His will who bound us? let him ſurer bar
His iron gates, if he intends our ſtay
In that dark durance: thus much what was ask'd.
The reſt is true, they found me where they ſay;
But that implies not violence or harm.

Thus he in ſcorn. The warlike Angel mov'd,
Diſdainfully half ſmiling thus reply'd.
O loſs of one in Heav'n to judge of wiſe,
Since Satan fell, whom folly overthrew,
And now returns him from his priſon ſcap'd,
Gravely

892. —— *to change*
Torment with eaſe,] We commonly ſay to change one thing *for* another, and Dr. Bentley would read *for eaſe* in this place: but *to change torment with eaſe* is according to the Latins, whom Milton often follows. *Glandem mutavit ariſtâ.* Virg. Georg. I. 8.

896. —— *and wilt object*
His will who bound us?] If theſe words are to be read with a note of interrogation as in all the

Gravely in doubt whether to hold them wiſe
Or not, who ask what boldneſs brought him hither
Unlicenc'd from his bounds in Hell preſcrib'd;
So wiſe he judges it to fly from pain
However, and to ſcape his puniſhment.
So judge thou ſtill, preſumptuous, till the wrath,
Which thou incurr'ſt by flying, meet thy flight
Sev'nfold, and ſcourge that wiſdom back to Hell,
Which taught thee yet no better, that no pain
Can equal anger infinite provok'd.
But wherefore thou alone? wherefore with thee
Came not all Hell broke looſe? is pain to them
Leſs pain, leſs to be fled? or thou than they
Leſs hardy to indure? courageous Chief,
The firſt in flight from pain, hadſt thou alledg'd
To thy deſerted hoſt this cauſe of flight,
Thou ſurely hadſt not come ſole fugitive.

To which the Fiend thus anſwer'd frowning ſtern.

Not

the editions, *thou* muſt be underſtood, and Dr. Bentley chooſes to read *and wilt thou' object*. It is a conciſe way of ſpeaking ſomewhat like that in II. 730. *and know'ſt for whom*. But I have ſometimes thought that the paſſage may be read without the note of interrogation, by joining it in conſtruction with what goes before; but aſking the queſtion gives a ſpirit and quickneſs to it.

Not that I leſs indure, or ſhrink from pain,
Inſulting Angel; well thou know'ſt I ſtood
Thy fierceſt, when in battel to thy aid
The blaſting volied thunder made all ſpeed,
And ſeconded thy elſe not dreaded ſpear.
But ſtill thy words at random, as before,
Argue thy inexperience what behoves
From hard aſſays and ill ſucceſſes paſt
A faithful leader, not to hazard all
Through ways of danger by himſelf untry'd:
I therefore, I alone firſt undertook
To wing the deſolate abyſs, and ſpy
This new created world, whereof in Hell
Fame is not ſilent, here in hope to find
Better abode, and my afflicted Powers
To ſettle here on earth, or in mid air;
Though for poſſeſſion put to try once more
What thou and thy gay legions dare againſt;

Whoſe

926. — *well thou know'ſt I ſtood*
Thy fierceſt,] Dr. Bentley reads *The fierceſt*, that is pain: but *Thy fierceſt* is right, and we may underſtand it with Dr. Pearce *Thy fierceſt attack*, or with Mr. Richardſon *Thy fierceſt enemy*. *Fierceſt* is uſed as a ſubſtantive, as our author often uſes adjectives. Dr. Pearce gives ſeveral inſtances, II. 278. *The ſenſible of pain*. XI. 4. *The ſtony from their hearts*. XI. 497. *His beſt of man*.

928. *The*

Whoſe eaſier buſineſs were to ſerve their Lord
High up in Heav'n, with ſongs to hymn his throne,
And practic'd diſtances to cringe, not fight.
  To whom the warrior Angel ſoon reply'd.
To ſay and ſtrait unſay, pretending firſt
Wiſe to fly pain, profeſſing next the ſpy,
Argues no leader but a liar trac'd,
Satan, and couldſt thou faithful add? O name,
O ſacred name of faithfulneſs profan'd!
Faithful to whom? to thy rebellious crew?
Army of Fiends, fit body to fit head.
Was this your diſciplin and faith engag'd,
Your military obedience, to diſſolve
Allegiance to th'acknowledg'd Pow'r ſupreme?
And thou, ſly hypocrite, who now wouldſt ſeem
Patron of liberty, who more than thou
Once fawn'd, and cring'd, and ſervily ador'd
Heav'n's awful monarch? wherefore but in hope
To

928. *The blaſting*] Thus 'tis in the firſt edition, the ſecond has it *Thy*; but 'tis wrong no doubt. The word occurs very often thereabouts, and probably occaſion'd the miſtake. The ſenſe requires it to be *The*. *Richardſon.*

945. *And practic'd diſtances to cringe, not fight.*] *With* is underſtood. *With ſongs to hymn his throne, and* with *practic'd diſtances to cringe, not fight.* Dr. Bentley has ſtrangely miſtaken it.

962 — *arreed*]

To diſpoſſeſs him, and thyſelf to reign?
But mark what I arreed thee now, Avant;
Fly thither whence thou fledſt: if from this hour
Within theſe hallow'd limits thou appear,
Back to th' infernal pit I drag thee chain'd,
And ſeal thee ſo, as henceforth not to ſcorn
The facil gates of Hell too ſlightly barr'd.
So threaten'd he; but Satan to no threats
Gave heed, but waxing more in rage reply'd.
Then when I am thy captive talk of chains,
Proud limitary Cherub, but ere then
Far heavier load thyſelf expect to feel

From

962. — *arreed*] To decree, to award.

965. —— *I drag thee*] The preſent tenſe uſed for the future, to ſignify the immediate execution of the menace. *Hume.* A Latiniſm, and very emphatical. *Quæ prima pericula vito.* Virg. Æn. III. 367. *Cui famula trador? Quem dominum voco?* Senec. Troad. 473. *Richardſon.*

966. *And ſeal thee ſo,*] This ſeems to allude *to the chaining of the dragon, that old ſerpent, which is the Devil and Satan,* mention'd in the Revelation: *And he caſt him into the bottomleſs pit, and ſhut him up, and ſet a ſeal upon him,* XX. 3. *Hume.*

971. *Proud limitary Cherub,*] Thou proud preſcribing Angel that preſumeſt to *limit* me, and appoint my priſon, according to Mr. Hume. Or rather *limitary*, ſet to guard the bounds; a taunt inſulting the good Angel as one employ'd on a little mean office, according to Mr. Richardſon. For *limitary* (as Dr. Heylin remarks) is from limitaneus. *Milites limitanei* are ſoldiers in garriſon upon the frontiers. So *Dux limitaneus.* Digeſt.

974. *Ride on thy wings,* &c.] This ſeems to allude to Ezekiel's viſion, where four Cherubims are appointed to the four wheels: *And the Cherubims did lift up their wings, and the wheels beſides them, and the glory of the God of Iſrael was over them above.* See Chap. I. and X. and XI. 22.

977. *While*

From my prevailing arm, though Heaven's king
Ride on thy wings, and thou with thy compeers,
Us'd to the yoke, draw'ſt his triumphant wheels
In progreſs through the road of Heav'n ſtar-pav'd.
While thus he ſpake, th' angelic ſquadron bright
Turn'd fiery red, ſharp'ning in mooned horns
Their phalanx, and began to hem him round
With ported ſpears, as thick as when a field
Of Ceres ripe for harveſt waving bends
Her bearded grove of ears, which way the wind
Sways them; the careful plowman doubting ſtands,
Leſt on the threſhing floor his hopeful ſheaves

Prove

977. *While thus he ſpake,* &c.] The conference between Gabriel and Satan abounds with ſentiments proper for the occaſion, and ſuitable to the perſons of the two ſpeakers. Satan clothing himſelf with terror, when he prepares for the combat, is truly ſublime, and at leaſt equal to Homer's deſcription of Diſcord celebrated by Longinus, or to that of Fame in Virgil, who are both repreſented with their feet ſtanding upon the earth, and their heads reaching above the clouds. *Addiſon.*

980. *With ported ſpears,*] With their ſpears born pointed towards him. A military term. *Hume.*

980. — *as thick as when a field* &c.] It is familiar with the poets to compare an army with their ſpears and ſwords to a field of ſtanding corn. Homer has a ſimile much of the ſame nature, comparing the motions of the army after Agamemnon's ſpeech to the waving of the ears of corn. Iliad. II. 147.

Ως δ' οτε κινησει Ζεφυρος βαθυ ληϊον ελθων
Λαβρος επαιγιζων, επι τ' ημυει ασαχυεσσιν·
Ως των πασ' αγορη κινηθη.

And as on corn when weſtern guſts deſcend,
Before the blaſt the lofty harveſts bend:
Thus o'er the field the moving hoſt appears,
With nodding plumes and groves of waving
ſpears. Pope.

987. *Like*

Prove chaff. On th' other ſide Satan alarm'd
Collecting all his might dilated ſtood,
Like Teneriff or Atlas unremov'd:
His ſtature reach'd the sky, and on his creſt
Sat horror plum'd; nor wanted in his graſp
What ſeem'd both ſpear and ſhield: now dreadful deeds
Might have enſued, nor only Paradiſe
In

987. *Like Teneriff or Atlas unremov'd:*] Well may Satan be liken'd to the greateſt mountains, and be ſaid to ſtand as firm and immoveable as they, when Virgil has applied the ſame compariſon to his hero, Æn. XII. 701.

Quantus Athos, aut quantus Eryx, aut ipſe coruſcis
Cum fremit ilicibus quantus, gaudetque nivali
Vertice ſe attollens pater Apenninus ad auras.

Like Eryx, or like Athos great he ſhows,
Or father Apennine, when white with ſnows,
His head divine obſcure in clouds he hides,
And ſhakes the ſounding foreſt on his ſides.
Dryden.

Mr. Hume ſays that the Peak of Teneriff is fifteen miles high, and Mr. Richardſon aſſerts that it is 45 miles perpendicular, if that be not a falſe print 45 for 15: but the utmoſt that we can ſuppoſe is that it is 15 miles from the very firſt aſcent of the hill till you come thro' the various turnings and windings to the top of all; for I have been aſſur'd from a gentleman who meaſur'd it, that the perpendicular highth of it is no more than one mile and three quarters.

988. *His ſtature reach'd the ſky,*] It is probable that beſides Homer's Diſcord, Iliad. IV. 443.

Ουρανῳ εστηριξε καρη, και επι χθονι βαινει,

and Virgil's Fame, Æn. IV. 177.

Ingrediturque ſolo, et caput inter nubila condit,

mention'd in a note above by Mr. Addiſon, he alluded likewiſe to that noble deſcription in the book of Wiſdom, XVIII. 16. *It touched the Heaven, but it ſtood upon the Earth.*

989. *Sat horror plum'd;*] Horror is perſonify'd, and is made the plume of his helmet; and how much nobler an idea is this than the horſes tails and ſphynxes and dragons and other terrible animals on the helmets of the ancient heroes, or even than the Chimæra vomiting flames on the creſt of Turnus, Æn. VII. 785.

Cui triplici crinita jubâ galea alta Chimæram
Suſtinet, Ætnæos efflantem faucibus ignes.

A triple pile of plumes his creſt adorn'd,
On which with belching flames Chimæra burn'd!
Dryden.

989. — *nor wanted in his graſp* &c.] This is ſaid to ſignify that he wanted not arms, tho' he was but juſt raiſed out of the form of a toad.

In this commotion, but the ſtarry cope
Of Heav'n perhaps, or all the elements
At leaſt had gone to wrack, diſturb'd and torn
With violence of this conflict, had not ſoon
Th' Eternal to prevent ſuch horrid fray
Hung forth in Heav'n his golden ſcales, yet ſeen
Betwixt Aſtrea and the Scorpion ſign,
Wherein

toad. He was repreſented as in arms, II. 812. when he was upon the point of engaging with Death; and we muſt ſuppoſe that his power, as an Angel, was ſuch, that he could aſſume them upon occaſion whenever he pleaſed.

991. —— *nor only Paradiſe* &c.] This repreſentation of what muſt have happen'd, if Gabriel and Satan had encounter'd, is imaged in theſe few lines with a nobleneſs ſuitable to the occaſion, and is an improvement upon a thought in Homer, where he repreſents the terrors which muſt have attended the conflict of two ſuch powers as Jupiter and Neptune, Iliad. XV. 224.

—— μαλα γαρ κε μαχης επυθονΤο και αλλοι,
Οιτερ νερτεροι εισι Θεοι, Κρονον αμφις εονΤες.

And all the Gods that round old Saturn dwell,
Had heard the thunders to the deeps of Hell.
Pope.

996. *Th' Eternal to prevent ſuch horrid fray*] The breaking off the combat between Gabriel and Satan, by the hanging out of the golden ſcales in Heaven, is a refinement upon Homer's thought, who tells us that before the battel between Hector and Achilles, Jupiter weighed the event of it in a pair of ſcales. The reader may ſee the whole paſſage in the 22d Iliad. Virgil before the laſt deciſive combat deſcribes Jupiter in the ſame manner, as weighing the fates of Turnus and Æneas. Milton, tho' he fetch'd this beautiful circumſtance from the Iliad and Æneid, does not only inſert it as a poetical embelliſhment, like the authors above mention'd; but makes an artful uſe of it for the proper carrying on of his fable, and for the breaking off the combat between the two warriors, who were upon the point of engaging. To this we may further add, that Milton is the more juſtify'd in this paſſage, as we find the ſame noble allegory in holy Writ, where a wicked prince, ſome few hours before he was aſſaulted and ſlain, is ſaid to have been *weighed in the ſcales, and to have been found wanting.* Addiſon.

997. —— *his golden ſcales,*] So they are in Homer χρυσεια ταλαΝτα, both where he weighs the deſtinies of the Greeks and Trojans in book the 8th, and the fates of Hector and Achilles in book the 22d. And this figure of weighing the deſtinies of men appear'd ſo beautiful to ſucceeding poets, that Æſchylus (as we are inform'd by Plutarch in his treatiſe *of Hearing the poets*) writ a tragedy upon this foundation, which he intitled ψυχοστασια or *the weighing of ſouls.*

998. *Betwixt Aſtrea and the Scorpion ſign,*] *Libra*

Wherein all things created firſt he weigh'd,
The pendulous round earth with balanc'd air
In counterpoiſe, now ponders all events,
Battels

Libra or the Scales is one of the twelve ſigns of the zodiac, as *Aſtrea* (or Virgo the Virgin) and *Scorpio* alſo are. This does as it were reallize the fiction, and gives conſequently a greater force to it. *Richardſon.*
This alluſion to the ſign Libra in the Heavens is a beauty that is not in Homer or Virgil, and gives this paſſage a manifeſt advantage over both their deſcriptions.

999. *Wherein all things created firſt he weigh'd*, &c.] This of weighing the creation at firſt and of all events ſince gives us a ſublime idea of providence, and is conformable to the ſtile of Scripture, Job. XXVIII. 25. *To make the weight for the winds, and he weigheth the waters by meaſure.* Chap. XXXVII. 16. *Doſt thou know the balancings of the clouds?* Iſaiah XL. 12. *Who weighed the mountains in ſcales, and the hills in a balance?* And then for weighing particular events ſince ſee 1 Sam. II. 3. *By him actions are weigh'd.* Prov. XVI. 2. *The Lord weigheth the ſpirits.* I do not recollect an inſtance of *weighing battels* particularly, but there is foundation enough for that in Homer and Virgil as we have ſeen; and then for *weighing kingdoms* we ſee an inſtance in Belſhazzar, and it is ſaid expreſsly, Dan. V. 26, 27. *God hath number'd thy kingdom, and finiſh'd it, thou art weighed in the balances.* So finely hath Milton improv'd upon the fictions of the poets by the eternal truths of holy Scripture.

1003. *The ſequel each of parting and of fight*;] Dr. Bentley reads *The ſignal each* &c. To underſtand which of theſe two readings ſuits the place beſt, let us conſider the poet's thought, which was this: God put in the golden ſcales two weights: in the one ſcale he put the weight, which was the *ſequel* (that is repreſented the conſequence) of Satan's *parting* from them; in the other ſcale he put the weight, which was the *ſequel* of Satan's *fighting:* neither of the ſcales had any thing in it immediately relating to Gabriel: and therefore Dr. Bentley miſtakes (I think) when he ſays, that the aſcending weight, Satan's, was the *ſignal* to him of defeat; the deſcending, Gabriel's, the *ſignal* to him of victory: they were both ſignals (if ſignals) to Satan only, for he only was *weigh'd*, ver. 1012; or rather they ſhow'd him what would be the conſequence both of his fighting and of his retreating. The ſcale, in which lay the weight, that was the *ſequel* of his *fighting*, by aſcending ſhow'd him that he was *light in arms*, and could not obtain victory: whereas the other ſcale, in which was the *ſequel* of his *parting* or retreating, having deſcended, it was a ſign that his going off quietly would be his wiſeſt and weightieſt attempt. The reader will excuſe my having been ſo long in this note, when he conſiders that Dr. Bentley and probably many others have miſunderſtood Milton's thought about the ſcales, judging of it by what they read of Jupiter's ſcales in Homer and Virgil; the account of which is very different from this of Milton; for in them the fates of the two combatants are weigh'd one againſt the other, and the deſcent of one of the ſcales foreſhow'd the death of him whoſe fate lay in that ſcale, *quo vergat pondere letbum:* whereas in Milton nothing is weigh'd but what

relates

Battels and realms: in theſe he put two weights
The ſequel each of parting and of fight;
The latter quick up flew, and kick'd the beam;

Which

relates to Satan only, and in the two ſcales are weigh'd the two different events of his retreating and his fighting. From what has been ſaid it may appear pretty plainly, that Milton by *ſequel* meant the conſequence or *event*, as it is expreſs'd in ver. 1001. and then there will be no occaſion for Dr. Bentley's *ſignal*; both becauſe it is a very improper word in this place, and becauſe a *ſignal of parting and of fight*, can be nothing elſe than a ſignal when to part and when to fight; which he will not pretend to be the poet's meaning. *Pearce.*
It may be proper, before we conclude, to produce the paſſages out of Homer and Virgil, whereof ſo much has been ſaid, that the reader may have the ſatisfaction of comparing them with our author, Iliad. VIII. 69.

Και τοτε δ' η χρυσεια πατηρ ετιταινε ταλαντα·
Εν δ' ετιθει δυο κηρε τανηλεγεω θανατοιο,
Τρωων θ' ιπποδαμων, και Αχαιων χαλκοχιτωνων·
Ελκε δε μεσσα λαβων, ρεπε δ' αισιμον ημαρ Αχαιων.
Αι μεν Αχαιων κηρες επι χθονι πυλυβοτειρη
Εζεθην· Τρωων δε προς ουρανον ευρυν αερθεν.

The Sire of Gods his golden ſcales ſuſpends,
With equal hand: in theſe explor'd the fate
Of Greece and Troy, and pois'd the mighty weight.
Preſs'd with its load the Grecian balance lies
Low ſunk on earth, the Trojan ſtrikes the ſkies. Pope.

The ſame lines, mutatis mutandis, are apply'd to Hector and Achilles in the 22d book, and there are thus tranſlated.

Jove lifts the golden balances, that ſhow
The fates of mortal men, and things below:
Here each contending hero's lot he tries,
And weighs with equal hand their deſtinies.
Low ſinks the ſcale ſurcharg'd with Hector's fate;
Heavy with death it ſinks, and Hell receives the weight.

The paſſage in Virgil is ſhorter, Æn. XII. 725.

Jupiter ipſe duas æquato examine lances
Suſtinet, et fata imponit diverſa duorum;
Quem damnet labor, et quo vergat pondere lethum.

Jove ſets the beam; in either ſcale he lays
The champion's fate, and each exactly weighs.
On this ſide life, and lucky chance aſcends:
Loaded with death, that other ſcale deſcends.
Dryden.

Every reader, who compares theſe paſſages with our author, muſt ſee plainly that tho' there is ſome reſemblance, yet there is alſo great difference. There are *golden ſcales* in Homer as well as in Milton; but Milton in ſome meaſure authorizes the fiction by making his ſcales the balance in the Heavens. In Homer and Virgil the combatants are weigh'd one againſt another; but here only Satan is weigh'd, in one ſcale the conſequence of his retreating, and of his fighting in the other. And there is this farther improvement, that in Homer and Virgil the fates are weigh'd to ſatisfy Jupiter himſelf, but here it is done only to ſatisfy the contending parties, for Satan to read his own deſtiny. So that when Milton

Which Gabriel ſpying, thus beſpake the Fiend.
Satan, I know thy ſtrength, and thou know'ſt mine,
Neither our own but giv'n; what folly then
To boaſt what arms can do? ſince thine no more
Than Heav'n permits, nor mine, though doubled now
To trample thee as mire: for proof look up,
And read thy lot in yon celeſtial ſign,
Where thou art weigh'd, and ſhown how light, how weak,
If thou reſiſt. The Fiend look'd up, and knew
His mounted ſcale aloft: nor more; but fled
Murm'ring, and with him fled the ſhades of night.

imitates a fine paſſage, he does not imitate it ſervily, but makes it as I may ſay an original of his own by his manner of varying and improving it.

1008. —— *ſince thine no more*
Than Heav'n permits, nor mine,] *Thine* and *mine* refer to *ſtrength*, ver. 1006. not to *arms* the ſubſtantive preceding. Dr. Bentley reads *ſtrength* inſtead of *arms*.

1012. *Where thou art weigh'd, and ſhown how light, how weak,*] He does not make the aſcending ſcale the ſign of victory as in Homer and Virgil, but of lightneſs and weakneſs according to that of Belſhazzar, Dan. V. 27. *Thou art weigh'd in the balances, and art found wanting*. So true it is, that Milton oftner imitates Scripture than Homer and Virgil, even where he is thought to imitate them moſt.

The end of the Fourth Book.

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THE

FIFTH BOOK

OF

PARADISE LOST.

THE ARGUMENT.

Morning approach'd, Eve relates to Adam her troubleſome dream; he likes it not, yet comforts her: They come forth to their day labors: Their morning hymn at the door of their bower. God to render Man inexcuſable ſends Raphael to admoniſh him of his obedience, of his free eſtate, of his enemy near at hand, who he is, and why his enemy, and whatever elſe may avail Adam to know. Raphael comes down to Paradiſe, his appearance deſcrib'd, his coming diſcern'd by Adam afar off ſitting at the door of his bower; he goes out to meet him, brings him to his lodge, entertains him with the choiceſt fruits of Paradiſe got together by Eve; their diſcourſe at table: Raphael performs his meſſage, minds Adam of his ſtate and of his enemy; relates at Adam's requeſt who that enemy is, and how he came to be ſo, beginning from his firſt revolt in Heaven, and the occaſion thereof; how he drew his legions after him to the parts of the north, and there incited them to rebel with him, perſuading all but only Abdiel a Seraph, who in argument diſſuades and oppoſes him, then forſakes him.

PARADISE LOST.

BOOK V.

NOW morn her roſy ſteps in th' eaſtern clime
Advancing, ſow'd the earth with orient pearl,
When Adam wak'd, ſo cuſtom'd, for his ſleep
Was aery light from pure digeſtion bred,
And temp'rate vapors bland, which th' only ſound
Of

1. *Now morn her roſy ſteps*] This is the morning of the day after Satan's coming to the earth; and as Homer makes the morning with *roſy fingers*, ροδοδακτυλος Ηως, Iliad. I. 477. *the roſy-finger'd morn*, ſo Milton gives her *roſy ſteps*, and VI. 3. a *roſy hand*. The morn is firſt gray, then roſy upon the nearer approach of the ſun. And ſhe is ſaid to *ſow* the earth &c. by the ſame ſort of metaphor as Lucretius ſays of the ſun, II. 211.

—— et lumine *conſerit* arva.

5.—*which th' only ſound* &c.] *Which* refers to *ſleep*, and not to *vapors* the ſubſtantive immediately preceding. I mention this becauſe it has been miſtaken. It is certainly more proper to ſay that the *ſound* of leaves and *ſong* of birds diſperſed *ſleep* than *vapors*. The expreſſion *only ſound* (as Dr. Pearce rightly obſerves) ſeems the ſame with that in VII. 123. *Only omniſcient*; in both which places *only* ſignifies *alone*; *the only ſound*, for there was none other; and it is to be underſtood as meant of the *matin ſong of the birds*, as well as of the *ſound of leaves and fuming rills*. *Fuming rills*, for fumes or ſteams riſe from the water in the morning according to ver. 186.

Ye Miſts and Exhalations that now riſe
From hill or *ſteaming* lake &c.

but they do not make a noiſe as *fuming*, but only as *rills*. *Aurora's fan*, the fanning winds among the leaves may be properly call'd the fan of the morning, and it is not unuſual to refer a thing which follows two ſubſtantives to the firſt of the two only. *Lightly diſpers'd*, Dr. Bentley ſays that *diſpel ſleep* is better than *diſperſe* it: but tho' to *diſpel ſleep* may be the more uſual expreſſion, yet to *diſperſe ſleep* may be juſtify'd by very great authority, for Sophocles makes uſe of the very ſame. Soph. Trachin. 998.

—— Και μη σκεδασαι
Τωδ' απο κρατος βλεφαρων Θ' υπνον.

And the ſhrill matin ſong of birds on every bough. So Evander is wak'd in Virgil, Æn. VIII. 456.

Evandrum

Of leaves and fuming rills, Aurora's fan,
Lightly diſpers'd, and the ſhrill matin ſong
Of birds on every bough; ſo much the more
His wonder was to find unwaken'd Eve
With treſſes diſcompos'd, and glowing cheek,
As through unquiet reſt: he on his ſide
Leaning half rais'd, with looks of cordial love
Hung over her enamour'd, and beheld
Beauty, which whether waking or aſleep,
Shot forth peculiar graces; then with voice
Mild, as when Zephyrus on Flora breathes,

Her

Evandrum ex humili tecto lux ſuſcitat alma,
Et matutini volucrum ſub culmine cantus.
The chearful morn ſalutes Evander's eyes,
And ſongs of chirping birds invite to riſe.
Dryden.

And Erminia likewiſe in Taſſo by the ſweet noiſe of birds, winds, and waters. Cant. 7. St. 5.

Non ſi deſtò fin che garrir gli augelli
Non ſentì lieti, e ſalutar gli albori,
E mormorare il fiume, e gli arboſcelli,
E con l'onda ſcherzar l'aura, e co' fiori.

The birds awak'd her with their morning ſong,
Their warbling muſic pierc'd her tender ear,
The murm'ring brooks, and whiſtling winds among
The rattling boughs and leaves, their part did bear. Fairfax.

16. *Mild, as when Zephyrus on Flora breathes,*] As when the ſoft weſtern gales breathe on the flowers. Exceeding poetical and beautiful. *Richardſon.*

21. —— *we loſe the prime,*] The prime of the day; as he calls it elſewhere

— that ſweet hour of prime, ver. 170.

and IX. 200.

The ſeaſon prime for ſweeteſt ſents and airs.

26. *Such whiſp'ring wak'd her,*] We were told in the foregoing book how the evil Spirit practiced upon Eve as ſhe lay aſleep, in order to inſpire her with thoughts of vanity, pride, and ambition. The author, who ſhows a wonderful art throughout his whole poem, in preparing the reader for the ſeveral occurrences that ariſe in it, founds upon the above-mention'd

Her hand ſoft touching, whiſper'd thus. Awake
My faireſt, my eſpous'd, my lateſt found,
Heav'n's laſt beſt gift, my ever new delight,
Awake; the morning ſhines, and the freſh field
Calls us; we loſe the prime, to mark how ſpring
Our tended plants, how blows the citron grove,
What drops the myrrh, and what the balmy reed,
How nature paints her colors, how the bee
Sits on the bloom extracting liquid ſweet.

Such whiſp'ring wak'd her, but with ſtartled eye
On Adam, whom embracing, thus ſhe ſpake.

O

tion'd circumſtance the firſt part of the fifth book. Adam upon his awaking finds Eve ſtill aſleep, with an unuſual diſcompoſure in her looks. The poſture in which he regards her, is deſcribed with a tenderneſs not to be expreſs'd, as the whiſper with which he awakens her, is the ſofteſt that ever was convey'd to a lover's ear. I cannot but take notice that Milton, in the conferences between Adam and Eve, had his eye very frequently upon the book of Canticles, in which there is a noble ſpirit of eaſtern poetry, and very often not unlike what we meet with in Homer, who is generally plac'd near the age of Solomon. I think there is no queſtion but the poet in the preceding ſpeech remember'd thoſe two paſſages which are ſpoken on the like occaſion, and fill'd with the ſame pleaſing images of nature, Cant. II. 10, &c. *My beloved ſpake and ſaid unto me, Riſe up, my love, my fair one, and come away; for lo the winter is paſt, the rain is over and gone, the flowers appear on the earth, the time of the ſinging of birds is come, and the voice of the turtle is heard in our land. The fig-tree putteth forth her green figs, and the vines with the tender grape give a good ſmell. Ariſe my love, my fair one, and come away.*—— Cant. VII. 11, 12. *Come, my beloved, let us go forth into the field, let us get up early to the vineyards, let us ſee if the vine floriſh, whether the tender grapes appear, and the pomegranate bud forth.* —— His preferring the garden of Eden to that,

—— where the ſapient king
Held dalliance with his fair Egyptian ſpouſe,
IX. 443.

ſhows that the poet had this delightful ſcene in view. *Addiſon.*

35 — *methought*

O ſole in whom my thoughts find all repoſe,
My glory, my perfection, glad I ſee
Thy face, and morn return'd; for I this night
(Such night till this I never paſs'd) have dream'd,
If dream'd, not as I oft am wont, of thee,
Works of day paſt, or morrow's next deſign,
But of offenſe and trouble, which my mind
Knew never till this irkſome night: methought
Cloſe at mine ear one call'd me forth to walk
With gentle voice, I thought it thine; it ſaid,
Why ſleep'ſt thou Eve? now is the pleaſant time,

The

35. —— *methought*

Cloſe at mine ear &c.] Eve's dream is full of thoſe *high conceits ingendring pride*, which we are told the Devil endevor'd to inſtil into her. Of this kind is that part of it where ſhe fancies herſelf awaken'd by Adam in the following beautiful lines,

Why ſleep'ſt thou Eve? *&c.*

An injudicious poet would have made Adam talk thro' the whole work in ſuch ſentiments as theſe: but flattery and falſhood are not the courtſhip of Milton's Adam, and could not be heard by Eve in her ſtate of innocence, excepting only in a dream produced on purpoſe to taint her imagination. Other vain ſentiments of the ſame kind in this relation of her dream will be obvious to every reader. Tho' the cataſtrophe of the poem is finely preſaged on this occaſion, the particulars of it are ſo artfully ſhadowed, that they do not anticipate the ſtory which follows in the ninth book. I ſhall only add, that tho' the viſion itſelf is founded upon truth, the circumſtances of it are full of that wildneſs and inconſiſtency, which are natural to a dream. *Addiſon.*

41. *Tunes ſweeteſt his love-labor'd ſong*;] Spenſer in his Epithalamion, a poem which Milton ſeems often to imitate, has it "*the* "*bird's love-learned ſong*. We muſt farther obſerve that our author takes great liberties in his uſe of the genders, ſometimes making *him* and *her* and *it* of the ſame thing or creature. We have a very remarkable inſtance in VI. 878.

Diſburden'd

The cool, the ſilent, ſave where ſilence yields
To the night-warbling bird, that now awake
Tunes ſweeteſt his love-labor'd ſong; now reigns
Full orb'd the moon, and with more pleaſing light
Shadowy ſets off the face of things; in vain,
If none regard; Heav'n wakes with all his eyes,
Whom to behold but thee, Nature's deſire?
In whoſe ſight all things joy, with raviſhment
Attracted by thy beauty ſtill to gaze.
I roſe as at thy call, but found thee not;
To find thee I directed then my walk;

And

Diſburden'd Heav'n rejoic'd, and ſoon repair'd
Her mural breach, returning whence *it* roll'd.

The nightingale, tho' it is the cock that ſings, he makes uſually of the feminine gender as in IV. 602.

—— the wakeful nightingale;
She all night long *her* amorous deſcant ſung.

See likewiſe III. 40. VII. 436. But here he ſays *his love-labor'd ſong*, as the ſpeech is addreſs'd to Eve. And for the ſame reaſon he ſays

—— Heav'n wakes with all *his* eyes,

tho' commonly he uſes Heaven itſelf in the feminine gender, as in VII. 205.

—— Heav'n open'd wide
Her ever during gates ——

and again, VII. 574.

—— He through Heaven
That open'd wide *her* blazing portals *&c.*

The reaſon of this alteration of the genders the judicious reader, when he examines each paſſage, will eaſily perceive.

44. — *Heav'n wakes with all his eyes,*] Here again he has his maſter Spenſer full in view, B. 3. Cant. 11. St. 45.

—— with how many eyes
High Heav'n beholds *&c.*

49. *To find thee I directed then my walk;*] So Ennius apud Ciceronem, De Divinat. I. 20.

—— ita ſola
Poſt illa, germana ſoror, errare videbar,
Tardaque veſtigare, et quærere te, neque poſſe
Corde capeſſere: ſemita nulla pedem ſtabilibat.

And on, methought, alone I paſs'd through ways
That brought me on a ſudden to the tree
Of interdicted knowledge: fair it ſeem'd,
Much fairer to my fancy than by day:
And as I wond'ring look'd, beſide it ſtood
One ſhap'd and wing'd like one of thoſe from Heaven
By us oft ſeen; his dewy locks diſtill'd
Ambroſia; on that tree he alſo gaz'd;
And O fair plant, ſaid he, with fruit ſurcharg'd,
Deigns none to eaſe thy load and taſte thy ſweet,
Nor God, nor Man? is knowledge ſo deſpis'd?
Or envy', or what reſerve forbids to taſte?
Forbid who will, none ſhall from me withhold
Longer thy offer'd good, why elſe ſet here?
This ſaid, he paus'd not, but with ventrous arm
He pluck'd, he taſted; me damp horror chill'd
At ſuch bold words vouch'd with a deed ſo bold:
But he thus overjoy'd, O fruit divine,

Sweet

53. *Much fairer to my fancy than by day:*] As the ſenſations are often more pleaſing, and the images more lively, when we are aſleep than when we are awake. And what can be the cauſe of this? Our author plainly thinks it may be effected by the agency of ſome ſpiritual being upon the ſenſory while we are aſleep.

56. — *his*

Sweet of thyſelf, but much more ſweet thus cropt,
Forbidden here, it ſeems, as only fit
For Gods, yet able to make Gods of Men:
And why not Gods of Men, ſince good, the more
Communicated, more abundant grows,
The author not impair'd, but honor'd more?
Here, happy creature, fair angelic Eve,
Partake thou alſo; happy though thou art,
Happier thou mayſt be, worthier canſt not be:
Taſte this, and be henceforth among the Gods
Thyſelf a Goddeſs, not to earth confin'd,
But ſometimes in the air, as we, ſometimes
Aſcend to Heav'n, by merit thine, and ſee
What life the Gods live there, and ſuch live thou.
So ſaying, he drew nigh, and to me held,
Ev'n to my mouth of that ſame fruit held part
Which he had pluck'd; the pleaſant ſavory ſmell
So quicken'd appetite, that I, methought,

Could

56. — *his dewy locks diſtill'd Ambroſia*;] So Virgil of Venus, Æn. I. 403.

Ambroſiæque comæ divinum vertice odorem Spiravere. —— *Hume.*

79. *But ſometimes in the air, as we, ſometimes* &c.] The words *as we* are ſo plac'd between the two ſentences, as equally to

Could not but taſte. Forthwith up to the clouds
With him I flew, and underneath beheld
The earth outſtretch'd immenſe, a proſpect wide
And various: wond'ring at my flight and change
To this high exaltation; ſuddenly
My guide was gone, and I, methought, ſunk down,
And fell aſleep; but O how glad I wak'd
To find this but a dream! Thus Eve her night
Related, and thus Adam anſwer'd ſad.

Beſt image of myſelf and dearer half,
The trouble of thy thoughts this night in ſleep
Affects me equally; nor can I like
This uncouth dream, of evil ſprung I fear;
Yet evil whence? in thee can harbour none,
Created pure. But know, that in the ſoul
Are many leſſer faculties, that ſerve
Reaſon as chief; among theſe fancy next
Her office holds; of all external things,

Which

to relate to both, and in the firſt ſentence the verb *be* is underſtood. *Pearce.*

93. —— *Thus Eve her night*
Related,] Thus Eve repeated her dream. *Night* for the viſions and dreams frequent in it. So Sil. Ital. III. 216.

Promiſſa evolvit ſomni, noctemque retractat.
Hume.

94. — *and*

Which the five watchful ſenſes repreſent,
She forms imaginations, aery ſhapes,
Which reaſon joining or disjoining, frames
All what we' affirm or what deny, and call
Our knowledge or opinion; then retires
Into her private cell when nature reſts.
Oft in her abſence mimic fancy wakes
To imitate her; but misjoining ſhapes,
Wild work produces oft, and moſt in dreams,
Ill matching words and deeds long paſt or late.
Some ſuch reſemblances methinks I find
Of our laſt evening's talk, in this thy dream,
But with addition ſtrange; yet be not ſad.
Evil into the mind of God or Man
May come and go, ſo unapprov'd, and leave
No ſpot or blame behind: Which gives me hope
That what in ſleep thou didſt abhor to dream,
Waking thou never wilt conſent to do.

Be

94. —— *and thus Adam*] Adam conformable to his ſuperior character for wiſdom inſtructs and comforts Eve upon this occaſion. *Addiſon.*

117. *Evil into the mind of God or Man*] *God* here muſt ſignify *Angel*, as it frequently does in this poem. For *God cannot be tempted with evil*, as St. James ſays (I. 13.) of the Supreme Being.

137. *But*

Be not diſhearten'd then, nor cloud thoſe looks,
That wont to be more chearful and ſerene,
Than when fair morning firſt ſmiles on the world;
And let us to our freſh employments riſe
Among the groves, the fountains, and the flowers
That open now their choiceſt boſom'd ſmells,
Reſerv'd from night, and kept for thee in ſtore.
So chear'd he his fair ſpouſe, and ſhe was chear'd,
But ſilently a gentle tear let fall
From either eye, and wip'd them with her hair;
Two other precious drops that ready ſtood,
Each in their cryſtal ſluce, he ere they fell
Kiſs'd, as the gracious ſigns of ſweet remorſe
And pious awe, that fear'd to have offended.
So all was clear'd, and to the field they haſte.
But firſt, from under ſhady arbo'rous roof

Soon

137. *But firſt, from under ſhady arbo'rous roof Soon as they forth were come* &c.] Dr. Bentley propoſes *arbor's roof:* I don't know why: he gives us no reaſon, and I can think of none. But if the Doctor has made a change, where there was no fault; he has let a very conſiderable fault in this paſſage eſcape without any change or obſervation. As the comma now ſtands after *roof*, the morning hymn of Adam and Eve is repreſented as ſaid by them (at one and the ſame time) *from under the roof*, and *in the open ſight of the ſun:* which is a contradiction. The ſenſe plainly requires that the comma ſhould be as we have plac'd it; and the conſtruction is, *But firſt they lowly bow'd adoring*, ver. 144. *as ſoon as they were come forth from under the roof of the arbor.*

Pearce.

145 — *each*

Soon as they forth were come to open ſight
Of day-ſpring, and the ſun, who ſcarce up riſen,
With wheels yet hovering o'er the ocean brim,
Shot parallel to the earth his dewy ray,
Diſcovering in wide landskip all the eaſt
Of Paradiſe and Eden's happy plains,
Lowly they bow'd adoring, and began
Their oriſons, each morning duly paid
In various ſtile; for neither various ſtile
Nor holy rapture wanted they to praiſe
Their Maker, in fit ſtrains pronounc'd or ſung
Unmeditated, ſuch prompt eloquence
Flow'd from their lips, in proſe or numerous verſe,
More tuneable than needed lute or harp
To add more ſweetneſs; and they thus began.

Theſe are thy glorious works, Parent of good,
Almighty,

145. —— *each morning duly paid*
In various ſtile;] As it is very well known that our author was no friend to ſet forms of prayer, it is no wonder that he aſcribes extemporary effuſions to our firſt parents; but even while he attributes ſtrains *unmeditated* to them, he himſelf imitates the Pſalmiſt.

153. *Theſe are thy glorious works*, &c.] The morning hymn is written in imitation of one of thoſe Pſalms, where in the overflowings of gratitude and praiſe the Pſalmiſt calls not only upon the Angels, but upon the moſt conſpicuous parts of the inanimate creation, to join with him in extolling their common Maker. Invocations of this nature fill the mind with glorious ideas of God's works, and awaken that divine enthuſiaſm, which is ſo natural to devotion. But if this calling

Almighty, thine this univerſal frame,
Thus wondrous fair; thyſelf how wondrous then!
Unſpeakable, who ſitſt above theſe Heavens,
To us inviſible, or dimly ſeen
In theſe thy loweſt works; yet theſe declare
Thy goodneſs beyond thought, and pow'r divine.
Speak ye who beſt can tell, ye ſons of light,
Angels; for ye behold him, and with ſongs
And choral ſymphonies, day without night,

Circle

upon the dead parts of nature is at all times a proper kind of worſhip, it was in a particular manner ſuitable to our firſt parents, who had the creation freſh upon their minds, and had not ſeen the various diſpenſations of Providence, nor conſequently could be acquainted with thoſe many topics of praiſe, which might afford matter to the devotions of their poſterity. I need not remark the beautiful ſpirit of poetry, which runs thro' this whole hymn, nor the holineſs of that reſolution with which it concludes. *Addiſon.* The author has raiſed our expectation by commending the *various ſtile*, and *holy rapture*, and *prompt eloquence* of our firſt parents; and indeed the hymn is truly divine, and will fully anſwer all that we expected. It is an imitation, or rather a ſort of paraphraſe of the 148th Pſalm, and (of what is a paraphraſe upon that) the Canticle placed after *Te Deum* in the Liturgy, *O all ye works of the Lord, bleſs ye the Lord*, &c. which is the ſong of the three children in the Apocrypha.

155. — *thyſelf how wondrous then!*] Wiſd. XIII. 3, 4, 5. *With whoſe beauty, if they being delighted, took them to be Gods; let them know how much better the Lord of them is: for the firſt author of beauty hath created them. But if they were aſtoniſhed at their power and virtue, let them underſtand by them, how much mightier he is that made them. For by the greatneſs and beauty of the creatures, proportionably the maker of them is ſeen.*

160. *Speak ye who beſt can tell*, &c.] He is *unſpeakable*, ver. 156. no creature can ſpeak worthily of him as he is; but ſpeak ye who are beſt able ye Angels, ye in Heaven; on Earth join all ye creatures, *&c.*

162. —— *day without night*,] According to Milton there was *grateful viciſſitude like day and night in Heaven*, VI. 8. and we preſume that he took the notion from Scripture, Rev. VII. 15. *They are before the throne of God, and ſerve him day and night in his temple.* But ſtill it was *day without night*, that is without ſuch night

Circle his throne rejoicing; ye in Heaven,
On Earth join all ye Creatures to extol
Him firſt, him laſt, him midſt, and without end.
Faireſt of ſtars, laſt in the train of night,
If better thou belong not to the dawn,
Sure pledge of day, that crown'ſt the ſmiling morn
With thy bright circlet, praiſe him in thy ſphere,
While day ariſes, that ſweet hour of prime.
Thou Sun, of this great world both eye and ſoul,
Acknow-

night as ours, for the darkneſs there is no more than *grateful twilight*, *Night comes not there in darker veil.* See ver. 645. of this book.

165. *Him firſt, him laſt, him midſt,*] Theocrit. Idyl. XVII. 3.

—— ενι πρωτοισι λεγεσθω,
Και πυματος, και μεσσος. ——

And then, how has Milton improv'd it by adding *and without end!* as he is celebrating God, and Theocritus only a man.

166. *Faireſt of ſtars,*] So Homer calls it, Iliad. XXII. 318.

Εσπερος, ος καλλιστος εν ουρανω ιστατ' αστηρ.

laſt in the train of night, and Ovid ſpeaks much in the ſame manner, Met. II. 114.

— Diffugiunt ſtellæ, quarum agmina cogit
Lucifer, et cæli ſtatione noviſſimus exit.

The ſtars were fled, for Lucifer had chas'd
The ſtars away, and fled himſelf at laſt.
Addiſon.

I don't know whether it is worth remarking that our author ſeems to have committed a miſtake. The planet Venus, when ſhe riſes before the ſun, is called Phoſphorus, Lucifer, and the Morning-Star; when ſhe ſets after the ſun is called Heſperus, Veſper, and the Evening Star; but ſhe cannot riſe before him, and ſet after him at the ſame time: and yet it may be objected that our author makes her do ſo; for deſcribing the laſt evening, he particularly mentions *Heſperus that led the ſtarry hoſt*, IV. 605. and the very next morning ſhe is addreſs'd as *laſt in the train of night*. If this objection ſhould be admitted, all we can ſay to it is, that a poet is not obliged to ſpeak with the ſtrictneſs and accuracy of a philoſopher.

Acknowledge him thy greater, ſound his praiſe
In thy eternal courſe, both when thou climb'ſt,
And when high noon haſt gain'd, and when thou fall'ſt.
Moon, that now meet'ſt the orient ſun, now fly'ſt,
With the fix'd ſtars, fix'd in their orb that flies,
And ye five other wand'ring fires that move
In myſtic dance not without ſong, reſound
His praiſe, who out of darkneſs call'd up light.
Air, and ye Elements, the eldeſt birth
Of Nature's womb, that in quaternion run
Perpetual circle, multiform; and mix
And nouriſh all things; let your ceaſeleſs change

Vary

173. *In thy eternal courſe,*] In thy fix'd and continual courſe. Thus Virgil calls the ſun, moon and ſtars *eternal fires*, Æn. II. 154. Vos, *æterni* ignes; and the ſacred fire that was conſtantly kept burning *eternal fire*, Æn. II. 297.

Æternumque adytis effert penetralibus ignem:

and uſes the adverb *æternum* in the ſame manner for continually. Georg. II. 400.

—— glebaque verſis
Æternum frangenda bidentibus.

175. *Moon that now meet'ſt the orient ſun, now fly'ſt*, &c.] The conſtruction is, *Thou Moon, that now meet'ſt and now fly'ſt the orient ſun, together with the fix'd ſtars, and ye five other wand'ring fires* &c. He had before called upon the *ſun* who governs the day, and now he invokes the *moon*, and the *fix'd ſtars*, and the *planets* who govern the night, to praiſe their Maker. The moon ſometimes *meets* and ſometimes *flies* the ſun, approaches to and recedes from him in her monthly courſe. *With the fix'd ſtars, fix'd in their orb that flies*; they are fix'd in their orb, but their orb flies, that is moves round with the utmoſt rapidity; for Adam is made to ſpeak according to appearances, and he mentions in another place, VIII. 19 and 21. their *rolling ſpaces incomprehenſible*, and their *ſwift return diurnal. And ye five other wand'ring fires.* Dr. Bentley reads *four*, Venus and the Sun and Moon being mention'd before, and only four more remaining, Mercury

and

Vary to our great Maker ſtill new praiſe.
Ye Miſts and Exhalations that now riſe
From hill or ſteaming lake, dusky or gray,
Till the ſun paint your fleecy skirts with gold,
In honor to the world's great Author riſe,
Whether to deck with clouds th' uncolor'd sky,
Or wet the thirſty earth with falling ſhowers,
Riſing or falling ſtill advance his praiſe.
His praiſe ye Winds, that from four quarters blow,
Breathe ſoft or loud; and wave your tops, ye Pines,
With every plant, in ſign of worſhip wave.
Fountains and ye, that warble, as ye flow,
Melodious

and Mars and Jupiter and Saturn. And we muſt either ſuppoſe that Milton did not conſider the morning ſtar as the planet Venus; or he muſt be ſuppoſed to include the earth, to make up the *other five* beſides thoſe he had mention'd; and he calls it elſewhere VIII. 129. *The planet earth*; tho' this be not agreeable to the ſyſtem, according to which he is ſpeaking at preſent. *Wand'ring fires* in oppoſition to *fix'd ſtars*. *That move in myſtic dance not without ſong*, alluding to the doctrin of the Ancients and particularly to Pythagoras his notion of the muſic of the ſpheres, by which no doubt he underſtood the proportion, regularity, and harmony of their motions. Shakeſpear ſpeaks of it more fully in his Merchant of Venice, Act V.

—— Look how the floor of Heaven
Is thick inlaid with patterns of bright gold:
There's not the ſmalleſt orb that thou behold'ſt,
But in his motion like an Angel ſings,
Still quiring to the young-ey'd Cherubim,
Such harmony is in immortal ſouls!
But whilſt this muddy veſture of decay
Doth groſsly cloſe us in, we cannot hear it.

181. —— *that in quaternion run* &c.] That in a fourfold mixture and combination run a perpetual circle, one element continually changing into another, according to the doctrin of Heraclitus, borrow'd from Orpheus. Et cum quattuor ſint genera corporum, viciſſitudine eorum mundi continuata natura eſt. Nam ex terra, aqua: ex aqua, oritur aer: ex aere, æther;

Melodious murmurs, warbling tune his praiſe.
Join voices all ye living Souls; ye Birds,
That ſinging up to Heaven gate aſcend,
Bear on your wings and in your notes his praiſe.
Ye that in waters glide, and ye that walk
The earth, and ſtately tread, or lowly creep;
Witneſs if I be ſilent, morn or even,

To

æther: deinde retrorſum viciſſim ex æthere, aer: inde aqua: ex aqua, terra infima. Sic naturis his, ex quibus omnia conſtant, ſurſus, deorſus, ultro, citro commeantibus, mundi partium conjunctio continetur. Cicero de Nat. Deor. II. 33.

197. ——*ye living Souls*;] *Soul* is uſed here as it ſometimes is in Scripture for other creatures beſides Man. So Gen. I. 20. *the moving creature that hath life*, that is *ſoul* in the Hebrew, and in the margin of the Bible; and ver. 30. *every thing that creepeth upon the earth, wherein there is life*, that is *a living ſoul.*

198. *That ſinging up to Heaven gate aſcend,*] We meet with the like hyperbole in Shakeſpear, Cymbeline, Act II.

Hark, hark! the lark at Heav'n's gate ſings;

and again in his 29th ſonnet,

Like as the lark at break of day ariſing
From ſullen earth ſings hymns at Heaven's gate:

and not unlike is that in Homer, Od. XII. 73. of a very high rock,

—— θρῆνυν εὐρὺν ἱκάνει
Ὀξείη κορυφῇ.
And with its pointed top to Heav'n aſcends.

202. *Witneſs if I be ſilent,*] Dr. Bentley thinks that Milton had forgot that both Adam and Eve ſhar'd in this hymn, and therefore he reads *if we be ſilent*, and in the next verſe but one *by our ſong:* But Milton rather imitates here the ancient chorus, where ſometimes the plural, and ſometimes the ſingular number is uſed. The ſame is practic'd by our poet in the ſpeeches of the chorus in Sampſon Agoniſtes, where the reader will ſee in every page almoſt that the number is thus varied. Dr. Bentley obſerves, that the whole hymn naturally divides itſelf into parts interlocutory, and that he has preſumed to put it ſo, tho' not warranted by any edition. But this is not Dr. Bentley's invention; for this hymn was ſet to muſic ſome years ago, and in that compoſition the ſeveral parts of it were aſſign'd diſtinctly to Adam and Eve. I think that ſuch interlocutory parts are by no means fit for an heroic poem: but if the author ſhould be ſuppoſed to have deſign'd them, I ſhould chooſe to divide this hymn very different from the Doctor's diviſion. [The Doctor aſſigns the firſt ſeven lines to Adam, thoſe of the Angels to Eve, thoſe of the Morning Star to Adam, thoſe of the Sun to Eve, thoſe of the Moon

to

To hill, or valley, fountain, or freſh ſhade
Made vocal by my ſong, and taught his praiſe.
Hail univerſal Lord, be bounteous ſtill
To give us only good; and if the night
Have gather'd ought of evil or conceal'd,
Diſperſe it, as now light diſpels the dark.
So pray'd they innocent, and to their thoughts
Firm

to Adam, of the Air and Elements to Eve, of the Miſts and Exhalations to Adam, of the Winds and Pines to Eve, of the Fountains and Rills to Adam, of the Creatures and Birds to Eve, of the Fiſhes and Beaſts to Adam, and the four laſt lines to Eve. But on the contrary Dr. Pearce ſays] The firſt ſeven and the four laſt verſes of this hymn I would ſuppoſe ſpoken by Adam and Eve together: and as to the other verſes, I would have Adam ſpeak all that the Doctor aſſigns to Eve, and Eve all that is now aſſign'd to Adam. In this method the mention of the fair Morning Star, the Moon, and Fountains and Rills will come to Eve's ſhare, and they are circumſtances which ſeem fitter for her to mention than her huſband. *Pearce.*

205. —— *be bounteous ſtill*
To give us only good;] He had his thought, as Dr. Bentley remarks, on that celebrated prayer in Plato,

Ζευ βασιλευ, τα μεν εσθλα και ευχομενοις και ανευχ]οις
Αμμι δ]δ': τα δ' λυγρα και ευχομενων απερυκε.

O Jupiter give us good things, whether we pray for them or not, and remove from us evil things, even tho' we pray for them. And we learn from the firſt book of Xenophon's memoirs of his maſter Socrates, that Socrates was wont to pray to the Gods only to give good things, as they knew beſt what things were ſo. ευχετο δε ωρ@ τυς θευς απλως τ' αγαθα διδοναι, ως τυς θευς καλλιςα ειδοτας οποια αγαθα εςι. And to the ſame purpoſe there is an excellent collect in our Liturgy, for the eighth Sunday after Trinity, *We humbly beſeech thee to put away from us all hurtful things, and to give us thoſe things which be profitable for us.*

209. *So pray'd they innocent, and to their thoughts*
Firm peace recover'd ſoon and wonted calm.
On to their morning's rural work they haſte &c.]
Theſe verſes are thus pointed in the beſt, that is in Milton's own editions: but the latter ſentence begins very abruptly, *On to their morning's work* &c. Dr. Bentley therefore continuing the ſentence reads thus,

So pray'd they innocent; and to their thoughts
Firm peace *recov'ring* ſoon and wonted calm,
On to their morning's rural work they haſte &c.

Dr. Pearce thinks the ſentence ſufficiently continued

Firm peace recover'd ſoon and wonted calm.
On to their morning's rural work they haſte
Among ſweet dews and flow'rs; where any row
Of fruit-trees over-woody reach'd too far
Their pamper'd boughs, and needed hands to check
Fruitleſs embraces: or they led the vine
To wed her elm; ſhe ſpous'd about him twines
Her marriageable arms, and with her brings
Her dow'r th' adopted cluſters, to adorn
His barren leaves. Them thus employ'd beheld
With pity Heav'n's high king, and to him call'd
Raphael,

tinued in the common reading, if *recover'd* be a particle of the ablative caſe; and conceives this to be the conſtruction, *Peace and calm* being *recover'd to their thoughts, they haſte* &c. and accordingly points it thus,

—— and, to their thoughts
Firm peace recover'd ſoon and wonted calm,
On to their morning's rural work they haſte.

But perhaps the abruptneſs of the line

On to their morning's rural work they haſte

was deſign'd the better to expreſs the haſte they were in as they were later to day than uſual: Or perhaps with an eaſy alteration it may be read thus,

Then to their morning's rural work they haſte.

214. *Their pamper'd boughs,*] The propriety of this expreſſion will beſt be ſeen by what Junius ſays of the etymology of the word *pamper*. The French word *pampre* of the Latin *pampinus* is a vine-branch full of leaves: and *pamprer*, he ſays, is a vineyard overgrown with ſuperfluous leaves and fruitleſs branches. Gallis *pampre* eſt pampinus: unde iis *pamprer* dicitur vinea ſupervacuo pampinorum germine exuberans, ac nimia creſcendi luxuria quodammodo ſylveſcens.

216. *To wed her elm*;] Hor. Epod. II. 9.

— Aut adulta vitium propagine
Altas maritat populos:
Inutileſque falce ramos amputans,
Feliciores inſerit.

Adam and Eve are very well employ'd in *checking fruitleſs embraces*, and *leading the vine to wed her elm*; that is very fitly made the employment of a married couple, which is urged in

Raphael, the ſociable Spi'rit, that deign'd
To travel with Tobias, and ſecur'd
His marriage with the ſev'ntimes-wedded maid.
Raphael, ſaid he, thou hear'ſt what ſtir on Earth
Satan from Hell ſcap'd through the darkſome gulf
Hath rais'd in Paradiſe, and how diſturb'd
This night the human pair, how he deſigns
In them at once to ruin all mankind.
Go therefore, half this day as friend with friend
Converſe with Adam, in what bow'r or ſhade
Thou find'ſt him from the heat of noon retir'd,

To

in Ovid as an argument to marriage, Met. XIV. 661.

Ulmus erat contra ſpatioſa tumentibus uvis,
Quam ſocia poſtquam pariter cum vite probavit;
At ſi ſtaret, ait, cœlebs ſine palmite truncus,
Nil præter frondes, quare peteretur, haberet.
Hæc quoque quæ juncta vitis requieſcit in ulmo,
Si non nupta foret, terræ acclinata jaceret.

An elm was near, to whoſe embraces led,
The curling vine her ſwelling cluſters ſpread:
He view'd their twining branches with delight,
And prais'd the beauty of the pleaſing ſight.
Yet this tall elm, but for his vine (he ſaid)
Had ſtood neglected, and a barren ſhade;
And this fair vine, but that her arms ſurround
Her marry'd elm, had crept along the ground.
Pope.

And Virgil likewiſe has the metaphor of the vine embracing the elm, Georg. II. 367.

Inde ubi jam validis *amplexæ* ſtirpibus ulmos
Exierint:

and not only the poets, but Columella and the writers of ruſtic affairs frequently uſe the phraſes of *nupta vitis*, and *marita ulmus*.

222. *To travel with Tobias,*] In the book of Tobit the Angel Raphael travels with Tobias into Media and back again, and inſtructs him how to marry Sara the daughter of Raguel, and how to drive away the wicked Spirit who had deſtroy'd her former ſeven huſbands before they had knowledge of her. So *ſociable a Spirit* as this is very properly ſent to converſe with Adam upon this occaſion.

To reſpit his day-labor with repaſt,
Or with repoſe; and ſuch diſcourſe bring on,
As may adviſe him of his happy ſtate,
Happineſs in his pow'r left free to will,
Left to his own free will, his will though free,
Yet mutable; whence warn him to beware
He ſwerve not too ſecure: tell him withal
His danger, and from whom; what enemy,
Late fall'n himſelf from Heav'n, is plotting now
The fall of others from like ſtate of bliſs;
By violence? no, for that ſhall be withſtood;
But by deceit and lies; this let him know,

Left

235. *Happineſs in his pow'r left free to will,*] That is in the power of him left free to will.

247. —— *nor delay'd the winged Saint* &c.] Raphael's departure from before the throne, and his flight thro' the quires of Angels, is finely imaged. As Milton every where fills his poem with circumſtances that are marvelous and aſtoniſhing, he deſcribes the gate of Heaven as framed after ſuch a manner, that it open'd of itſelf upon the approach of the Angel who was to paſs through it. The poet here ſeems to have regarded two or three paſſages in the 18th Iliad, as that in particular, where ſpeaking of Vulcan, Homer ſays, that he had made twenty tripodes running on golden wheels; which upon occaſion might go of themſelves to the aſſembly of the Gods, and, when there was no more uſe for them, return again after the ſame manner. Scaliger has rallied Homer very ſeverely upon this point, as M. Dacier has endevor'd to defend it. I will not pretend to determin, whether in this particular of Homer, the marvelous does not loſe ſight of the probable. As the miraculous workmanſhip of Milton's gates is not ſo extraordinary as this of the tripodes, ſo I am perſuaded he would not have mention'd it, had not he been ſupported in it by a paſſage in the Scripture, which ſpeaks of wheels in Heaven that had life in them, and moved of themſelves, or ſtood ſtill, in conformity with the Cherubims, whom they accompany'd.

There

Leſt wilfully tranſgreſſing he pretend
Surpriſal, unadmoniſh'd, unforewarn'd.
So ſpake th' eternal Father, and fulfill'd
All juſtice: nor delay'd the winged Saint
After his charge receiv'd; but from among
Thouſand celeſtial Ardors, where he ſtood
Veil'd with his gorgeous wings, up ſpringing light
Flew through the midſt of Heav'n; th' angelic quires,
On each hand parting, to his ſpeed gave way
Through all th' empyreal road; till at the gate
Of Heav'n arriv'd, the gate ſelf-open'd wide
On golden hinges turning, as by work

Divine

There is no queſtion but Milton had this circumſtance in his thoughts, becauſe in the following book he deſcribes the chariot of the Meſſiah with living wheels, according to the plan of Ezekiel's viſion. I queſtion not but Boſſu and the two Daciers, who are for vindicating every thing that is cenſured in Homer, by ſomething parallel in holy Writ, would have been very well pleaſed had they thought of confronting Vulcan's tripodes with Ezekiel's wheels. *Addiſon.*

249. *Thouſand celeſtial Ardors,*] *Ardor* in Latin implies fervency, exceeding love, eager deſire, fiery nature; all included in the idea of an Angel. *Richardſon.*

254 —— *the gate ſelf-open'd wide*] This circumſtance is not borrow'd, as Mr. Addiſon conceiv'd, from Vulcan's tripodes in Homer, but from Homer's making the gates of Heaven open of their own accord to the Deities who paſſed thro' them, Iliad. V. 749.

Αυτομαται δ' ε πυλαι μυκον ουρανου, ας εχον Ωραι.

Heav'n gates ſpontaneous open to the Pow'rs,
Heav'n's golden gates, kept by the winged
Hours. Pope.

Where Mr. Pope obſerves that the expreſſion of *the gates of Heaven* is in the eaſtern manner, where they ſaid the *gates* of Heaven or Earth for the entrance or extremities of Heaven or Earth; a phraſe uſual in the Scriptures, as is obſerved by Dacier.

Divine the ſovran Architect had fram'd.
From hence, no cloud, or, to obſtruct his ſight,
Star interpos'd, however ſmall he ſees,
Not unconform to other ſhining globes,
Earth and the gard'n of God, with cedars crown'd
Above all hills. As when by night the glaſs
Of Galileo, leſs aſſur'd, obſerves
Imagin'd lands and regions in the moon:
Or pilot, from amidſt the Cyclades
Delos or Samos firſt appearing, kens

257. *From hence, no cloud,* &c.] The comma after *interpos'd*, ſhows that it is here a participle in the ablative caſe put abſolutely; and the conſtruction is, *From hence, no cloud or ſtar* being *interpoſed to obſtruct his ſight, he ſees, however ſmall* it is, appearing very ſmall at that diſtance, *the earth not unlike to other ſhining globes, and* in it Paradiſe, *the garden of God*, that was *crown'd with cedars* which were higher than the higheſt *hills*.

261. —— *As when by night the glaſs* &c.] The Angel from Heaven gate viewing the earth is compared to an aſtronomer obſerving the moon thro' a teleſcope, or to a pilot at ſea diſcovering an iland at a diſtance. *As when by night the glaſs of Galileo*, the teleſcope firſt uſed in celeſtial obſervations by Galileo a native of Florence, *leſs aſſur'd* than the Angel, as was likewiſe the pilot, *obſerves*, a poetical expreſſion, the inſtrument put for the perſon who makes uſe of it, *imagin'd lands and regions in the moon*, it is not only imagin'd that there are lands and regions in the moon, but aſtronomers give names to them: *Or pilot, from amidſt the Cyclades*, a parcel of ilands in the Archipelago, *Delos or Samos firſt appearing*, two of the largeſt of theſe ilands and therefore firſt appearing, *kens a cloudy ſpot*, for ilands ſeem to be ſuch at their firſt appearance. But the Angel ſees with greater clearneſs and certainty than theſe; the glaſs is *leſs aſſur'd*, and the pilot *kens* only *a cloudy ſpot*, when the Angel ſees not the whole globe only, but diſtinctly the mount of Paradiſe.

266. —— *Down thither prone in flight* &c.] Virg. Æn. IV. 253.

— hinc toto præceps ſe corpore ad undas
Miſit, avi ſimilis.

272. *A Phœnix*,] Dr. Bentley objects to Raphael's taking *the ſhape of a Phœnix*, and the

A cloudy ſpot. Down thither prone in flight
He ſpeeds, and through the vaſt ethereal sky
Sails between worlds and worlds, with ſteddy wing
Now on the polar winds, then with quick fan
Winnows the buxom air; till within ſoar
Of towring eagles, to' all the fowls he ſeems
A Phœnix, gaz'd by all, as that ſole bird,
When to inſhrine his reliques in the ſun's
Bright temple, to Egyptian Thebes he flies.
At once on th' eaſtern cliff of Paradiſe

He

the objection would be very juſt if Milton had ſaid any ſuch thing: but he only ſays that *to all the fowls he ſeems a Phœnix*; he was not really a Phœnix, the birds only fancied him one. This bird was famous among the Ancients, but generally looked upon by the Moderns as fabulous. The naturaliſts ſpeak of it as ſingle, or the only one of its kind, and therefore it is called here *that ſole bird*, as it had been before by Taſſo *unico augello*. They deſcribe it as of a moſt beautiful plumage. They hold that it lives five or ſix hundred years; that when thus advanc'd in age, it builds itſelf a funeral pile of wood and aromatic gums, which being kindled by the ſun it is there conſumed by the fire, and another Phœnix ariſes out of the aſhes, anceſtor and ſucceſſor to himſelf, who taking up the reliques of his funeral pile flies with them to Egyptian Thebes to inſhrine them there in the temple of the ſun, the other birds attending and gazing upon him in his flight. *Egyptian Thebes* to diſtinguiſh it from the other Thebes in Bœotia. See Plin. Nat. Hiſt. L. 10. c. 2. Ovid. Met. XV. and Claudian de Phœnice. Armida in Taſſo is in like manner compared to a Phœnix, Cant. 17. St. 35.

Come all' hor, che'l rinato unico augello, *&c.*

As when the new-born Phœnix doth begin
To fly to Ethiope-ward, at the fair bent
Of her rich wings, ſtrange plumes, and feathers thin,
Her crowns and chains, with native gold beſprent,
The world amazed ſtands; and with her fly
An hoſt of wond'ring birds that ſing and cry:
So paſt Armida, look'd on, gaz'd on ſo.

275. — *on th' eaſtern cliff*] For there was the only gate of Paradiſe, IV. 178. The good Angel enters by the gate, and not like Satan.

276. — *and*

He lights, and to his proper ſhape returns
A Seraph wing'd; ſix wings he wore, to ſhade
His lineaments divine; the pair that clad
Each ſhoulder broad, came mantling o'er his breaſt
With regal ornament; the middle pair
Girt like a ſtarry zone his waſte, and round
Skirted

276. —*and to his proper ſhape returns*] The word *ſhape* here (I ſuppoſe) occaſion'd Dr. Bentley in his note on the former paſſage to ſay that Milton makes Raphael take *the ſhape of a Phœnix*. But by *returning to his proper ſhape* Milton means only that he ſtood on his feet, and gather'd up his ſix wings into their proper place and ſituation. *Pearce.* Or as another ingenious perſon expreſſes it, He ſeem'd again what he really was, a Seraph wing'd; whereas in his flight he appear'd what he was not, a Phœnix.

277. —— *ſix wings he wore*, &c.] The Seraphim ſeen by Iſaiah, VI. 2. had the ſame number of wings, *Above it ſtood the Seraphims, each one had ſix wings:* but there the wings are diſpoſed differently.

284. —— *with feather'd mail,*
Sky-tinctur'd grain.] Feathers lie one ſhort of another reſembling the plates of metal of which coats of mail are compos'd. Sky-color'd, dy'd in grain, to expreſs beauty and durableneſs. *Richardſon.*

285. — *Like Maia's ſon he ſtood*, &c.] Raphael's deſcent to the earth, with the figure of his perſon, is repreſented in very lively colors. Several of the French, Italian and Engliſh poets have given a looſe to their imaginations in the deſcription of Angels: But I do not remember to have met with any ſo finely drawn, and ſo conformable to the notions which are given of them in Scripture, as this in Milton. After having ſet him forth in all his heavenly plumage, and repreſented him as alighting upon the earth, the poet concludes his deſcription with a circumſtance, which is altogether new, and imagin'd with the greateſt ſtrength of fancy.

—— Like Maia's ſon he ſtood,
And ſhook his plumes, that heav'nly fragrance fill'd
The circuit wide. *Addiſon.*

The comparing of the Angel to *Maia's ſon*, to Mercury, ſhows evidently that the poet had particularly in view thoſe ſublime paſſages of Homer and Virgil, which deſcribe the flight and deſcent of Mercury to the earth. That of Homer is in the Iliad. XXIV. 339.

Ως εφατ'. ωδ' απιθησε διακτορος Αργειφοντης·
Αυτικ' επειθ' υπο ποσσιν εδησατο καλα πεδιλα,
Αμβροσια, χρυσεια, τα μιν φερον ημεν εφ' υγρην,
Ηδ' επ' απειρονα γαιαν, αμα πνοιης ανεμοιο·
Ειλετο δη ραβδον, τη τ' ανδρων ομματα θελγει,
Ων εθελει, τους δ' αυτε και υπνωοντας εγειρει.

The

Skirted his loins and thighs with downy gold
And colors dipt in Heav'n; the third his feet
Shadow'd from either heel with feather'd mail,
Sky-tinctur'd grain. Like Maia's ſon he ſtood,
And ſhook his plumes, that heav'nly fragrance fill'd
The circuit wide. Strait knew him all the bands

Of

The God obeys, his golden pinions binds,
And mounts incumbent on the wings of winds,
That high thro' fields of air his flight ſuſtain,
O'er the wide earth, and o'er the boundleſs main:
Then graſps the wand that cauſes ſleep to fly,
Or in ſoft ſlumbers ſeals the wakeful eye.
Pope.

Virgil has tranſlated it almoſt litterally, but with ſome addition, Æn. IV. 238.

Dixerat: ille patris magni parere parabat
Imperio, et primum pedibus talaria nectit
Aurea: quæ ſublimem alis, ſive æquora ſupra,
Seu terram, rapido pariter cum flamine portant.
Tum virgam capit: hâc animas ille evocat Orco
Pallentes, alias ſub triſtia Tartara mittit;
Dat ſomnos adimitque et lumina morte reſignat.

Hermes obeys; with golden pinions binds
His flying feet, and mounts the weſtern winds:
And whether o'er the ſeas or earth he flies,
With rapid force, they bear him down the ſkies.
But firſt he graſps within his awful hand,
The mark of ſov'reign pow'r, his magic wand:
With this, he draws the ghoſts from hollow graves,
With this, he drives them down the Stygian waves;
With this, he ſeals in ſleep the wakeful ſight;
And eyes, tho' clos'd in death, reſtores to light.
Dryden.

If it is hard to determin (as Mr. Pope ſays) which is more excellent, the copy or the original, yet I believe every reader will eaſily determin that Milton's deſcription is better than both. The reader may likewiſe, if he pleaſes, compare this deſcent of Raphael with that of Gabriel in Taſſo, Cant. 1. St. 13, 14, 15. But (as Dr. Pearce obſerves) it is the graceful poſture in ſtanding after alighting that is particularly compar'd to Mercury;

Hic paribus primum nitens Cyllenius alis
Conſtitit, Æn. IV. 253.

It is probable that the idea was firſt taken from the graceful attitudes of the antique ſtatues of Mercury: but our author might have it more immediately from Sakeſpear's Hamlet, Act. III.

A ſtation, like the herald Mercury
New-lighted on a Heaven-kiſſing hill:

as the image of the Angel's ſhaking his fragrant plumes is borrow'd particularly from Taſſo,

On Lebanon at firſt his foot he ſet,
And ſhook his wings with roary May-dews wet.

288. — *and*

Of Angels under watch; and to his ſtate,
And to his meſſage high in honor riſe;
For on ſome meſſage high they gueſs'd him bound.
Their glittering tents he paſs'd, and now is come
Into the bliſsful field, through groves of myrrh,
And flow'ring odors, caſſia, nard, and balm;
A wilderneſs of ſweets; for Nature here
Wanton'd as in her prime, and play'd at will
Her virgin fancies, pouring forth more ſweet,
Wild above rule or art; enormous bliſs.
Him through the ſpicy foreſt onward come
Adam diſcern'd, as in the door he ſat
Of his cool bow'r, while now the mounted ſun
Shot down direct his fervid rays to warm
Earth's

288. —— *and to his ſtate,*
And to his meſſage high in honor riſe;] With the ſame reſpect as the Muſes pay to Gallus in Virgil, Ecl. VI. 66.

Utque viro Phœbi chorus aſſurrexerit omnis.

296. —— *pouring forth more ſweet,*
Wild above rule or art; enormous bliſs.] So the two firſt editions point this paſſage: Dr. Bentley puts no ſtop after *art*; for want of which he has fallen into a conſiderable miſtake: inſtead of *pouring forth more ſweet*, he would have us read *pouring forth profuſe*. He ſays, *more ſweet* than what? nothing: for the compariſon is dropt. But the ſenſe is, pouring forth what was the more ſweet for being wild and above rule or art. *Pearce.*
Or ſhould there not be a comma only after *art?* and is not *enormous bliſs* the accuſative caſe after *pouring forth?* which bliſs was the *more ſweet*, as it was *wild above rule or art.*

298. *Him through the ſpicy foreſt*] Raphael's reception by the guardian Angels; his paſſing thro' the wilderneſs of ſweets; his diſtant appearance to Adam, have all the graces that poetry is capable of beſtowing. *Addiſon.*

299. — *as*

Earth's inmoſt womb, more warmth than Adam needs:
And Eve within, due at her hour prepar'd
For dinner ſavory fruits, of taſte to pleaſe
True appetite, and not diſreliſh thirſt
Of necta'rous draughts between, from milky ſtream,
Berry or grape: to whom thus Adam call'd.
Haſte hither Eve, and worth thy ſight behold
Eaſtward among thoſe trees, what glorious ſhape
Comes this way moving; ſeems another morn
Ris'n on mid-noon; ſome great beheſt from Heaven
To us perhaps he brings, and will vouchſafe
This day to be our gueſt. But go with ſpeed,
And what thy ſtores contain, bring forth, and pour
Abundance, fit to honor and receive
Our

299. — *as in the door he ſat*] So Abraham, Gen. XVIII. 1. *ſat in the tent-door in the heat of the day* when he was viſited by three Angels. From that paſſage our poet form'd this incident. *Bentley.*

307. *Berry or grape:*] It is the opinion of ſome that Noah was the firſt who made wine, becauſe it is ſaid in Scripture, Gen. IX. 20. *And Noah began to be an huſbandman, and he planted a vineyard:* but it cannot be inferr'd from hence that he was the *firſt* vine-dreſſer any more than that he was the *firſt* huſbandman; and our author, we ſee, gives an earlier date to the making of wine, and a little afterwards more expreſsly,

——— for drink the grape
She cruſhes, inoffenſive muſt.

Muſt or new wine, ſo we ſpell it after the Latin *muſtum*, and not *mouſt* as it is in our author's own editions.

310. —— *ſeems another morn*] The nominative caſe is here underſtood, the *glorious ſhape* before mention'd.

Our heav'nly ſtranger: well we may afford
Our givers their own gifts, and large beſtow
From large beſtow'd, where Nature multiplies
Her fertil growth, and by disburd'ning grows
More fruitful, which inſtructs us not to ſpare.
To whom thus Eve. Adam, earth's hallow'd mold,
Of God inſpir'd, ſmall ſtore will ſerve, where ſtore,
All ſeaſons, ripe for uſe hangs on the ſtalk;
Save what by frugal ſtoring firmneſs gains
To nouriſh, and ſuperfluous moiſt conſumes:
But I will haſte, and from each bough and brake,
Each plant and jucieſt gourd, will pluck ſuch choice
To entertain our Angel gueſt, as he
Beholding ſhall confeſs, that here on Earth
God

326. — *and from each bough and brake,*
Each plant and jucieſt gourd,] Dr. Bentley would read *branch* inſtead of *brake*, thinking that proviſions are not to be gather'd from brakes: but *bough*, *brake*, *plant*, and *gourd*, expreſs here all the ſeveral kinds of things which produce fruits. The *bough* belongs to fruit-trees; the *plant* is ſuch as that which produces ſtrawberries *&c*; the *gourd* includes all kinds that lie on the earth; and the *brake* is the ſpecies between trees and plants; of this ſort are (I think) the buſhes which yield currants, black-berries, gooſe-berries, raſberries *&c*. But if we read with the Doctor *branch*, it will be a ſuperfluous word, becauſe of *bough* which preceded it. *Pearce.*

331. *So ſaying, with diſpatchful looks* &c.] The author gives us here a particular deſcription of Eve in her domeſtic employments. Though in this, and other parts of the ſame book, the ſubject is only the houſewifry of our firſt parent, it is ſet off with ſo many pleaſing images and ſtrong expreſſions, as make it none of the leaſt agreeable parts in this divine work. *Addiſon.*

333. *What choice to chooſe*] This ſort of jingle

God hath diſpens'd his bounties as in Heaven.
So ſaying, with diſpatchful looks in haſte
She turns, on hoſpitable thoughts intent
What choice to chooſe for delicacy beſt,
What order, ſo contriv'd as not to mix
Taſtes, not well join'd, inelegant, but bring
Taſte after taſte upheld with kindlieſt change;
Beſtirs her then, and from each tender ſtalk
Whatever Earth all-bearing mother yields
In India Eaſt or Weſt, or middle ſhore
In Pontus or the Punic coaſt, or where
Alcinous reign'd, fruit of all kinds, in coat
Rough or ſmooth rin'd, or bearded husk, or ſhell,
She gathers, tribute large, and on the board
Heaps

jingle is very uſual in Milton, as to *move motion*, VIII. 130. *thoughts miſ-thought*, IX. 289. *ſinn'd ſin*, XI. 427. and is not unuſual in the beſt claſſic authors, as in Terence, Phorm. V. V. 8.

Nam hunc ſcio mea ſolide ſolum *gaviſurum gaudia:*

and in Virgil, Æn. XII. 680.

— hunc, oro, ſine me *furere* ante *furorem:*

and many more inſtances might be given.

338. *Whatever Earth all-bearing mother*] So the Greeks call her Παμμητορ γη, and the Latins *Omniparens* — terræ omniparentis alumnum, Virg. Æn. VI. 595. She gathered all manner of fruits which the earth at that time afforded, or has ſince produced in the nobleſt and beſt cultivated gardens.

339. —— *or middle ſhore* &c.] Or on the borders of the Mediterranean; *in Pontus*, part of Aſia, *or the Punic coaſt*, part of Africa, *or where Alcinous reign'd*, in a Grecian iland in the Ionian ſea (now the gulf of Venice) anciently call'd Phæacia, then Corcyra, now Corfu, under the dominion of the Venetians. The ſoil

Heaps with unſparing hand; for drink the grape
She cruſhes, inoffenſive muſt, and meaths
From many a berry, and from ſweet kernels preſs'd
She tempers dulcet creams, nor theſe to hold
Wants her fit veſſels pure, then ſtrows the ground
With roſe and odors from the ſhrub unfum'd.

Mean while our primitive great ſire, to meet
His God-like gueſt, walks forth, without more train
Accompanied than with his own complete
Perfections; in himſelf was all his ſtate,
More ſolemn than the tedious pomp that waits
On princes, when their rich retinue long
Of horſes led, and grooms beſmear'd with gold,
Dazles the croud, and ſets them all agape.

Nearer

is fruitful in oil, wine, and moſt excellent fruits, and its owner is made famous for his gardens celebrated by Homer. *Hume.*

345. —— *and meaths*] Sweet drinks like meads. A word uſed by Chaucer, and perhaps deriv'd from μεθυ.

348. —— *her fit veſſels pure,*] We may ſuppoſe the ſhells of nuts and rinds of fruits, as was hinted before, IV. 335.

—— and in the rind
Still as they thirſted ſcoop the brimming ſtream.

349. —— *from the ſhrub unfum'd.*] That is, not burnt and exhaling ſmoke as in fumigations, but with its natural ſent. *Heylin.*

351. —— *without more train*
Accompanied than with his own &c.] *Without more than with* is a ſoloeciſm. It ſhould be *without more train than his own complete perfections*, *with* being expung'd. But he gave it *with no more train than with* &c. Bentley.

356. —— *beſmear'd with gold,*] Horace's *aurum veſtibus illitum*, Od. IV. IX. 14. comes neareſt to it. *Hume.* Virgil has uſed a like expreſſion, Æn. X. 314.

Per tunicam *ſquallentem auro.* Richardſon.

357. *Dazles*

Nearer his preſence Adam though not aw'd,
Yet with ſubmiſs approach and reverence meek,
As to' a ſuperior nature, bowing low,
Thus ſaid. Native of Heav'n, for other place
None can than Heav'n ſuch glorious ſhape contain;
Since by deſcending from the thrones above,
Thoſe happy places thou haſt deign'd a while
To want, and honor theſe, vouchſafe with us
Two' only, who yet by ſovran gift poſſeſs
This ſpacious ground, in yonder ſhady bower
To reſt, and what the garden choiceſt bears
To ſit and taſte, till this meridian heat
Be over, and the ſun more cool decline.

Whom thus th' angelic Virtue anſwer'd mild.

Adam,

357. *Dazles the croud, and ſets them all agape:*] Virgil Georg. II. 463.

Nec varios *inhiant* pulchra teſtudine poſtes.
Jortin.

Æn. VII. 812.

Illam omnis tectis agriſque effuſa juventus
Turbaque miratur matrum, et proſpectat euntem,
Attonitis *inhians* animis.

368. —— *what the garden choiceſt bears*
To ſit and taſte,] That is, to taſte as he is ſitting: See my note on II. 917. *Pearce.*

371. —— *th' angelic Virtue*] The Angel: thus Homer uſes Πριαμοιο βιην *the ſtrength of Priam* for Priam himſelf, Iliad. III. 105. and Εκτορα μενα for Hector, Iliad. XIV. 418.

Αυταρ επει τογ' ακουσ' ιερον μενα Αλκινοοιο.

Odyſſ. VII. 167.

After the ſacred ſtrength of Alcinous heard that.

Imitated twice by the cautious Virgil, *Odora canum vis* for dogs, Æn. IV. 132. *Vimque Deûm infernam* the infernal Deities, Æn. XII. 149. *Hume.*

378. — *Po-*

Adam, I therefore came, nor art thou ſuch
Created, or ſuch place haſt here to dwell,
As may not oft invite, though Spi'rits of Heaven
To viſit thee; lead on then where thy bower
O'erſhades; for theſe mid-hours, till evening riſe,
I have at will. So to the ſylvan lodge
They came, that like Pomona's arbor ſmil'd
With flow'rets deck'd and fragrant ſmells; but Eve
Undeck'd ſave with herſelf, more lovely fair
Than Wood-Nymph, or the faireſt Goddeſs feign'd
Of three that in mount Ida naked ſtrove,
Stood to' entertain her gueſt from Heav'n; no veil
She needed, virtue-proof; no thought infirm
Alter'd her cheek. On whom the Angel Hail
Beſtow'd,

378. —— *Pomona's arbor*] The Goddeſs of fruit-trees might well be ſuppoſed to have a delightful arbor, but that could not be more delightful in imagination, than this was in reality. See Ovid. Met. XIV. 623. *&c.*

380. *Undeck'd ſave with herſelf,*] This is ſimplex munditiis indeed, beyond Horace's, and makes an excellent contraſt to Ovid's deſcription of the fine lady full dreſs'd,

— pars minima eſt ipſa puella ſui.

It calls to mind that memorable ſaying, Induitur, formoſa eſt; exuitur, ipſa forma eſt. Dreſs'd, ſhe is beautiful; undreſs'd, ſhe is beauty itſelf. With the ſame elegance of expreſſion, deſcribing Adam, he has ſaid,

—— in himſelf was all his ſtate.

382. *Of three that in mount Ida naked ſtrove,*] The judgment of Paris is very well known in preferring Venus to Juno and Minerva, that is beauty to power and wiſdom: a different choice from that of young Solomon, who deſir'd wiſdom rather than riches and honor.

384. — *virtue proof;*] *Proof* is uſed in the old

Beſtow'd, the holy ſalutation us'd
Long after to bleſt Mary, ſecond Eve.
Hail Mother of Mankind, whoſe fruitful womb
Shall fill the world more numerous with thy ſons,
Than with theſe various fruits the trees of God
Have heap'd this table. Rais'd of graſſy turf
Their table was, and moſſy ſeats had round,
And on her ample ſquare from ſide to ſide
All autumn pil'd, though ſpring and autumn here
Danc'd hand in hand. A while diſcourſe they hold;
No fear leſt dinner cool; when thus began
Our author. Heav'nly ſtranger, pleaſe to taſte
Theſe bounties, which our Nouriſher, from whom
All perfect good, unmeaſur'd out, deſcends,

To

old poets for armour, Sakeſpear, Rom. & Jul. Act. I.

And in ſtrong *proof* of chaſtity well arm'd,
From love's weak childiſh bow ſhe lives unharm'd.

385. —— *On whom the Angel Hail* &c.] The natural majeſty of Adam, and at the ſame time his ſubmiſſive behaviour to the ſuperior being, who had vouchſafed to be his gueſt; the ſolemn *Hail*, which the Angel beſtows upon the mother of mankind, with the figure of Eve miniſtring at the table, are circumſtances which deſerve to be admired. *Addiſon.*

387. —— *to Mary, ſecond Eve.*] See Luke I. 28. She is call'd *ſecond Eve*, as Chriſt is ſometimes called *ſecond Adam.*

394. *All autumn pil'd,*] The table had moſſy ſeats round it, and all autumn pil'd upon it; that is the fruits of autumn. So in Virg. Georg. II. 5.

—— pampineo gravidus autumno
Floret ager.

399. — *perfect*] Milton writes it *perfet* after the French *parfait*; our uſual way of ſpelling it is after the Latin *perfectus*; and very rightly,

To us for food and for delight hath caus'd
The earth to yield; unſavory food perhaps
To ſpiritual natures; only this I know,
That one celeſtial Father gives to all.

To whom the Angel. Therefore what he gives
(Whoſe praiſe be ever ſung) to Man in part
Spiritual, may of pureſt Spi'rits be found
No' ingrateful food: and food alike thoſe pure
Intelligential ſubſtances require,
As doth your rational; and both contain
Within them every lower faculty
Of ſenſe, whereby they hear, ſee, ſmell, touch, taſte,
Taſting concoct, digeſt, aſſimilate,

And

rightly, eſpecially as we make uſe likewiſe of the word *perfection*. And in the general it is better ſurely to derive our language from the original Latin, than to make it only the copy of a copy.

407. *No' ingrateful food:*] There being mention made in Scripture of *Angels food*, Pſal. LXXVIII. 25. that is foundation enough for a poet to build upon, and advance theſe notions of the Angels eating.

415. — *of elements* &c.] Dr. Bentley is for omitting here eleven lines together, but we cannot agree with him in thinking them the editor's, tho' we entirely agree with him in wiſhing, that the author had taken more care what notions of philoſophy he had put into the mouth of an Arch-Angel. It is certainly a great miſtake to attribute the *ſpots* in the moon (which are owing to the inequalities of her ſurface, and to the different nature of her conſtituent parts, land and water) to attribute them, I ſay, to *vapors not yet turn'd into her ſubſtance*. It is certainly very *unphiloſophical* to ſay that the ſun *ſups with the ocean*, but it is not *unpoetical*. And whatever other faults are found in theſe lines, they are not ſo properly the faults of Milton, as of his times, and of thoſe ſyſtems of philoſophy which he had learned in his younger years. If he had written after

And corporeal to incorporeal turn.
For know, whatever was created, needs
To be ſuſtain'd and fed; of elements
The groſſer feeds the purer, earth the ſea,
Earth and the ſea feed air, the air thoſe fires
Ethereal, and as loweſt firſt the moon;
Whence in her viſage round thoſe ſpots, unpurg'd
Vapors not yet into her ſubſtance turn'd.
Nor doth the moon no nouriſhment exhale
From her moiſt continent to higher orbs.
The ſun, that light imparts to all, receives
From all his alimental recompenſe
In humid exhalations, and at even
Sups

after the late diſcoveries and improvements in ſcience, he would have written in another manner. It is allow'd by all philoſophers, that the ſun and fixed ſtars receive their ſupplies of nouriſhment; but in what manner they are fed and ſupply'd is a great queſtion: and ſurely a greater latitude and liberty may be indulged to a poet in ſpeaking of theſe things, than to a philoſopher. The ſame kind of thought runs through an Ode of Anacreon, Ode 19.

Η γη μελαινα πινει,
Πινει δε δενδρε' αυτην·
Πινει θαλασσα δ' αερας,
Ο δ' ηλιος θαλασσαν,
Τον δ' ηλιον σεληνη.

And we may ſuppoſe the poet alluded to this, and more particularly to that paſſage in Pliny, where the ſame account is given of the ſpots in the moon. Sidera vero haud dubie humore terreno paſci, quia orbe dimidio nonnunquam maculoſa cernatur, ſcilicet nondum ſuppetente ad hauriendum ultra juſta vi: maculas enim non aliud eſſe quam terræ raptas cum humore ſordes. Lib. 2. cap. 9.

421. *Nor doth the moon no nouriſhment exhale*] A Latiniſm. So Virg. Georg. I. 83.

Nec nulla interea eſt inaratæ gratia terræ.

Sups with the ocean. Though in Heav'n the trees
Of life ambroſial fruitage bear, and vines
Yield nectar; though from off the boughs each morn
We bruſh mellifluous dews, and find the ground
Cover'd with pearly grain: yet God hath here
Varied his bounty ſo with new delights,
As may compare with Heaven; and to taſte
Think not I ſhall be nice. So down they ſat,
And to their viands fell; nor ſeemingly
The Angel, nor in miſt, the common gloſs
Of Theologians; but with keen diſpatch

Of

426. —— *Though in Heav'n the trees*, &c.] In mentioning *trees of life* and *vines* in Heaven he is juſtify'd by Scripture. See Rev. XXII. 2. Mat. XXVI. 29. As in ſpeaking afterwards of *mellifluous dews* and *pearly grain* he manifeſtly alludes to *manna*, which is called *the bread of Heaven*. Pſal. CV. 40. *And when the dew that lay was gone up, behold upon the face of the wilderneſs there lay a ſmall round thing, as ſmall as the hoar froſt on the ground.* Exod. XVI. 14. *and it was like coriander-ſeed, white; and the taſte of it was like wafers made with honey.* ver. 31.

435. —— *the common gloſs*
Of Theologians;] The uſual comment and expoſition of Divines. For ſeveral of the Fathers and ancient Doctors were of opinion, that the Angels did not really eat, but only ſeemed to do ſo; and they ground that opinion principally upon what the Angel Raphael ſays in the book of Tobit, XII. 19. *All theſe days did I appear unto you, but I did neither eat nor drink, but you did ſee a viſion.* But our author was of the contrary opinion, that the Angel did not eat in appearance only but in reality, *with keen diſpatch of real hunger* as he ſays, and this opinion is confirm'd by the accounts in the Canonical Scripture of Abraham's entertaining three Angels at one time, and Lot's entertaining two Angels at another. See Gen. XVIII. and XIX. There it is ſaid plainly that meat was ſet before them, *and they did eat*; and there is no reaſon for not underſtanding this, as well as the reſt of the relation, litterally. *Of Theologians*; this ſame word he uſes in his *Tetrachordon*, p. 223. Vol. 1. Edit. 1738.

438. —— *what redounds, tranſpires* &c.] This artfully avoids the indecent idea, which would elſe have been apt to have ariſen on the

Angels

Of real hunger, and concoctive heat
To tranſubſtantiate: what redounds, tranſpires
Through Spi'rits with eaſe; nor wonder; if by fire
Of ſooty coal th' empiric alchemiſt
Can turn, or holds it poſſible to turn,
Metals of droſſieſt ore to perfect gold
As from the mine. Mean while at table Eve
Miniſter'd naked, and their flowing cups
With pleaſant liquors crown'd: O innocence
Deſerving Paradiſe! if ever, then,
Then had the ſons of God excuſe to' have been
Enamour'd

Angels feeding, and withal gives a delicacy to theſe Spirits, which finely diſtinguiſhes them from us in one of the moſt humbling circumſtances relating to our bodies.

Richardſon.

439. —— *nor wonder; if by fire* &c.] Nor is it a wonder, that the Angels have *concoctive heat* in their ſtomachs ſufficient to *tranſubſtantiate*, to turn their food and nouriſhment into their own ſubſtance, to *aſſimilate* as it was ſaid before, *and turn corporeal to incorporeal*; if by fire the alchemiſt can turn or thinks to turn all metals to gold. *The empiric alchemiſt*, is one who makes bold trials and experiments (εμπειρικος in Greek from πειρα a trial or experiment) without much ſkill and knowledge in the art, like a quack in phyſick. And they muſt be ſtrange *empirics* indeed, who can hope to find out the philoſopher's ſtone, and *turn metals of droſſieſt ore to perfect gold.* But it is not ſtrange that our author ſo frequently alludes to alchemy (as he does in II. 517. III. 609. as well as here) when Johnſon has written a whole comedy upon it.

445. *With pleaſant liquors crown'd:*] *To crown their cups* was a phraſe among the Greeks and Romans for filling them above the brim, but yet not ſo as to run over. Thus it is uſed by Homer, Iliad. I. 470.

Κυροι μεν κρητηρας επεςεψανῶ ποτοιο.

and by Virgil, Georg. II. 528.

—— et ſocii cratera coronant.

447. *Then had the ſons of God excuſe* &c.] The doubling of the *then* adds great force and emphaſis; *if ever, then, then had the ſons of God excuſe* &c. and this is ſaid in alluſion to

Enamour'd at that ſight; but in thoſe hearts
Love unlibidinous reign'd, nor jealouſy
Was underſtood, the injur'd lover's Hell.
Thus when with meats and drinks they had ſuffic'd,
Not burden'd nature, ſudden mind aroſe
In Adam, not to let th' occaſion paſs
Giv'n him by this great conference to know
Of things above his world, and of their being
Who dwell in Heav'n, whoſe excellence he ſaw
Tranſcend his own ſo far, whoſe radiant forms
Divine effulgence, whoſe high pow'r ſo far
Exceeded human, and his wary ſpeech
Thus to th' empyreal miniſter he fram'd.
In-

that text, Gen. VI. 2. *The ſons of God ſaw the daughters of men that they were fair, and they took them wives of all that they choſe*, as if *the ſons of God* there ſignified Angels. See note on III. 463.

451. *Thus when with meats and drinks they had ſuffic'd,*
Not burden'd nature, —]

Αυταρ επει ποσιος και εδητυος εξ ερον ενντο.
Homer. Iliad. I. 469.

Poſtquam exempta fames epulis, menſæque remotæ. Virg. Æn. I. 216.
Poſtquam exempta fames et amor compreſſus edendi. Æn. VIII. 184.

Our author ſays the ſame thing, but at the ſame time inſinuates a fine moral of the true end of eating and drinking, which is to ſatisfy but not to burden nature; and this ſort of temperance he not only recommends as in the beginning of this book and XI. 530. &c, but remarkably practic'd himſelf.

455. — *above his world,*] This is the reading in Milton's own editions, and not *above this world* as Mr. Fenton and Dr. Bentley have caus'd it to be printed.

456. —— *whoſe excellence* &c.] *Excellence* is a general word; and he branches the *excellence* of Angels into two particulars, their *radiant forms*

Inhabitant with God, now know I well
Thy favor, in this honor done to Man,
Under whoſe lowly roof thou haſt vouchſaf'd
To enter, and theſe earthly fruits to taſte,
Food not of Angels, yet accepted ſo,
As that more willingly thou couldſt not ſeem
At Heav'n's high feaſts to have fed: yet what compare?
To whom the winged Hierarch reply'd.
O Adam, one Almighty is, from whom
All things proceed, and up to him return,
If not deprav'd from good, created all
Such to perfection, one firſt matter all,
Indued with various forms, various degrees
Of

forms (which were the effulgence of the Deity) and their *high power*. Pearce.

467. — *yet what compare?*] *His ſpeech* was *wary*; and he was afraid to aſk the Angel directly of the different conditions of Men and Angels; but yet intimates his deſire to know by queſtioning whether there was any compariſon between them.

468. *To whom the winged Hierarch reply'd.*] Raphael's behaviour is every way ſuitable to the dignity of his nature, and to that character of a ſociable Spirit, with which the author has ſo judiciouſly introduced him. He had received inſtructions to converſe with Adam, as one friend converſes with another, and to warn him of the enemy who was contriving his deſtruction: accordingly he is repreſented as ſitting down at table with Adam, and eating of the fruits of Paradiſe. The occaſion naturally leads him to his diſcourſe on the food of Angels. After having thus enter'd into converſation with Man upon more indifferent ſubjects, he warns him of his obedience, and makes a natural tranſition to the hiſtory of that fallen Angel, who was employ'd in the circumvention of our firſt parents. *Addiſon.*

471. —— *created all*
Such to perfection, one firſt matter all, &c.] That is, created all *good*, good *to perfection*, not abſolutely ſo, but perfect in their different kinds

Of ſubſtance, and in things that live, of life;
But more refin'd, more ſpiritous, and pure,
As nearer to him plac'd or nearer tending
Each in their ſeveral active ſpheres aſſign'd,
Till body up to ſpirit work, in bounds
Proportion'd to each kind. So from the root
Springs lighter the green ſtalk, from thence the leaves
More aery, laſt the bright conſummate flower
Spirits odōrous breathes: flow'rs and their fruit,
Man's nouriſhment, by gradual ſcale ſublim'd,
To vital ſpi'rits aſpire, to animal,
To intellectual; give both life and ſenſe,
Fancy and underſtanding; whence the ſoul
Reaſon receives, and reaſon is her being,
Diſcurſive,

kinds and degrees; and all conſiſting of *one firſt matter*, which firſt matter is *indued*, (indutus) clothed upon, *with various forms*, &c.

478. *Till body up to ſpirit work*, &c.] Our author ſhould have conſidered things better, for by attributing his own falſe notions in philoſophy to an Arch-Angel he has really leſſen'd the character, which he intended to raiſe. He is as much miſtaken here in his metaphyſics, as he was before in his phyſics. This notion of matter refining into ſpirit is by no means obſerving the *bounds proportion'd to each kind.* I ſuppoſe, he meant it as a comment on the doctrin of a natural body changed into a ſpiritual body, as in 1 Cor. XV. and perhaps borrow'd it from ſome of his ſyſtems of divinity. For Milton, as he was too much of a materialiſt in his philoſophy, ſo was too much of a ſyſtematiſt in his divinity.

482. *Spirits odōrous*] We muſt take notice in reading this verſe, that *Spirits* is here a word of *two* ſyllables, tho' it is often contracted into *one* or pronounc'd as two ſhort

Diſcurſive, or intuitive; diſcourſe
Is oftest yours, the latter moſt is ours,
Differing but in degree, of kind the ſame.
Wonder not then, what God for you ſaw good
If I refuſe not, but convert, as you,
To proper ſubſtance: time may come, when Men
With Angels may participate, and find
No inconvenient di'et, nor too light fare;
And from theſe corporal nutriments perhaps
Your bodies may at laſt turn all to ſpirit,
Improv'd by tract of time, and wing'd aſcend
Ethereal, as we, or may at choice
Here or in heav'nly Paradiſes dwell;
If ye be found obedient, and retain

Un-

ſhort ones, and particularly in the ſecond line after this

To vital ſpi'rits aſpire;

and the ſecond ſyllable in *odōrous* is to be pronounced long, tho' the poet makes it ſhort in other places, IV. 166.

So entertain'd thoſe *odŏrous* ſweets the Fiend:

but theſe are not the only inſtances, where Milton makes uſe of this ſame poetical licence.

498. —— *and wing'd aſcend*
Ethereal, as we,] It is the doctrin of the ableſt Divines and primitive Fathers of the Catholic Church, that if Adam had not ſinned, he would never have died, but would have been tranſlated from Earth to Heaven; and this doctrin the reader may ſee illuſtrated in the learned Biſhop Bull's diſcourſe *of the ſtate of man before the fall.* Our author no doubt was very well acquainted with the ſenſe of antiquity in this particular; and admitting the notion, what he ſays is poetical at leaſt, if you will not allow it to be probable and rational.

503. *Whoſe*

Unalterably firm his love entire,
Whoſe progeny you are. Mean while enjoy
Your fill what happineſs this happy ſtate
Can comprehend, incapable of more.
To whom the patriarch of mankind reply'd.
O favorable Spi'rit, propitious gueſt,
Well haſt thou taught the way that might direct
Our knowledge, and the ſcale of nature ſet
From center to circumference, whereon
In contemplation of created things
By ſteps we may aſcend to God. But ſay,
What meant that caution join'd, If ye be found
Obedient? can we want obedience then
To him, or poſſibly his love deſert,
Who form'd us from the duſt, and plac'd us here
Full to the utmoſt meaſure of what bliſs

Human

503. *Whoſe progeny you are.*] From St. Paul Acts XVII. 28. *For we are alſo his ofspring*; who took it from Aratus, Του γαρ και γενος εσμεν.

504. *Your fill what happineſs*] Your fill *of* what happineſs, or *to* your fill what happineſs.

509. —— *and the ſcale of nature ſet*

From center to circumference,] The ſcale or ladder of nature aſcends by ſteps from a point, a center, to the whole circumference of what mankind can ſee or comprehend. The metaphor is bold and vaſtly expreſſive. *Matter, one firſt matter* is this center; nature infinitely diverſify'd is the ſcale which reaches to the utmoſt of our conceptions, all round. We are thus led to God; whoſe circumference *who can*

Human deſires can ſeek or apprehend?
To whom the Angel. Son of Heav'n and Earth,
Attend: That thou art happy, owe to God;
That thou continueſt ſuch, owe to thyſelf,
That is, to thy obedience; therein ſtand.
This was that caution giv'n thee; be advis'd.
God made thee perfect, not immutable;
And good he made thee, but to perſevere
He left it in thy pow'r; ordain'd thy will
By nature free, not over-rul'd by fate
Inextricable, or ſtrict neceſſity:
Our voluntary ſervice he requires,
Not our neceſſitated; ſuch with him
Finds no acceptance, nor can find; for how
Can hearts, not free, be try'd whether they ſerve
Willing or no, who will but what they muſt

By

can tell? Uncircumſcrib'd he fills infinitude, VII. 170. Richardſon.

512. *By ſteps we may aſcend to God.*] There is a real viſible ladder (beſides that viſionary one of Jacob) whoſe foot, tho' placed on the earth among the loweſt of the creation, yet leads us *by ſteps in contemplation of created things* up to God the inviſible creator of all things. *Hume.*

520. *Attend:* &c.] The ſentences here are very ſhort, as every thing ought to be in the preceptive way. *Quicquid præcipies, eſto brevis,* is the rule of Horace, De Arte Poet. 335. And this brevity in the preceptive, as it is agreeable to Horace's rule, ſo likewiſe to his practice, as particularly in that ſtring of precepts, Epiſt. I. II. 55. Sperne voluptates, *&c.*

By deſtiny, and can no other chooſe?
Myſelf and all th' angelic hoſt, that ſtand
In ſight of God enthron'd, our happy ſtate
Hold, as you yours, while our obedience holds:
On other ſurety none; freely we ſerve,
Becauſe we freely love, as in our will
To love or not; in this we ſtand or fall:
And ſome are fall'n, to diſobedience fall'n,
And ſo from Heav'n to deepeſt Hell; O fall
From what high ſtate of bliſs into what woe!

To whom our great progenitor. Thy words
Attentive, and with more delighted ear,
Divine inſtructor, I have heard, than when
Cherubic ſongs by night from neighb'ring hills
Aereal muſic ſend: nor knew I not

To

546. —— *than when*

Cherubic ſongs &c.] Adam had mention'd theſe nightly ſongs of the Angels with pleaſure in IV. 680. &c. But ſtill he prefers the converſation of the Angel, and thinks diſcourſe more ſweet,

For eloquence the ſoul, ſong charms the ſenſe.

548. —— *nor knew I not*

To be both will and deed created free;] Nor was it unknown to me that my will and actions are free. I knew I was free. Two negatives make an affirmative. *Richardſon.*

551. —— *whoſe command*

Single is yet ſo juſt,] That is the command not to eat of the forbidden tree, the only command given to Man; and it is ſpoken of much in the ſame manner in IV. 419.

—— He who requires
From us no other ſervice than to keep
This one, this eaſy charge.

And

To be both will and deed created free;
Yet that we never ſhall forget to love
Our Maker, and obey him whoſe command
Single is yet ſo juſt, my conſtant thoughts
Aſſur'd me', and ſtill aſſure: though what thou tell'ſt
Hath paſt in Heav'n, ſome doubt within me move,
But more deſire to hear, if thou conſent,
The full relation, which muſt needs be ſtrange,
Worthy of ſacred ſilence to be heard;
And we have yet large day, for ſcarce the ſun
Hath finiſh'd half his journey', and ſcarce begins
His other half in the great zone of Heaven.

Thus Adam made requeſt; and Raphaël
After ſhort pauſe aſſenting, thus began.

High matter thou injoin'ſt me', O prime of men,
Sad

And again, ver. 432.

—— Then let us not think hard
One eaſy prohibition, who enjoy
Free leave ſo large to all things elſe.

And this command tho' *ſingle*, and therefore on that account to be obey'd, *is yet ſo juſt*, that it lays a farther obligation upon our obedience.

557. *Worthy of ſacred ſilence to be heard*;] Worthy of religious ſilence, ſuch as was requir'd at the ſacrifices and other religious ceremonies of the Ancients; alluding to that of Horace, Od. II. XIII. 29, 30.

Utrumque *ſacro digna ſilentio*
Mirantur umbræ dicere. *Richardſon.*

563. *High matter thou injoin'ſt me', O prime of men,*
Sad taſk and hard; &c.] It is cuſtomary with the epic poets to introduce by way of epiſode and narration the principal events, which happen'd

Sad task and hard; for how ſhall I relate
To human ſenſe th' inviſible exploits
Of warring Spirits? how without remorſe
The ruin of ſo many glorious once
And perfect while they ſtood? how laſt unfold
The ſecrets of another world, perhaps
Not lawful to reveal? yet for thy good
This is diſpens'd; and what ſurmounts the reach
Of human ſenſe, I ſhall delineate ſo,
By likening ſpiritual to corporal forms,

As

pen'd before the action of the poem commences: And as Homer's Ulyſſes relates his adventures to Alcinous, and as Virgil's Æneas recounts the hiſtory of the ſiege of Troy and of his own travels to Dido; ſo the Angel relates to Adam the fall of Angels and the creation of the world; and begins his narration of the fall of Angels, much in the ſame manner as Æneas does his account of the deſtruction of Troy, Virg. Æn. II. 3.

Infandum, regina, jubes renovare dolorem.

574. —— *though what if Earth* &c.] In order to make Adam comprehend theſe things the Angel tells him that he muſt *liken ſpiritual to corporal forms*, and queſtions whether there is not a greater ſimilitude and reſemblance between things in Heaven and things in Earth than is generally imagin'd, which is ſuggeſted very artfully, as it is indeed the beſt apology that could be made for thoſe bold figures, which Milton has employ'd, and eſpecially in his deſcription of the battels of the Angels.

577. *As yet this world was not*, &c.] Had I follow'd Monſieur Boſſu's method, I ſhould have dated the action of Paradiſe Loſt from the beginning of Raphael's ſpeech in this book, as he ſuppoſes the action of the Æneid to begin in the ſecond book of that poem. I could allege many reaſons for my drawing the action of the Æneid rather from its immediate beginning in the firſt book, than from its remote beginning in the ſecond; and ſhow why I have conſider'd the ſacking of Troy as an *epiſode*, according to the common acceptation of that word. But as this would be a dry unentertaining piece of criticiſm, I ſhall not inlarge upon it. Which ever of the notions be true, the unity of Milton's action is preſerved according to either of them; whether we conſider the fall of Man in its immediate beginning, as proceeding from the reſolutions taken

in

As may expreſs them beſt; though what if Earth
Be but the ſhadow' of Heav'n, and things therein
Each to' other like, more than on earth is thought?
As yet this world was not, and Chaos wild
Reign'd where theſe Heav'ns now roll, where Earth [now reſts
Upon her center pois'd; when on a day
(For time, though in eternity, apply'd
To motion, meaſures all things durable
By preſent, paſt, and future) on ſuch day
As Heav'n's great year brings forth, th' empyreal hoſt
Of

in the infernal council, or in its more remote beginning, as proceeding from the firſt revolt of the Angels in Heaven. The occaſion which Milton aſſigns for this revolt, as it is founded on hints in holy Writ, and on the opinion of ſome great writers, ſo it was the moſt proper that the poet could have made uſe of. The revolt in Heaven is deſcribed with great force of imagination, and a fine variety of circumſtances. *Addiſon.*

579. *Upon her center pois'd*;] *Ponderibus librata ſuis*, as Ovid ſays Met. I. 13. or as Milton elſewhere expreſſes it, VII. 242.

And Earth ſelf-balanc'd on her center hung.

583. *As Heav'n's great year*] Our poet ſeems to have had Plato's great year in his thoughts.

Magnus ab integro ſeclorum naſcitur ordo.
Virg. Ecl. IV. 5.

— Et incipient magni procedere menſes.
Ecl. IV. 12. *Hume.*

Plato's great year of the Heavens is the revolution of all the ſpheres. Every thing returns to where it ſet out when their motion firſt began. See Auſon. Idyl. XVIII. 15. A proper time for the declaration of the vicegerency of the Son of God. Milton has the ſame thought for the birth of the Angels (ver. 861.) imagining ſuch kind of revolutions long before the Angels or the worlds were in being. So far back into eternity did the vaſt mind of this poet carry him! *Richardſon.*

583. — *th' empyreal hoſt*] We read of ſuch a divine aſſembly in Job, I. 6. *Now there was a day when the ſons of God came to preſent themſelves before the Lord.* And again, 1 Kings XXII. 19. *I ſaw the Lord ſitting on his throne, and all the hoſt of Heaven ſtanding by him on his right hand and on his left*; which was enough to furniſh the hint to Milton.

589. *Standards*

Of Angels by imperial ſummons call'd,
Innumerable before th' Almighty's throne
Forthwith from all the ends of Heav'n appear'd
Under their Hierarchs in orders bright:
Ten thouſand thouſand enſigns high advanc'd,
Standards and gonfalons 'twixt van and rear
Stream in the air, and for diſtinction ſerve
Of hierarchies, of orders, and degrees;
Or in their glittering tiſſues bear imblaz'd
Holy memorials, acts of zeal and love
Recorded eminent. Thus when in orbs
Of circuit inexpreſſible they ſtood,
Orb within orb, the Father infinite,
By whom in bliſs imboſom'd ſat the Son,
Amidſt as from a flaming mount, whoſe top
Brightneſs had made inviſible, thus ſpake.
Hear all ye Angels, progeny of light,
Thrones,

589. *Standards and gonfalons*] A *gonfalon* is ſome kind of ſtreamer or banner, but of what particular ſort authors do not ſeem to be at all agreed, and neither is it very material to know.

598. *Amidſt as from a flaming mount*, &c.] This idea ſeems to be taken from the divine preſence in the mount, Exod. XIX. when God gave his commandments to the children of Iſrael, as here he is giving his great command concerning the Meſſiah in Heaven.

602. *Hear my decree*, &c.] We obſerved before that Milton was very cautious what ſentiments and language he aſcribed to the Almighty, and generally confin'd himſelf to the phraſes

Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers,
Hear my decree, which unrevok'd ſhall ſtand.
This day I have begot whom I declare
My only Son, and on this holy hill
Him have anointed, whom ye now behold
At my right hand; your head I him appoint;
And by myſelf have ſworn to him ſhall bow
All knees in Heav'n, and ſhall confeſs him Lord:
Under his great vice-gerent reign abide
United as one individual ſoul
For ever happy: Him who diſobeys,
Me diſobeys, breaks union, and that day
Caſt out from God and bleſſed viſion, falls
Into' utter darkneſs, deep ingulf'd, his place
Ordain'd without redemption, without end.

So ſpake th' Omnipotent, and with his words
All ſeem'd well pleas'd; all ſeem'd, but were not all.

That

phraſes and expreſſions of Scripture; and in this particular ſpeech the reader will eaſily remark how much of it is copy'd from holy Writ by comparing it with the following texts. *I have ſet my Anointed upon my holy hill of Sion; I will declare the decree, The Lord hath ſaid unto me, Thou art my ſon, this day have I begotten thee.* Pſal. II. 6, 7. *By myſelf have I ſworn, ſaith the Lord.* Gen. XXII. 16. *At the name of Jeſus every knee ſhall bow of things in Heaven— and every tongue ſhall confeſs that Jeſus Chriſt is Lord to the glory of God the Father.* Phil. II. 10, 11.

620. *Myſtical*

That day, as other ſolemn days, they ſpent
In ſong and dance about the ſacred hill;
Myſtical dance, which yonder ſtarry ſphere
Of planets and of fix'd in all her wheels
Reſembles neareſt, mazes intricate,
Eccentric, intervolv'd, yet regular
Then moſt, when moſt irregular they ſeem;
And in their motions harmony divine
So ſmooths her charming tones, that God's own ear
Liſtens delighted. Evening now approach'd
(For

620. *Myſtical dance*, &c.] Strange myſterious motions, which the ſhining ſphere of the planets and fixed ſtars in their various revolutions imitates neareſt; windings and turnings intangled and obſcure, involving and ſurrounding one another, altho' not moving on the ſame center, yet then moſt regular and orderly, when to our weak and diſtant underſtanding they ſeem moſt irregular and diſturb'd.

And thoſe untruly errant call'd, I trow,
Since he errs not, who doth them guide and move.
Fairfax's Taſſo, Cant. 9. St. 6.

Aſtra tum ea quæ ſunt infixa certis locis, tum illa non re ſed vocabulo errantia, &c. Cicero Tuſc. Diſp. I. 25. And in their motions ſuch divine perfection appears, and their harmonious proportion ſo tunes her charming notes, that God himſelf, pleas'd and delighted, pronounced them good, Gen. I. 18. There is a text in Job XXXVIII. 37. that ſeems to favor the opinion of the Pythagoreans, concerning the muſical motion of the ſpheres, though our tranſlation differ therein from other verſions. *Concentum cæli quis dormire faciet?* Who ſhall lay aſleep, or ſtill the conſort of the Heaven? But this is to be underſtood metaphorically, of the wonderful proportions obſerved by the heavenly bodies in their various motions. *Hume.*

633. —— *rubied nectar*] Nectar of the color of rubies; a tranſlation of Homer's νεκταρ ερυθρον. Iliad. XIX. 38.

—— αμβροσιην και νεκταρ ερυθρον.

and Odyſſ. V. 93.

—— παρεθηκε τραπεζαν
Αμβροσιης πλησασα, κεραασε δε νεκταρ ερυθρον.

634. *In pearl*, &c.] This feaſt of the Angels

(For we have alſo our evening and our morn,
We ours for change delectable, not need)
Forthwith from dance to ſweet repaſt they turn
Deſirous; all in circles as they ſtood,
Tables are ſet, and on a ſudden pil'd
With Angels food, and rubied nectar flows
In pearl, in diamond, and maſſy gold,
Fruit of delicious vines, the growth of Heaven.
On flow'rs repos'd, and with freſh flow'rets crown'd,
They eat, they drink, and in communion ſweet
Quaff

Angels is much richer than the banquet of the Gods in Homer's Iliad, IV. 3. Homer's Gods drink nectar in golden cups χρυσεοις δεπαεσσι; but here the nectar flows *in pearl, in diamond, and maſſy gold.*

637. *They eat, they drink,* &c.] In the firſt edition it was thus,

They eat, they drink, and with refection ſweet
Are fill'd, before th' all-bounteous King,

In the ſecond edition the author alter'd it and added as follows,

They eat, they drink, and in communion ſweet
Quaff immortality and joy, ſecure
Of ſurfeit where full meaſure only bounds
Exceſs, before th' all-bounteous King,

Dr. Bentley is for reſtoring the former reading, but we think that *in communion ſweet* gives a much better idea than *with refection ſweet.* To *quaff immortality and joy,* to drink largely and plentifully of immortal joy, is a very poetical expreſſion, and plainly alluding to Pſal. XXXVI. 8, 9. *Thou ſhalt make them drink of the river of thy pleaſures; for with thee is the fountain of life, and in thy light ſhall we ſee light.* If theſe verſes were left out, then (as Dr. Pearce rightly obſerves) the words in ver. 641. which repreſent God as *rejoicing in their joy,* would refer to ſomething that is no where to be found; and therefore Milton (he ſuppoſes) inſerted theſe verſes in the ſecond edition, that the *joy* of the Angels might be expreſs'd. *Secure of ſurfeit,* are in no danger of it, are not liable to it, as men are. *Where full meaſure only bounds exceſs,* full meaſure is the only thing that ſtints and limits them; the utmoſt they are capable of containing is the only bound ſet to them; they have full meaſure, but they cannot be too full, they cannot overflow; *without o'erflowing full.*

641. — *rejoicing*

Quaff immortality and joy, ſecure
Of ſurfeit where full meaſure only bounds
Exceſs, before th' all-bounteous King, who ſhow'rd
With copious hand, rejoicing in their joy.
Now when ambroſial night with clouds exhal'd
From that high mount of God, whence light and ſhade
Spring both, the face of brighteſt Heav'n had chang'd
To grateful twilight (for night comes not there
In darker veil) and roſeat dews diſpos'd
All but th' unſleeping eyes of God to reſt;
Wide over all the plain, and wider far
Than all this globous earth in plain outſpread,
(Such are the courts of God) th' angelic throng,
Diſpers'd in bands and files, their camp extend
By living ſtreams among the trees of life,
Pavilions numberleſs, and ſudden rear'd,

Celeſtial

641. — *rejoicing in their joy.*] What an idea of the divine goodneſs, whoſe perfect happineſs ſeems to receive an addition from that of his creatures! *Richardſon.*

642. —— *ambroſial night*] So Homer calls the night *ambroſial*, Αμβροσιην δια νυκτα, Iliad. II. 57. and ſleep for the ſame reaſon *ambroſial*, ver. 19. becauſe it refreſhes and ſtrengthens as much as food, as much as ambroſia.

646. *In darker veil*] Milton ſpells this word differently, ſometimes *vail*, ſometimes *veil*; but *veil* is right from the Latin *velum*.

647. *All but th' unſleeping eyes of God to reſt;*] So the Pſalmiſt, Pſal. CXXI. 4. *He that keepeth Iſrael ſhall neither ſlumber nor ſleep.* The author had likewiſe Homer in mind, Iliad. II. 1.

Αλλοι μεν ρα Θεοι ——
Ευδον παννυχιοι· Δια δ' ουκ εχε νηδυμος υπνος.

Th' im-

Celeſtial tabernacles, where they ſlept
Fann'd with cool winds; ſave thoſe who in their courſe
Melodious hymns about the ſovran throne
Alternate all night long: but not ſo wak'd
Satan; ſo call him now, his former name
Is heard no more in Heav'n; he of the firſt,
If not the firſt Arch-Angel, great in power,
In favor and præeminence, yet fraught
With envy againſt the Son of God, that day
Honor'd by his great Father, and proclam'd
Meſſiah King anointed, could not bear
Through pride that ſight, and thought himſelf impair'd.
Deep malice thence conceiving and diſdain,
Soon as midnight brought on the dusky hour
Friendlieſt to ſleep and ſilence, he reſolv'd
With all his legions to diſlodge, and leave

Un-

Th'immortals ſlumber'd on their thrones above,
All, but the ever-wakeful eyes of Jove.
Pope.

653. —— *and ſudden rear'd,*] There is no need to read *rear* with Dr. Bentley. *Rear'd* here is a participle. Their tents were numberleſs, and rear'd of a ſudden.

657. *Alternate all night long:*] *Alternate* is a verb here; *alternate hymns*, ſing by turns, and anſwer one another.

Illi *alternantes* multa vi prælia miſcent.

Virg. Georg. III. 220. of two bulls fighting.

Hæc *alternanti* potior ſententia viſa eſt.

Æn. IV. 287. of Æneas deliberating whether he ſhould ſtay or go.

Unworſhipt, unobey'd the throne ſupreme
Contemptuous, and his next ſubordinate
Awak'ning, thus to him in ſecret ſpake.
Sleep'ſt thou, Companion dear, what ſleep can cloſe
Thy eye-lids? and remember'ſt what decree
Of yeſterday, ſo late hath paſs'd the lips
Of Heav'n's Almighty. Thou to me thy thoughts
Waſt wont, I mine to thee was wont to impart;
Both waking we were one; how then can now
Thy ſleep diſſent? New laws thou ſeeſt impos'd;

New

671. —— *his next ſubordinate*] Beelzebub, who is always repreſented ſecond to Satan. Satan addreſſes him firſt here, as he does likewiſe upon the burning lake, Book I.

673. *Sleep'ſt thou, Companion dear, what ſleep can cloſe*
Thy eye-lids? and remember'ſt what decree &c.] We have printed the paſſage with Milton's own punctuation. *Sleep'ſt thou, Companion dear,* Ευδεις Ατρειδη υιε; Iliad. II. 23. *What ſleep can cloſe thy eye-lids? and remember'ſt* &c. that is *when thou remember'ſt* &c.

— potes hoc ſub caſu ducere ſomnos?
Virg. Æn. IV. 560.

It is juſt the ſame manner of ſpeaking as in II. 730.

—— what fury, O Son,
Poſſeſſes thee to bend that mortal dart
Againſt thy Father's head? *and know'ſt for whom*;

at the ſame time that thou know'ſt for whom.

682. —— *more in this place*
To utter is not ſafe.] This is a verſe, but I believe the reader will agree, that it could not have had ſo good an effect, had it been an entire verſe by itſelf, as it has now it is broken and made part of two verſes.

684. *Of all thoſe myriads which we lead the chief*;] Dr. Bentley reads *the chiefs:* but Milton ſpeaks after the ſame manner as here, in II. 469. *Others among the chief* &c. And in both places *the chief* ſignifies the ſame as *the chiefs*, only this is a ſubſtantive, and that is an adjective, agreeing with the word *Angels* underſtood in the conſtruction. *Pearce.*

685. *Tell them that by command*, &c.] He begins his revolt with a lie. So well doth Milton preſerve the character given of him in Scripture. John VIII. 44. *The Devil is a liar, and the father of lies.*

689. *The quarters of the north*;] See Sannazarius De partu Virginis, III. 40.

Vos,

New laws from him who reigns, new minds may raiſe
In us who ſerve, new counſels, to debate
What doubtful may enſue: more in this place
To utter is not ſafe. Aſſemble thou
Of all thoſe myriads which we lead the chief;
Tell them that by command, ere yet dim night
Her ſhadowy cloud withdraws, I am to haſte,
And all who under me their banners wave,
Homeward with flying march where we poſſeſs
The quarters of the north; there to prepare

Fit

Vos, quum omne arderet cœlum ſervilibus armis,
Arctoumque furor pertenderet impius axem
Scandere, et in gelidos regnum transferre Triones,
Fida manus mecum manſiſtis.

There are other paſſages in the ſame poem of which Milton has made uſe. *Jortin.*

Some have thought that Milton intended, but I dare ſay he was above intending here any reflection upon Scotland, tho' being himſelf an Independent, he had no great affection for the Scotch Presbyterians. He had the authority, we ſee, of Sannazarius for fixing Satan's rebellion in *the quarters of the north*, and he had much better authority, the ſame that Sannazarius had, that of the Prophet, whoſe words though apply'd to the king of Babylon, yet allude to this rebellion of Satan, Iſaiah XIV. 12, 13. *How art thou fall'n from Heaven, O Lucifer, ſon of the morning! — For thou haſt ſaid in thine heart, I will aſcend into Heaven, I will exalt my throne above the ſtars of God. I will ſit alſo upon the mount of the congregation in the ſides of the north.* The *north* conveys the idea of a diſagreeable cold inclement ſky; and in Scripture we read, *Out of the north an evil ſhall break forth*, Jer. I. 14. *I will bring evil from the north and a great deſtruction*, Jer. IV. 6. *Evil appeareth out of the north*, Jer. VI. 1. And Shakeſpear in like manner calls Satan *the monarch of the north*, 1 Henry VI. Act V.

And ye choice Spirits, that admoniſh me,
And give me ſigns of future accidents,
You ſpeedy helpers, that are ſubſtitutes
Under the lordly *monarch of the north.*

I have ſeen too a Latin poem by Odoricus Valmarana, printed at Vienna in 1627, and intitled *Dæmonomachiæ ſive De Bello Intelligentiarum*

Fit entertainment to receive our king
The great Meſſiah, and his new commands,
Who ſpeedily through all the hierarchies
Intends to paſs triumphant, and give laws.
So ſpake the falſe Arch-Angel, and infus'd
Bad influence into th'unwary breaſt
Of his aſſociate: he together calls,
Or ſeveral one by one, the regent Powers,
Under him regent; tells, as he was taught,
That the moſt High commanding, now ere night,
Now ere dim night had diſincumber'd Heaven,

The

tiarum ſuper Divini Verbi incarnatione. This poem is longer than the Iliad, for it conſiſts of five and twenty books; but it equals the Iliad in nothing but in length, for the poetry is very indifferent. However in ſome particulars the plan of this poem is very like Paradiſe Loſt. It opens with the exaltation of the Son of God, and thereupon Lucifer revolts, and draws a third part of the Angels after him into *the quarters of the north.*

—— pars tertia lævam
Hoc duce perſequitur, gelidoque aquilone locatur.

It is more probable, that Milton had ſeen this poem than ſome others, from which he is charged with borrowing largely. He was indeed an univerſal ſcholar, and read all ſorts of authors, and took hints from the Moderns as well as the Ancients. He was a great genius, but a great genius form'd by reading; and as it was ſaid of Virgil, he collected gold out of the dung of other authors.

702. *Tells the ſuggeſted cauſe,*] The cauſe that Satan had ſuggeſted, namely to prepare entertainment for their new king and receive his laws: *and caſts between ambiguous words,* imitated from Virg. Æn. II. 98.

—— hinc ſpargere voces
In vulgum ambiguas.

708. *His count'nance, as the morning ſtar that guides* &c.] This ſimilitude is not ſo new as poetical. Virgil in like manner compares the beautiful young Pallas to the morning ſtar, Æn. VIII. 589.

Qualis, ubi oceani perfuſus Lucifer unda,
Quem Venus ante alios aſtrorum diligit ignes,
Extulit os ſacrum cœlo, tenebraſque reſolvit.

So from the ſeas exerts his radiant head
The ſtar, by whom the lights of Heav'n are led;

Shakes

The great hierarchal ſtandard was to move;
Tells the ſuggeſted cauſe, and caſts between
Ambiguous words and jealouſies, to ſound
Or taint integrity: but all obey'd
The wonted ſignal, and ſuperior voice
Of their great potentate; for great indeed
His name, and high was his degree in Heaven;
His count'nance, as the morning ſtar that guides
The ſtarry flock, allur'd them, and with lies
Drew after him the third part of Heav'n's hoſt.
Mean while th' eternal eye, whoſe ſight diſcerns

Ab-

Shakes from his roſy locks the pearly dews,
Diſpels the darkneſs, and the day renews.
Dryden.

But there is a much greater propriety in Milton's comparing Satan to the morning ſtar, as he is often ſpoken of under the name of Lucifer, as well as denominated in Scripture, *Lucifer ſon of the morning*. Iſaiah XIV. 12.

709. —— *and with lies* &c.] Dr. Bentley ſays that the author gave it *and his lies* &c. but by the expreſſion *his countenance* is meant he himſelf, a part being put for the whole, as in II. 683. we have *front* put for the whole perſon: it is very frequent in Scripture to uſe the word *face* or *countenance* in this ſenſe: as in Luke IX. 53. we read of our Saviour, that the *Samaritans did not receive him, becauſe his face was as tho' he* (Greek, it) *would go to Jeruſalem.* See alſo Levit. XIX. 32. But if this will not be allow'd to be Milton's meaning, yet it may be ſaid that Satan's *countenance*, ſeducing his followers by diſguiſing the foul intentions of his heart, may be very properly ſaid to *ſeduce with lies.* We read in Cicero's Epiſtles to his brother, *frons, oculi*, vultus *perſæpe mentiuntur*. Lib. 1. Ep. 1. c. 5. *Pearce.*

710. *Drew after him the third part of Heav'n's hoſt.*] *Behold a great red dragon —— and his tail drew the third part of the ſtars of Heaven, and did caſt them to the earth.* Rev. XII. 3, 4. Dr. Bentley finds fault with this verſe as very bad meaſure: but as a perſon of much better taſte obſerves, there is a great beauty in the fall of the numbers in this line after the majeſty of thoſe before and after it, occaſion'd principally by the change of the fourth foot from an iambic into a trochaic; an artifice often made uſe of by Milton to vary his numbers by thoſe diſcords.

Drew after him the third pārt ŏf Heav'n's hoſt.

711. *Mean while th' eternal eye, whoſe ſight diſcerns* &c.] Dr. Bentley ſeems very ſure that

Abſtruſeſt thoughts, from forth his holy mount
And from within the golden lamps that burn
Nightly before him, ſaw without their light
Rebellion riſing, ſaw in whom, how ſpread
Among the ſons of morn, what multitudes
Were banded to oppoſe his high decree;
And ſmiling to his only Son thus ſaid.
  Son, thou in whom my glory I behold
In full reſplendence, Heir of all my might,
Nearly it now concerns us to be ſure
Of

that Milton's text is wrong here, becauſe in the courſe of the conſtruction it is ſaid of *this eternal eye* that it *ſmiling ſaid*, ver. 718. He would therefore perſuade us that Milton gave it

  Mean while th' Eternal, *He* whoſe ſight diſcerns &c.

But would not *He* in this place thus following *th' Eternal* be a botch in poetry? Milton frequently takes a liberty, allowable in a poet, of expreſſing only ſome part or quality of a perſon, when he means the perſon himſelf, and goes on to ſay things which (properly ſpeaking) are applicable only to the perſon himſelf. And Milton had good authority for doing ſo: in Pſal. LIV. 7. the *eye* is made a perſon, *mine eye ſhall ſee his deſire upon mine enemies:* ſo in Mat. XX. 15. the *eye* is put for the whole man, *Is thine eye evil, becauſe I am good?* See alſo Prov. XXX. 17. *Pearce.*

His count'nance allur'd, and with lies drew after him &c. *The eternal eye ſaw* &c. *and ſmiling ſaid* — give great offence to Dr. Bentley, and Dr. Pearce ſays, *his countenance* and *the eternal eye* are the part for the whole or the perſon. But a very learned and ingenious friend queſtions, whether they are not here uſed equivocally, and to be conſtrued either as one or the other according as the ſenſe requires. 'Tis Satan's countenance that allures them like the morning ſtar, but 'tis Satan himſelf that draws them after him with lies; ſo the eternal eye ſees, but the *ſmiling ſaid* muſt relate to the Eternal himſelf. Spenſer has a ſtronger inſtance of the impropriety here taken notice of by the critics, and it is repeated as here in Milton. Spenſer's Epithalamion.

Her long looſe yellow *locks* like golden wire,
Sprinkled with pearl, and perling flow'rs atween,
Do like a golden mantle *her attire:*
And being crowned with a girland green,
  Seem like ſome maiden queen.

Her

Of our omnipotence, and with what arms
We mean to hold what anciently we clame
Of deity or empire; ſuch a foe
Is riſing, who intends to' erect his throne
Equal to ours, throughout the ſpacious north;
Nor ſo content, hath in his thought to try
In battel, what our pow'r is, or our right.
Let us adviſe, and to this hazard draw
With ſpeed what force is left, and all employ
In our defenſe, leſt unawares we loſe

This

Her modeſt eyes abaſhed to behold
So many gazers, as on her do ſtare,
Upon the lowly ground *affixed are*;
Ne dare lift up her countenance too bold,
But *bluſh to hear* her praiſes ſung ſo loud,
So far from being proud.

713. *And from within the golden lamps*] Alluding to the lamps before the throne of God, which St. John ſaw in his viſion, Rev. IV. 5. *And there were ſeven lamps of fire burning before the throne.*

716. *Among the ſons of morn,*] The Angels are here call'd *ſons of the morning*, as Lucifer is in Iſa. XIV. 12. probably upon account of their early creation; or to expreſs the angelic beauty and gladneſs, the morning being the moſt delightful ſeaſon of the day. Job. XI. 17. *Thine age ſhall be clearer than the noon-day; thou ſhalt ſhine forth, thou ſhalt be as the morning.* XXXVIII. 7. *When the morning ſtars ſang together, and the ſons of God ſhouted for joy.* See alſo Cant. VI. 10. Iſa. LVIII. 8. *Richardſon.*

718. *And ſmiling*] Let not the pious reader be offended, becauſe the ſupreme Being is repreſented as *ſmiling* and ſpeaking ironically of his foes; for ſuch figures of ſpeech are not unuſual in the Scripture itſelf. Immediately after the fall of Man we read, Gen. III. 22. *And the Lord God ſaid, Behold the Man is become as one of us, to know good and evil.* There are ſeveral inſtances of the like manner of ſpeaking in the prophets. But this is particularly grounded upon Pſal. II. 1. &c. *Why do the Heathen rage, and the people imagin a vain thing? —— againſt the Lord and againſt his Anointed — He that ſitteth in the Heavens ſhall laugh, the Lord ſhall have them in deriſion.* It appears that our author had this paſſage in view, by his making the Son allude ſo plainly to it in his anſwer.

—— Mighty Father, thou thy foes
Juſtly haſt in deriſion, and ſecure
Laugh'ſt at their vain deſigns and tumults vain.

719. — *in whom my glory I behold*

This our high place, our ſanctuary, our hill.
To whom the Son with calm aſpect and clear;
Lightning divine, ineffable, ſerene,
Made anſwer. Mighty Father, thou thy foes
Juſtly haſt in deriſion, and ſecure
Laugh'ſt at their vain deſigns and tumults vain,
Matter to me of glory, whom their hate
Illuſtrates, when they ſee all regal power
Giv'n me to quell their pride, and in event
Know whether I be dextrous to ſubdue
Thy rebels, or be found the worſt in Heaven.
So ſpake the Son; but Satan with his Powers
Far was advanc'd on winged ſpeed, an hoſt
Innumerable as the ſtars of night,
Or ſtars of morning, dew-drops, which the ſun
Im-

In full reſplendence, Heir of all my might,] For *he is the brightneſs of his Father's glory, and appointed heir of all things*, Heb. I. 2, 3.

734. *Lightning divine,*] If *lightning* is a participle, the adjective *divine* is to be taken adverbially, as if he had ſaid *Lightning divinely*: but it is rather a ſubſtantive, and in Scripture the Angel's countenance is ſaid to have been like *lightning*, Dan. X. 6. Mat. XXVIII. 3.

746. *Or ſtars of morning, dew-drops,*] Innumerable as the ſtars is an old ſimile, but this of the ſtars of morning, dew-drops, ſeems as new as it is beautiful: And the ſun *impearls* them, turns them by his reflected beams to ſeeming pearls; as the morn was ſaid before to ſow the earth *with orient pearl*, ver. 2.

750. *In their triple degrees*;] This notion of *triples* in all the oeconomy of Angels is ſtarted by Taſſo, Cant. 18. St. 96.

In battel round of ſquadrons *three* they ſtood,
And all by *threes* thoſe ſquadrons ranged were:

and

Impearls on every leaf and every flower.
Regions they paſs'd, the mighty regencies
Of Seraphim and Potentates and Thrones
In their triple degrees; regions to which
All thy dominion, Adam, is no more
Than what this garden is to all the earth,
And all the ſea, from one entire globoſe
Stretch'd into longitude; which having paſs'd
At length into the limits of the north
They came, and Satan to his royal ſeat
High on a hill, far blazing, as a mount
Rais'd on a mount, with pyramids and towers
From diamond quarries hew'n, and rocks of gold;
The palace of great Lucifer, (ſo call
That ſtructure in the dialect of men
In-

and by Spenſer, Fairy Queen, B. 1. Cant. 12. St. 39.

Like as it had been many an Angel's voice
Singing before th' eternal Majeſty,
In their *trinal triplicities* on high.

The fancy was borrow'd from the Schoolmen. *Bentley.*

Spenſer has again the ſame notion, and uſes the ſame expreſſion in his Hymn of heavenly love,

There they in their *trinal triplicities*
About him wait, and on his will depend.

761. —— *in the dialect of men*] The learned reader cannot but be pleaſed with the poet's imitation of Homer in this line. Homer mentions perſons and things, which he tells us in the language of the Gods are call'd by different names from thoſe they go by in the language of men. Milton has imitated him with his uſual judgment in this particular place,

Interpreted) which not long after, he
Affecting all equality with God,
In imitation of that mount whereon
Meſſiah was declar'd in ſight of Heaven,
The Mountain of the Congregation call'd;
For thither he aſſembled all his train,
Pretending ſo commanded to conſult
About the great reception of their king
Thither to come, and with calumnious art
Of counterfeited truth thus held their ears.

Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers,
If theſe magnific titles yet remain
Not merely titular, ſince by decree
Another now hath to himſelf ingroſs'd
All pow'r, and us eclips'd under the name
Of King anointed, for whom all this haſte

Of

wherein he has likewiſe the authority of Scripture to juſtify him. *Addiſon.*

The ſcholiaſts and commentators upon Homer endevor to account for this manner of ſpeaking ſeveral ways; but the moſt probable is, that he attributes thoſe names which are in uſe only among the learned to the Gods, and thoſe which are in vulgar uſe to men. However that be, this manner of ſpeaking certainly gives a dignity to the poem, and looks as if the poets had converſed with the Gods themſelves.

766. *The Mountain of the Congregation call'd;*] Alluding to what we quoted before from Iſa. XIV. 13. *I will exalt my throne above the ſtars of God; I will ſit alſo upon* the mount of the congregation, *in the ſides of the north.*

790. *Natives and ſons of Heav'n poſſeſs'd before*

By

Of midnight march, and hurried meeting here,
This only to conſult how we may beſt
With what may be devis'd of honors new
Receive him coming to receive from us
Knee-tribute yet unpaid, proſtration vile,
Too much to one, but double how indur'd,
To one and to his image now proclam'd?
But what if better counſels might erect
Our minds, and teach us to caſt off this yoke?
Will ye ſubmit your necks, and chooſe to bend
The ſupple knee? ye will not, if I truſt
To know ye right, or if ye know yourſelves
Natives and ſons of Heav'n poſſeſs'd before
By none, and if not equal all, yet free,
Equally free; for orders and degrees
Jar not with liberty, but well conſiſt.

Who

By none,] Dr. Bentley's falſe pointing of this paſſage has led others to miſtake the ſenſe of it, as well as himſelf. He refers the word *poſſeſs'd* to *natives and ſons*, but ſhould it not rather be referred to *Heav'n* the word immediately preceding, there being no comma between them in Milton's own editions, as there is in Dr. Bentley's? And is not the paſſage to be underſtood thus, that *No one poſſeſs'd Heaven before them*, they were a ſort of Aborigines? which notion Satan explains more at large in his following ſpeech, ver. 859.

We know no time when we were not as now;
Know none before us, ſelf-begot, ſelf-rais'd
By our own quick'ning pow'r, when fatal courſe
Had circled his full orb, the birth mature
Of this our native Heav'n, ethereal ſons.

792. —— *for orders and degrees*

Jar

Who can in reaſon then or right aſſume
Monarchy over ſuch as live by right
His equals, if in pow'r and ſplendor leſs,
In freedom equal? or can introduce
Law and edict on us, who without law
Err not? much leſs for This to be our Lord,
And look for adoration to th' abuſe
Of thoſe imperial titles, which aſſert
Our being ordain'd to govern, not to ſerve.
  Thus far his bold diſcourſe without controll
Had audience, when among the Seraphim
Abdiel, than whom none with more zeal ador'd
The Deity', and divine commands obey'd,
Stood

Jar not with liberty, but well conſiſt.] *Jar*, a metaphor taken from muſic, to which both the philoſophers and poets have always loved to compare government. So Shakeſpear, Henry V. Act I.

For government, though high, and low, and lower,
Put into parts, doth keep in one conſent;
Congreeing in a full and natural cloſe,
Like muſic:

and in Troilus and Creſſida, Act I.

Take but degree away, untune that ſtring,
And hark what diſcord follows.

799. —— *much leſs for This to be our Lord,*] This paſſage ſeems to me as inexplicable almoſt as any in Milton. Dr. Bentley thinks it hard to find what *for this* relates to; and therefore reads *forethink*, or if we have no regard to the likeneſs of the letters, *aſpire*, *preſume*, or other ſuch word. Then the ſeries (he ſays) will be this, *Who can introduce law and edict on us? much leſs* can he *forethink*, take it in his ſcheme or view, *to become our Lord* and maſter. Dr. Pearce ſays, that the ſentence is elliptical, and may be ſupply'd thus, *much leſs* can he *for this* (viz. for our being *leſs in power and ſplendor*, ver. 796.) in right aſſume *to be our Lord.* Mr. Richardſon underſtands it to be ſpoken blaſphemouſly

Stood up, and in a flame of zeal ſevere
The current of his fury thus oppos'd.
O argument blaſphēmous, falſe and proud!
Words which no ear ever to hear in Heaven
Expected, leaſt of all from thee, Ingrate,
In place thyſelf ſo high above thy peers.
Canſt thou with impious obloquy condemn
The juſt decree of God, pronounc'd and ſworn,
That to his ōnly Son by right indued
With regal ſcepter, every ſoul in Heaven
Shall bend the knee, and in that honor due
Confeſs him rightful King? unjuſt, thou ſay'ſt,
Flatly unjuſt, to bind with laws the free,

And

blaſphemouſly and with contempt of the Meſſiah, This *another*, ver. 775. This *King anointed*, ver. 777. And then the ſenſe will run after this manner, *Who can then in juſtice aſſume monarchy over equals? or can introduce a law and edict upon us, who without law are infallible? much leſs can he introduce a law and edict for This* (I don't ſay what) *to be our Lord and receive adoration from us.* But then we muſt write *This* with a great letter, and we muſt not continue the note of interrogation at the end of the ſpeech. If we ſhould, I imagin we ſhould be oblig'd to read *much more* inſtead of *much leſs.*

809. *O argument blaſphēmous,*] And ſo likewiſe in VI. 360.

Refrain'd his tongue *blaſphēmous*; but anon, *&c.*

which are the only two places where he uſes the word, he pronounces the ſecond ſyllable long according to the Greek. And ſo Spenſer too uſes the word, Fairy Queen, B. 6. Cant. 12. St. 34.

And therein ſhut up his *blaſphēmous* tongue.

And St. 25.

And altars fouled, and *blaſphēmy* ſpoke.

835. — *of*

And equal over equals to let reign,
One over all with unſucceeded power.
Shalt thou give law to God, ſhalt thou diſpute
With him the points of liberty, who made
Thee what thou art, and form'd the Pow'rs of Heaven
Such as he pleas'd, and circumſcrib'd their being?
Yet by experience taught we know how good,
And of our good and of our dignity
How provident he is, how far from thought
To make us leſs, bent rather to exalt
Our happy ſtate under one head more near
United. But to grant it thee unjuſt,
That equal over equals monarch reign:
Thyſelf though great and glorious doſt thou count,
Or all angelic nature join'd in one,
Equal to him begotten Son? by whom
As by his Word the mighty Father made
All things, ev'n thee; and all the Spi'rits of Heaven
By him created in their bright degrees,

Crown'd

835. —— *by whom* &c.] Col. I. 16, 17. *For by him were all things created that are in Heaven, and that are in Earth, viſible and inviſible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities,*

Crown'd them with glory', and to their glory nam'd
Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers,
Eſſential Pow'rs; nor by his reign obſcur'd,
But more illuſtrious made; ſince he the head
One of our number thus reduc'd becomes;
His laws our laws; all honor to him done
Returns our own. Ceaſe then this impious rage,
And tempt not theſe; but haſten to appeaſe
Th' incenſed Father, and th' incenſed Son,
While pardon may be found in time beſought.
So ſpake the fervent Angel; but his zeal
None ſeconded, as out of ſeaſon judg'd,
Or ſingular and raſh, whereat rejoic'd
Th' Apoſtate, and more haughty thus reply'd.
That we were form'd then ſay'ſt thou? and the work
Of ſecondary hands, by task transferr'd
From Father to his Son? ſtrange point and new!
Doctrin which we would know whence learn'd: who ſaw
When this creation was? remember'ſt thou
Thy

principalities, or powers; all things were created by him and for him, and he is before all things, and by him all things conſiſt: and the concluſion of this ſpeech is taken from the concluſion of Pſal. II.

Thy making, while the Maker gave thee being?
We know no time when we were not as now;
Know none before us, ſelf-begot, ſelf-rais'd
By our own quick'ning pow'r, when fatal courſe
Had circled his full orb, the birth mature
Of this our native Heav'n, ethereal ſons.
Our puiſſance is our own; our own right hand
Shall teach us higheſt deeds, by proof to try
Who is our equal: then thou ſhalt behold
Whether by ſupplication we intend
Addreſs, and to begirt th' almighty throne
Beſeeching or beſieging. This report,
Theſe tidings carry to th' anointed King;

And

861. —— *when fatal courſe* &c.] We may obſerve that our author makes Satan a ſort of fataliſt. We Angels (ſays he) were *ſelf-begot, ſelf-rais'd by our own quick'ning pow'r, when the courſe of fate had completed its full round and period*; then we were *the birth mature*, the production in due ſeaſon, *of this our native Heaven*. No compliment to fataliſm to put it into the mouth of the Devil.

864. *Our puiſſance is our own*;] It has been wonder'd that Milton ſhould conſtantly pronounce this word and *puiſſant* the adjective with two ſyllables, when they would be more ſonorous with three. But in this he conforms to the practice and example of the beſt writers. So Fairfax in his Taſſo, Cant. 18. St. 55.

And 'gainſt the northern gate my *puiſſance* bend.

and Cant. 19. St. 72.

Of this your terrible and *puiſſant* knight.

Tho' Spenſer I find makes them ſometimes three, as well as ſometimes two Syllables. As Shakeſpear does likewiſe, 2 Hen. IV. Act I.

Upon the pow'r and *puiſſance* of the king,

and a little afterwards,

And

And fly, ere evil intercept thy flight.
He ſaid, and as the ſound of waters deep
Hoarſe murmur echo'd to his words applauſe
Through the infinite hoſt; nor leſs for that
The flaming Seraph fearleſs, though alone
Incompaſs'd round with foes, thus anſwer'd bold.
O alienate from God, O Spirit accurs'd,
Forſaken of all good; I ſee thy fall
Determin'd, and thy hapleſs crew involv'd
In this perfidious fraud, contagion ſpread
Both of thy crime and puniſhment: henceforth
No more be troubled how to quit the yoke
Of God's Meſſiah; thoſe indulgent laws
Will

And come againſt us in full *puiſſance.*

In the former line *puiſſance* is uſed as two ſyllables, and in the latter as three. It was certainly better in Milton to make it all the one or all the other.

864. —— *our own right hand*
Shall teach us higheſt deeds,] From Pſal. XLV. 4. *Thine own right hand ſhall teach thee terrible things.*

Dextra mihi Deus, et telum quod miſſile libro.
Virg. Æn. X. 773. *Bentley.*

869. *Beſeeching or beſieging.*] Thoſe which are thought the faults of Milton may be juſtify'd by the authority of the beſt writers. This ſort of jingle is like that in Terence, Andria, Act I. Sc. III. 13.

— inceptio eſt *amentium,* haud *amantium*;

and that in Shakeſpear, Hamlet, Act I.

A little more than *kin,* and leſs than *kind.*

872. —— *and as the ſound of waters deep*] *The voice of a great multitude* applauding is in

Will not be now vouchſaf'd; other decrees
Againſt thee are gone forth without recall;
That golden ſcepter, which thou didſt reject,
Is now an iron rod to bruiſe and break
Thy diſobedience. Well thou didſt adviſe,
Yet not for thy advice or threats I fly
Theſe wicked tents devoted, leſt the wrath
Impendent, raging into ſudden flame
Diſtinguiſh not: for ſoon expect to feel
His thunder on thy head, devouring fire.
Then who created thee lamenting learn,
When who can uncreate thee thou ſhalt know.
So ſpake the Seraph Abdiel faithful found

Among

like manner compared, Rev. XIX. 6. to *the voice of many waters.*

887. *Is now an iron rod to bruiſe and break*] Alluding to Pſal. II. 9. *Thou ſhalt break them with a rod of iron:* or rather to the old tranſlation, *Thou ſhalt bruiſe them with a rod of iron, and break them in pieces like a potters veſſel.*

890. *Theſe wicked tents devoted, leſt the wrath* &c.] In alluſion probably to the rebellion of Korah *&c.* Numb. XVI. where Moſes exhorts the congregation, ſaying, *Depart, I pray you, from the tents of theſe wicked men, leſt ye be conſumed in all their ſins,* ver. 26. But the conſtruction without doubt is deficient. It may be ſupply'd (as Dr. Pearce ſays) by underſtanding *but I fly* before the word *leſt.* See the ſame elliptical way of ſpeaking in II. 483. But it would be plainer and eaſier with Dr. Bentley's alteration, if there was any authority for it;

Theſe wicked tents *devote, but* leſt the wrath *&c.*

896. *So ſpake the Seraph Abdiel faithful found* &c.] The part of Abdiel, who was the only Spirit that in this infinite hoſt of Angels preſerved his allegiance to his Maker, exhibits to

us

Among the faithleſs, faithful only he;
Among innumerable falſe, unmov'd,
Unſhaken, unſeduc'd, unterrify'd
His loyalty he kept, his love, his zeal;
Nor number, nor example with him wrought
To ſwerve from truth, or change his conſtant mind
Though ſingle. From amidſt them forth he paſs'd,
Long way through hoſtile ſcorn, which he ſuſtain'd
Superior, nor of violence fear'd ought;
And with retorted ſcorn his back he turn'd
On thoſe proud tow'rs to ſwift deſtruction doom'd.

us a noble moral of religious ſingularity. The zeal of the Seraphim breaks forth in a becoming warmth of ſentiments and expreſſions, as the character which is given us of him denotes that generous ſcorn and intrepidity which attends heroic virtue. The author doubtleſs deſign'd it as a pattern to thoſe, who live among mankind in their preſent ſtate of degeneracy and corruption. *Addiſon.*

The end of the Fifth Book.

BRITISH MUSEUM



F. Hayman inv. et del. C. Grignion Sculp.

THE SIXTH BOOK OF PARADISE LOST.

THE ARGUMENT.

Raphael continues to relate how Michael and Gabriel were ſent forth to battel againſt Satan and his Angels. The firſt fight deſcrib'd: Satan and his Powers retire under night: He calls a council, invents deviliſh engins, which in the ſecond day's fight put Michael and his Angels to ſome diſorder; but they at length pulling up mountains overwhelm'd both the force and machines of Satan: Yet the tumult not ſo ending, God on the third day ſends Meſſiah his Son, for whom he had reſerv'd the glory of that victory: He in the power of his Father coming to the place, and cauſing all his legions to ſtand ſtill on either ſide, with his chariot and thunder driving into the midſt of his enemies, purſues them unable to reſiſt towards the wall of Heaven; which opening, they leap down with horror and confuſion into the place of puniſhment prepar'd for them in the deep: Meſſiah returns with triumph to his Father.

PARADISE LOST.

BOOK VI.

We are now entring upon the ſixth book of Paradiſe Loſt, in which the poet deſcribes the battel of Angels; having raiſed his reader's expectation, and prepared him for it by ſeveral paſſages in the preceding books. I omitted quoting theſe paſſages in my obſervations upon the former books, having purpoſely reſerved them for the opening of this, the ſubject of which gave occaſion to them. The author's imagination was ſo inflam'd with this great ſcene of action, that wherever he ſpeaks of it, he riſes, if poſſible, above himſelf. Thus where he mentions Satan in the beginning of his poem, I. 44. *&c.*

——— Him the almighty Power
Hurl'd headlong flaming from th'ethereal ſky,
With hideous ruin and combuſtion, down
To bottomleſs perdition, there to dwell
In adamantin chains and penal fire,
Who durſt defy th'Omnipotent to arms.

We have likewiſe ſeveral noble hints of it in the infernal conference, I. 128. *&c.*

O Prince! O Chief of many throned Powers,
That led th' imbattel'd Seraphim to war,
Too well I ſee and rue the dire event,
That with ſad overthrow and foul defeat
Hath loſt us Heav'n, and all this mighty hoſt
In horrible deſtruction laid thus low.
But ſee! the angry victor hath recall'd
His miniſters of vengeance and purſuit
Back to the gates of Heav'n: the ſulphurous hail
Shot after us in ſtorm, o'erblown hath laid
The fiery ſurge, that from the precipice
Of Heav'n receiv'd us falling; and the thunder,
Wing'd with red lightning and impetuous rage,
Perhaps hath ſpent his ſhafts, and ceaſes now
To bellow through the vaſt and boundleſs deep.

There are ſeveral other very ſublime images on the ſame ſubject in the firſt book, as alſo in the ſecond, II. 165. *&c.*

What when we fled amain, purſued and ſtruck
With Heav'n's afflicting thunder, and beſought
The deep to ſhelter us? this Hell then ſeem'd
A refuge from thoſe wounds.

In ſhort, the poet never mentions any thing of this battel but in ſuch images of greatneſs and terror as are ſuitable to the ſubject. Among ſeveral others I cannot forbear quoting that paſſage, where the Power, who is deſcribed as preſiding over the Chaos, ſpeaks in the ſecond book, II. 988. *&c.*

Thus Satan; and him thus the Anarch old,
With faltring ſpeech and viſage incompos'd,
Anſwer'd. I know thee, ſtranger, who thou art,
That mighty leading Angel, who of late
Made head againſt Heav'n's king, though overthrown.
I ſaw and heard, for ſuch a numerous hoſt
Fled not in ſilence through the frighted deep
With ruin upon ruin, rout on rout,
Confuſion worſe confounded; and Heav'n-gates
Pour'd out by millions her victorious bands
Purſuing.

It requir'd great pregnancy of invention and ſtrength of imagination, to fill this battel with ſuch circumſtances as ſhould raiſe and aſtoniſh the mind of the reader; and at the ſame time an exactneſs of judgment, to avoid every thing

ALL night the dreadleſs Angel unpurſued
Through Heav'n's wide champain held his way; till morn,
Wak'd by the circling hours, with roſy hand
Unbarr'd the gates of light. There is a cave
Within the mount of God, faſt by his throne,
Where light and darkneſs in perpetual round [Heaven through
Lodge and diſlodge by turns, which makes
Grateful viciſſitude, like day and night;
Light iſſues forth, and at the other door
Obſequious darkneſs enters, till her hour
To veil the Heav'n, though darkneſs there might well
Seem twilight here: and now went forth the morn
Such as in higheſt Heav'n, array'd in gold

Em-

that might appear light or trivial. Thoſe who look into Homer, are ſurpris'd to find his battels ſtill riſing one above another, and improving in horror, to the concluſion of the Iliad. Milton's fight of Angels is wrought up with the ſame beauty. It is uſher'd in with ſuch ſigns of wrath as are ſuitable to Omnipotence incenſed. The firſt engagement is carry'd on under a cope of fire, occaſion'd by the flights of innumerable burning darts and arrows which are diſcharged from either hoſt. The ſecond onſet is ſtill more terrible, as it is filled with thoſe artificial thunders, which ſeem to make the victory doubtful, and produce a kind of conſternation even in the good Angels. This is follow'd by the tearing up of mountains and promontaries; till, in the laſt place, the Meſſiah comes forth in the fulneſs of majeſty and terror. The pomp of his appearance amidſt the roarings of his thunders, the flaſhes of his lightnings, and the noiſe of his chariot-wheels, is deſcribed with the utmoſt flights of human imagination.

Addiſon.

2. —— *till morn,*
Wak'd by the circling hours, with roſy hand
Unbarr'd the gates of light.] This is copied from Homer's Iliad, V. 749. where the hours are

Empyreals from before her vaniſh'd night,
Shot through with orient beams; when all the plain
Cover'd with thick imbattel'd ſquadrons bright,
Chariots and flaming arms, and fiery ſteeds
Reflecting blaze on blaze, firſt met his view:
War he perceiv'd, war in procinct, and found
Already known what he for news had thought
To have reported: gladly then he mix'd
Among thoſe friendly Pow'rs, who him receiv'd
With joy and acclamations loud, that one,
That of ſo many myriads fall'n, yet one
Return'd not loſt: On to the ſacred hill
They led him high applauded, and preſent
Before the ſeat ſupreme; from whence a voice

From

are feign'd in like manner to guard the gates of Heaven.

——— πυλαι — ουρανὸ, ας ἐχον Ωραι,
Τῆς ἐπιτετραπῆαι μεγας ουρανῶ, Ουλυμπος τε,
Ἠμεν ἀναχλιναι πυκινον νεφῶ, ηδ' ἐπιθειναι.

Heav'n's golden gates, kept by the winged hours;
Commiſſion'd in alternate watch they ſtand,
The ſun's bright portals and the ſkies command,
Involve in clouds th' eternal gates of day,
Or the dark barrier roll with eaſe away. Pope.

14. ——— *vaniſh'd night*,] It is very abſurdly printed in ſome editions, *vanquiſh'd night*.

15. *Shot through with orient beams*;] This quaint conceit of *night's being ſhot through* &c is much below the uſual dignity of Milton's deſcriptions. The Italian poets, even the very beſt of them, are fond of ſuch boyiſh fancies, and there is no doubt but we are obliged to them for this. *Thyer*.

19. ——— *war in procinct*,] The Roman ſoldiers were ſaid to ſtand *in procinctu*, when ready to give the onſet. *Hume*. As if you ſhould ſay ready girded, in alluſion to the Ancients, who juſt before the battel us'd to gird their garments cloſe to them, which on

From midſt a golden cloud thus mild was heard.
Servant of God, well done, well haſt thou fought
The better fight, who ſingle haſt maintain'd
Againſt revolted multitudes the cauſe
Of truth, in word mightier than they in arms;
And for the teſtimony of truth haſt borne
Univerſal reproach, far worſe to bear
Than violence; for this was all thy care
To ſtand approv'd in ſight of God, though worlds
Judg'd thee perverſe: the eaſier conqueſt now
Remains thee, aided by this hoſt of friends,
Back on thy foes more glorious to return
Than ſcorn'd thou didſt depart, and to ſubdue
By force, who reaſon for their law refuſe,
Right

other occaſions they wore very looſe. See Feſtus. *Richardſon.*

29. *Servant of God,*] So the name of *Abdiel* ſignifies in Hebrew.

34. *Univerſal reproach, far worſe to bear Than violence;*] This ſentiment is very juſt, and not unlike what Florus ſays in his character of Tarquin the proud — in omnes ſuperbia, quæ crudelitate gravior eſt bonis, graſſatus, Flor. Lib. 1. c. 7. *Thyer.* *Univerſal reproach,* Here are two Trochees, and not an Iambic till the third foot; and ſo likewiſe in V. 874.

Through the infinite host —

This meaſure is not very common: but as Mr. Jortin obſerves, Milton often inſerts harſh verſes, when he could eaſily have alter'd them, judging, I ſuppoſe, that they had the ſame effect in poetry, which diſcords have in muſic.

41. — *reaſon for their law*] Alluding to the word Λογος.

44. *Go Michael of celeſtial armies prince,*] As this battel of the Angels is founded principally on Rev. XII. 7, 8. *There was war in Heaven; Michael and his Angels fought againſt the Dragon,*

Right reaſon for their law, and for their king
Meſſiah, who by right of merit reigns.
Go Michael of celeſtial armies prince,
And thou in military proweſs next
Gabriel, lead forth to battel theſe my ſons
Invincible, lead forth my armed Saints
By thouſands and by millions rang'd for fight,
Equal in number to that Godleſs crew
Rebellious; them with fire and hoſtile arms
Fearleſs aſſault, and to the brow of Heaven
Purſuing drive them out from God and bliſs
Into their place of puniſhment, the gulf
Of Tartarus, which ready opens wide
His fiery Chaos to receive their fall.

So

gon, and the Dragon fought and his Angels, and prevailed not, neither was their place found any more in Heaven; Michael is rightly made by Milton the leader of the heavenly armies, and the name in Hebrew ſignifies the *power of God.* But it may be cenſur'd perhaps as a piece of wrong conduct in the poem, that the commiſſion here given is not executed; they are order'd to *drive* the rebel Angels *out from God and bliſs*, but this is effected at laſt by the Meſſiah alone. Some reaſons for it are aſſign'd in the ſpeech of God, ver. 680. and in that of the Meſſiah, ver. 801. in this book.

55. *His fiery Chaos*] *Chaos* may mean any place of confuſion; but if we take it ſtrictly, Tartarus or Hell was built in Chaos (II. 1002.) and therefore that part of it, being ſtor'd with fire, may not improperly be call'd *a fiery Chaos.* Dr. Bentley's change of *his* into *its*, becauſe *which* (not *who*) went before, proceeds upon a ſuppoſition that *which* is not to be referred to a perſon; though it is well known that formerly *which* was as often apply'd to a perſon as *who*: as Dr. Pearce obſerves.

56. — *and*

So ſpake the ſovran voice, and clouds began
To darken all the hill, and ſmoke to roll
In dusky wreaths, reluctant flames, the ſign
Of wrath awak'd; nor with leſs dread the loud
Ethereal trumpet from on high 'gan blow:
At which command the Powers militant,
That ſtood for Heav'n, in mighty quadrate join'd
Of union irreſiſtible, mov'd on
In ſilence their bright legions, to the ſound
Of inſtrumental harmony, that breath'd
Heroic ardor to adventrous deeds
Under their God-like leaders, in the cauſe
Of God and his Meſſiah. On they move

In-

56. —— *and clouds began*
To darken all the hill, and ſmoke to roll &c.] In this deſcription the author manifeſtly alludes to that of God deſcending upon mount Sinai, Exod. XIX. 16, &c. *And it came to paſs on the third day in the morning, that there were thunders, and lightnings, and a thick cloud upon the mount — and mount Sinai was altogether on a ſmoke, becauſe the Lord deſcended upon it in fire.*

58. — *reluctant flames,*] As ſlow and unwilling to break forth,

Stupa vomens *tardum* fumum.
Virg. Æn. V. 682.

64. *In ſilence*] So Homer obſerves, Iliad. III. 8. to the honor of his countrymen the Grecians, that they march'd on in ſilence, while the Trojans advanc'd with noiſe and clamor.

71.—*for high above the ground* &c.] Our author attributes the ſame kind of motion to the Angels, as the Ancients did to their Gods; which was gliding thro' the air without ever touching the ground with their feet, or as Milton elſewhere elegantly expreſſes it (B. VIII. 302.) *ſmooth-ſliding without ſtep*. And Homer, Iliad. V. 778. compares the motion of two Goddeſſes to the flight of doves, as Milton here

Indiſſolubly firm; nor obvious hill,
Nor ſtrait'ning vale, nor wood, nor ſtream divides
Their perfect ranks; for high above the ground
Their march was, and the paſſive air upbore
Their nimble tread; as when the total kind
Of birds, in orderly array on wing,
Came ſummon'd over Eden to receive
Their names of thee; ſo over many a tract
Of Heav'n they march'd, and many a province wide
Tenfold the length of this terrene: at laſt
Far in th' horizon to the north appear'd
From ſkirt to skirt a fiery region, ſtretch'd
In battailous aſpect, and nearer view

Briſtled

here compares the march of the Angels to the birds coming on the wing to Adam to receive their names,

Αι δε βαιην τρηρωσι πελειασιν ιθμαδ' ομοιαι

Smooth as the ſailing doves they glide along.
Pope.

73. — *as when the total kind* &c.] Homer has uſed the ſimile of a flight of fowls twice in his Iliad, to expreſs the number and the motions, the order and the clamors of an army. See Iliad II. 459. III. 2. As Virgil has done the ſame number of times in his Æneid, VII. 699. X. 264. But this ſimile exceeds any of thoſe; Firſt, as it riſes ſo naturally out of the ſubject, and was a compariſon ſo familiar to Adam. Secondly, the Angels were marching thro' the air, and not on the ground, which gives it another propriety; and here I believe the poet intended the chief likeneſs. Thirdly, The *total kind* of birds much more properly expreſſes a prodigious number than any particular ſpecies, or a collection in any particular place. Thus Milton has raiſed the image in proportion to his ſubject. See *An Eſſay upon Milton's imitations of the Ancients.* p. 9.

81. —— *and nearer view* &c.] To the north appear'd a fiery region, and nearer to the view

appear'd

Briſtled with upright beams innumerable
Of rigid ſpears, and helmets throng'd, and ſhields
Various, with boaſtful argument portray'd,
The banded Pow'rs of Satan haſting on
With furious expedition; for they ween'd
That ſelf-ſame day by fight, or by ſurpriſe,
To win the mount of God, and on his throne
To ſet the envier of his ſtate, the proud
Aſpirer, but their thoughts prov'd fond and vain
In the mid way: though ſtrange to us it ſeem'd
At firſt, that Angel ſhould with Angel war,
And in fierce hoſting meet, who wont to meet
So oft in feſtivals of joy and love
Unanimous, as ſons of one great ſire
Hymning th' eternal Father: but the ſhout
Of

appear'd the banded Powers of Satan. It appear'd a fiery region indiſtinctly at firſt, but upon nearer view it proved to be Satan's rebel army.

82. *Briſtled with upright beams* &c.] The Latins expreſs this by the word *horrere* taken from the *briſtling* on a wild boar's or other animal's back. Virg. Æn. XI. 601.

—— tum late ferreus haſtis
Horret ager.

Milton has before, in II. 513, the expreſſion of *horrent arms*.

84. *Various, with boaſtful argument portray'd,*] *Shields various* are varied with diverſe ſculptures and paintings; an elegant Latiniſm. And the thought of attributing *ſhields various, with boaſtful argument portray'd,* to the evil Angels ſeems to be taken from the Phœniſſæ of Euripides, where the heroes who beſiege Thebes are deſcrib'd with the like boaſtful ſhields, only the prophet Amphiaraus hath no ſuch boaſtful argument on his ſhield, but a ſhield without argument as became a modeſt man, ver. 1117.

Of battel now began, and ruſhing ſound
Of onſet ended ſoon each milder thought.
High in the midſt exalted as a God
Th' Apoſtate in his ſun-bright chariot ſat,
Idol of majeſty divine, inclos'd
With flaming Cherubim and golden ſhields;
Then lighted from his gorgeous throne, for now
'Twixt hoſt and hoſt but narrow ſpace was left,
A dreadful interval, and front to front
Preſented ſtood in terrible array
Of hideous length: before the cloudy van,
On the rough edge of battel ere it join'd,
Satan with vaſt and haughty ſtrides advanc'd
Came towring, arm'd in adamant and gold;
Abdiel that ſight indur'd not, where he ſtood
Among

Ο μανλις Αμφιαραϑ, ϗ σημει' εχων
Τϑωσμεν', αλλα σωφρονως ασημ' οπλα.

93. *And in fierce hoſting meet,*] This word *hoſting* ſeems to have been firſt coin'd by our author. It is a very expreſſive word, and plainly form'd from the ſubſtantive *hoſt*: And if ever it is right to make new words, it is when the occaſion is ſo new and extraordinary.

103. ——— *for now*
'Twixt hoſt and hoſt but narrow ſpace was left,] The ſame circumſtance Taſſo has in his deſcription of the deciſive battel before the walls of Jeruſalem, Cant. 20. St. 31.

Decreſce in mezo il campo. *Thyer.*

108. *On the rough edge of battel*] So we have in I. 276. *on the perilous edge of battel.* See the note there.

111. *Abdiel that ſight indur'd not,*] Virg. Æn. II. 407.

Non tulit hanc ſpeciem furiatâ mente Chorœbus.

Among the mightieſt, bent on higheſt deeds,
And thus his own undaunted heart explores.

O Heav'n! that ſuch reſemblance of the Higheſt
Should yet remain, where faith and reälty
Remain not: wherefore ſhould not ſtrength and might
There fail where virtue fails, or weakeſt prove
Where boldeſt, though to ſight unconquerable?
His puiſſance, truſting in th' Almighty's aid,
I mean to try, whoſe reaſon I have try'd
Unſound and falſe; nor is it ought but juſt,
That he who in debate of truth hath won,
Should win in arms, in both diſputes alike
Victor; though brutiſh that contéſt and foul,

When

113. *And thus his own undaunted heart explores.*] Such ſoliloquies are not uncommon in the poets at the beginning and even in the midſt of battels. Thus Hector, Iliad. XXII. 98. explores his own magnanimous heart, before he engages with Achilles,

Οχθησας δ' αρα ειπε προς ον μεγαλητορα θυμον.

He ſtood, and queſtion'd thus his mighty mind.
Pope.

A ſoliloquy upon ſuch an occaſion is only making the perſon *think aloud.* And as it is obſerved by a very good judge in theſe matters, this uſe of ſoliloquies by the epic poets, who might ſo much more eaſily than the dramatic deſcribe the workings of the mind in narrative, ſeems to be much in favor of the latter in their uſe of them, however the modern critics agree (as I think they generally do agree) in condemning them as unnatural, tho' not only frequent, but generally the moſt beautiful parts in the beſt plays ancient and modern; and I believe very few, if any, have been wrote without them.

115. —— *where faith and reälty*] The author (ſays Dr. Bentley) would not have ſaid *reälty* but *reality*, and therefore the Doctor prefers *feälty*, which is undoubtedly a proper word, but not neceſſary here. For *reälty* ſeems

When reaſon hath to deal with force, yet ſo
Moſt reaſon is that reaſon overcome.
So pondering, and from his armed peers
Forth ſtepping oppoſit, half way he met
His daring foe, at this prevention more
Incens'd, and thus ſecurely him defy'd.
Proud, art thou met? thy hope was to have reach'd
The highth of thy aſpiring unoppos'd,
The throne of God unguarded, and his ſide
Abandon'd at the terror of thy power
Or potent tongue: fool, not to think how vain
Againſt th' Omnipotent to riſe in arms;
Who out of ſmalleſt things could without end

Have

ſeems not to mean in this place *reality* in oppoſition to *ſhow*; but *loyalty*, for the Italian dictionaries explain the adjective *reale* by *loyal*. Beſides where is the difference between *faith*, and *feälty* or *fidelity*? Pearce.

119. —— *truſting in th' Almighty's aid,*] We may remark the piety of the good Angel; and indeed without the divine aid and aſſiſtance he would have been by no means a match for ſo ſuperior an Angel.

135. —— *fool, not to think how vain* &c.] So Waller in his Verſes *on the taking of Salle*,

Fools to provoke the ſov'reign of the ſea!

And Virgil, Æn. VI. 590.

Demens, qui nimbos et non imitabile fulmen &c.

And Homer frequently, from whence the reſt ſeem to have borrow'd it, tho' Mr. Pope has ſometimes leſſen'd the ſpirit of the expreſſion by tranſlating the word Νηπιος ſometimes

Fool that he was ——

and ſometimes making a whole line of it,

Fool that he was, and to the future blind.

But Milton has here particularly imitated Taſſo, Cant. 4. St. 2.

Come ſia pur leggiera impreſa (ahi ſtolto)
Il repugnare a la divina voglia &c.

Have rais'd inceſſant armies to defeat
Thy folly; or with ſolitary hand
Reaching beyond all limit, at one blow
Unaided could have finiſh'd thee, and whelm'd
Thy legions under darkneſs: but thou ſeeſt
All are not of thy train; there be who faith
Prefer, and piety to God, though then
To thee not viſible, when I alone
Seem'd in thy world erroneous to diſſent
From all: my ſect thou ſeeſt; now learn too late
How few ſometimes may know, when thouſands err.

Whom the grand foe with ſcornful eye askance
Thus anſwer'd. Ill for thee, but in wiſh'd hour
Of my revenge, firſt ſought for thou return'ſt
From flight, ſeditious Angel, to receive
Thy merited reward, the firſt aſſay

Of

O fool! as if it were a thing of nought
God to reſiſt, or change his purpoſe great, &c.
Fairfax.

139. —— *ſolitary hand*] His ſingle hand.

148. *How few ſometimes may know,*] Theſe *few* here are ſtill too many. To come up to the point he ſhould have given it, and I ſuppoſe did give it,

How *one* ſometimes may know, when thouſands err.

as above, ver. 23. *That one, yet one return'd not loſt.* Corn. Nepos in Epaminonda, Ex quo intelligi poteſt *unum* hominem pluris quam civitatem fuiſſe. Phædri Fab. LXIII.

Plus eſſe in *uno* ſæpe quam in turba boni.
Bentley.

Of this right hand provok'd, ſince firſt that tongue
Inſpir'd with contradiction durſt oppoſe
A third part of the Gods, in ſynod met
Their deities to aſſert, who while they feel
Vigor divine within them, can allow
Omnipotence to none. But well thou com'ſt
Before thy fellows, ambitious to win
From me ſome plume, that thy ſucceſs may ſhow
Deſtruction to the reſt: this pauſe between
(Unanſwer'd leſt thou boaſt) to let thee know;
At firſt I thought that Liberty and Heaven
To heav'nly ſouls had been all one; but now
I ſee that moſt through ſloth had rather ſerve,
Miniſtring Spi'rits, train'd up in feaſt and ſong;
Such haſt thou arm'd, the minſtrelſy of Heaven,
Servility with freedom to contend,

As

I ſuppoſe the good Angel ſaid *few*, though one was particularly intended, as it is more modeſt and leſs aſſuming to himſelf.

161. —— *that thy ſucceſs may ſhow*] Thy ſucceſs, thy ill-ſucceſs; the word ſucceſs is uſed in the ſame ſenſe, II. 9. *Richardſon.*

167. *Miniſtring Spi'rits,*] So they are called Heb. I. 14. *Are they not all miniſtring Spirits?* and Satan mentions it in deriſion. Compare this with that of Virg. Æn. IX. 614.

Vobis picta croco et fulgenti murice veſtis:
Deſidiæ cordi: juvat indulgere choreis:
Et tunicæ manicas et habent redimicula mitræ.
O vere Phrygiæ, neque enim Phryges! ite per alta
Dindyma, ubi aſſuetis biforem dat tibia cantum.

Tym-

As both their deeds compar'd this day ſhall prove.
To whom in brief thus Abdiel ſtern reply'd.
Apoſtate, ſtill thou err'ſt, nor end wilt find
Of erring, from the path of truth remote:
Unjuſtly thou deprav'ſt it with the name
Of ſervitude to ſerve whom God ordains,
Or Nature; God and Nature bid the ſame,
When he who rules is worthieſt, and excels
Them whom he governs. This is ſervitude,
To ſerve th' unwiſe, or him who hath rebell'd
Againſt his worthier, as thine now ſerve thee,
Thyſelf not free, but to thyſelf inthrall'd;
Yet lewdly dar'ſt our miniſtring upbraid.

Reign

Tympana vos buxuſque vocat Berecynthia matris
Idææ: ſinite arma viris, et cedite ferro.

172. *Apoſtate, ſtill thou err'ſt, nor end wilt find Of erring, from the path of truth remote:*] Something like this is what Juno ſays to Jupiter, Iliad. XIX. 107.

Ψευσησεις, ουδ' ωτε τελος μυθω επιθησεις.
Thyer.

181. *Thyſelf not free, but to thyſelf inthrall'd;*] So Horace, Sat. II. VII. 81.

Tu mihi qui imperitas, aliis ſervis miſer — Quiſnam igitur liber? ſapiens, ſibi qui imperioſus.

And as to what is here ſaid of ſervitude, ſee Ariſtotle's Politics, B. 1. C. 3 & 4.

183. —— *in Hell thy kingdom;*] Not that it was ſo at preſent. This is ſaid by way of anticipation. God had order'd him to be caſt out, ver. 52. and what the Almighty had pronounc'd, the good Angel looks upon as done. And this ſentiment

Reign thou in Hell thy kingdom; let me ſerve
In Heav'n God ever bleſt,

is deſign'd as a contraſt to Satan's vaunt in I. 263.

Better to reign in Hell, than ſerve in Heaven.

187. *To*

Reign thou in Hell thy kingdom; let me ſerve
In Heav'n God ever bleſt, and his divine
Behеſts obey, worthieſt to be obey'd;
Yet chains in Hell, not realms expect: mean while
From me return'd, as erſt thou ſaidſt, from flight,
This greeting on thy impious creſt receive.
So ſay'ing, a noble ſtroke he lifted high,
Which hung not, but ſo ſwift with tempeſt fell
On the proud creſt of Satan, that no ſight,
Nor motion of ſwift thought, leſs could his ſhield
Such ruin intercept: ten paces huge
He back recoil'd; the tenth on bended knee
His maſſy ſpear upſtay'd; as if on earth
Winds

187. *From me return'd, as erſt thou ſaidſt, from flight,*

This greeting &c.] So Aſcanius in Virgil retorts his adverſary's term of reproach, Æn. IX. 635.

Bis capti Phryges hæc Rutulis reſponſa remittunt,

alluding to ver. 599.

189. *So ſay'ing*, &c.] *Saying* is here contracted into one ſyllable, or is to be pronounc'd as two ſhort ones, which very well expreſſes the eagerneſs of the Angel. He ſtruck at his foe before he had finiſh'd his ſpeech, while he was ſpeaking, which is much better than Dr. Bentley's reading *So ſaid*, as if he had not aim'd his blow, till after he had ſpoken.

195. —— *as if on earth*
Winds under ground, &c.] Heſiod compares the fall of Cygnus to an oak or a rock falling, Scut. Herc. 421.

Ηριπε δ', ως οτε τις δρυς ηριπεν, η οτε πετρη
Ηλιβατος, πληγειτα Διος ψολοεντι κεραυνω.

And ſimiles of this kind are very frequent amongſt the ancient poets, but though our author might take the hint of his from thence, yet we muſt allow, that he has with great art and judgment highten'd it in proportion to the ſuperior dignity of his ſubject. *Thyer.*

210. —— *and*

Winds under ground, or waters forcing way
Sidelong had push'd a mountain from his seat
Half sunk with all his pines. Amazement seis'd
The rebel Thrones, but greater rage to see
Thus foil'd their mightiest; ours joy fill'd, and shout,
Presage of victory, and fierce desire
Of battel: whereat Michaël bid sound
Th' Arch-Angel trumpet; through the vast of Heaven
It sounded, and the faithful armies rung
Hosanna to the High'est: nor stood at gaze
The

210. —— *and the madding wheels*] What strong and daring figures are here! Every thing is alive and animated. The very chariot *wheels* are *mad* and *raging*. And how rough and jarring are the verses, and how admirably do they *bray the horrible discord* they would describe! The word *bray* (probably from the Greek βραχω strepo) signifies to make any kind of noise, tho' now it be commonly appropriated to a certain animal. It is apply'd by Spenser to the sound of a trumpet, Fairy Queen, B. 3. Cant. 12. St. 6.

And when it ceas'd, shrill trumpets loud did *bray*.

But it usually signifies any disagreeable noise, as B. 1. Cant. 6. St. 7.

Her shrill outcries and shrieks so loud did *bray*:

and B. 1. Cant. 8. St. 11.

He loudly *bray'd* with beastly yelling sound:

and sometimes it is used as a verb active, as here in Milton; Fairy Queen, B. 5. Cant. 11. St. 20.

Even blasphemous words, which she doth *bray*: and in Shakespear's Hamlet, Act I.

The kettle-drum and trumpet thus *bray* out
The triumph of his pledge.

212. —— *over head the dismal hiss*
Of fiery darts] Now the author is come to that part of his poem, where he is most to exert what faculty he has of υψος, magniloquence of stile, and sublimity of thought,

Nunc, veneranda Pales, magno nunc ore sonandum. Virg. Georg. III. 294.

He has executed it to admiration: but the danger is, of being hurried away by his unbridled steed; and of deserting propriety, while he's hunting after sound and tumor.

And

The adverſe legions, nor leſs hideous join'd
The horrid ſhock: now ſtorming fury roſe,
And clamor ſuch as heard in Heav'n till now
Was never; arms on armour claſhing bray'd
Horrible diſcord, and the madding wheels
Of brazen chariots rag'd; dire was the noiſe
Of conflict; over head the diſmal hiſs
Of fiery darts in flaming volies flew,
And flying vaulted either hoſt with fire.
So under fiery cope together ruſh'd
Both

And 'tis hard to gueſs, what fault to charge on the printer, ſince poetic fury is commonly both thought and allow'd to be regardleſs of ſyntax. But here in this ſentence, which is certainly vicious, *the hiſs* flew in volies, and *the hiſs* vaulted the hoſts with fire: the author may be fairly thought to have given it

— over head *with* diſmal hiſs
The fiery darts in flaming volies flew.
Bentley.

But if there be any place in this poem, where the ſublimity of the thought will allow the accuracy of expreſſion to give way to the ſtrength of it, it is here. There is a peculiar force ſometimes in aſcribing that to a circumſtance of the thing, which more properly belongs to the thing itſelf; to the *hiſs*, which belongs to the *darts*. See my note on II. 654. *Pearce.* As the learned Mr. Upton remarks in his Critical Obſervations on Shakeſpear, the ſubſtantive is ſometimes to be conſtrued adjectively when governing a genitive caſe. Ariſtophanes in Plut. 268. Ω χρυσον αγγειλας επων. *O thou who telleſt me a gold of words*, that is golden words. Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia, p. 2. *opening the cherry of her lips*, that is cherry lips. So here *the hiſs of darts* is hiſſing darts.

214. *And flying vaulted either hoſt with fire.*] Our author has frequently had his eye upon Heſiod's giant-war as well as upon Homer, and has imitated ſeveral paſſages; but commonly exceeds his original, as he has done in this particular. Heſiod ſays that the Titans were overſhadowed with darts, Theog. 716.

— κατα σ' εσκιασαν βελεεσσι
Τιτηνας,

but Milton has improved the horror of the deſcription, and a *ſhade of darts* is not near ſo great and dreadful an image as a *fiery cope* or *vault of flaming darts*.

Both battels main, with ruinous assault
And inextinguishable rage; all Heaven
Resounded, and had Earth been then, all Earth
Had to her center shook. What wonder? when
Millions of fierce encountring Angels fought
On either side, the least of whom could wield
These elements, and arm him with the force
Of all their regions: how much more of power
Army' against army numberless to raise
Dreadful combustion warring, and disturb,
Though not destroy, their happy native seat;
Had not th' eternal King omnipotent
From his strong hold of Heav'n high over-rul'd
And

229. —— *though number'd such* &c.] Each legion was in number like an army, each single warrior was in strength like a legion, and though led in fight was as expert as a commander in chief. So that the Angels are celebrated first for their *number*, then for their *strength*, and lastly for their *expertness* in war.

236. *The ridges of grim war:*] A metaphor taken from a plough'd field; the men answer to the ridges, between whom, the intervals of the ranks, the furrows are. *The ridges of grim*, fierce frightful looking, *war*; that is the ranks of the army, the files are implied. The ranks are the rows of soldiers from flank to flank, from side to side, from the left to the right; the files are from front to rear. *Richardson.*

236. —— *no thought of flight,*] So Homer, Iliad. XI. 71.

Ουδ' ετεροι μνωονθ' ολοοιο φοβοιο.

None stoop'd a thought to base inglorious flight.
Pope.

And Iliad. XXIV. 216.

— ουτε φοβε μεμνημενον, ουτ' αλεωρης.

239. *As only in his arm the moment lay*
Of victory:] As if upon his single arm had depended the whole weight of the victory. The *moment*, the weight that turns the balance, as the word signifies in Latin. Ter. Andr. I.

And limited their might; though number'd ſuch
As each divided legion might have ſeem'd
A numerous hoſt, in ſtrength each armed hand
A legion, led in fight yet leader ſeem'd
Each warrior ſingle as in chief, expert
When to advance, or ſtand, or turn the ſway
Of battel, open when, and when to cloſe
The ridges of grim war: no thought of flight,
None of retreat, no unbecoming deed
That argued fear; each on himſelf rely'd,
As only in his arm the moment lay
Of victory: deeds of eternal fame
Were done, but infinite; for wide was ſpread
That

I. V. 31. Dum in dubio eſt animus, paulo *momento* huc vel illuc impellitur: And as he has employ'd here the metaphor of the *weight*, ſo of the *ſcale* a little afterwards — *long time in even ſcale The battel hung* — uſing as a metaphor what Homer makes a ſimile of, Iliad. XII. 433.

Αλλ' εχον, ωϛε ταλαντα γυνη ——
Ως μεν των επι ισα μαχη τετατο πολεμος τε.

As when two ſcales are charg'd with doubtful loads ——
So ſtood the war, till Hector's matchleſs might
With fates prevailing turn'd the ſcale of fight.
Pope.

And in ſeveral particulars he has had his eye upon Homer, and commonly exceeds his maſter. Homer ſays that the Greeks and Trojans *fought like burning fire:*

Ως οι μεν μαρναντο, δεμας πυρι αιθομενοιο.
Iliad. XIII. 673.

But how much ſtronger is it in Milton, that the war

Tormented all the air; all air ſeem'd then
Conflicting fire!

It would be entring into too minute a detail of criticiſm to mention every little circumſtance that is copied from Homer; and where

That war and various, ſometimes on firm ground
A ſtanding fight, then ſoaring on main wing
Tormented all the air; all air ſeem'd then
Conflicting fire: long time in even ſcale
The battel hung; till Satan, who that day
Prodigious pow'r had ſhown, and met in arms
No equal, ranging through the dire attack
Of fighting Seraphim confus'd, at length
Saw where the ſword of Michael ſmote, and fell'd
Squadrons at once; with huge two-handed ſway
Brandiſh'd aloft the horrid edge came down
Wide waſting; ſuch deſtruction to withſtand
He haſted, and oppos'd the rocky orb
Of tenfold adamant, his ample ſhield,

A

he does not directly copy from Homer, his ſtile and coloring is ſtill very much in Homer's manner; and one may ſee plainly that he has read him, even where he does not imitate him. Wonderful as his genius was, he could hardly have drawn the battels of the Angels ſo well without firſt reading thoſe in the Iliad; and Homer taught him to excel Homer.

242. *That war and various, ſometimes on firm ground*
A ſtanding fight, then ſoaring &c.] The ſyntax and ſenſe is; The war was ſometimes a ſtanding fight on the ground, and ſometimes the war ſoaring on main wing tormented all the air. *Pearce.*

244. *Tormented all the air;*] Here Milton takes the ſame liberty of applying the word *torment*, which the Latin poets did before him in uſing the term *vexare*. Thyer.

247. — *and met in arms*
No equal,] The poet ſeems almoſt to have forgotten how Satan was foil'd by Abdiel in the

A vaſt circumference: At his approach
The great Arch-Angel from his warlike toil
Surceas'd, and glad as hoping here to end
Inteſtin war in Heav'n, th' arch-foe ſubdu'd
Or captive dragg'd in chains, with hoſtile frown
And viſage all inflam'd firſt thus began.
  Author of ev'il, unknown till thy revolt,
Unnam'd in Heav'n, now plenteous, as thou ſeeſt
Theſe acts of hateful ſtrife, hateful to all,
Though heavieſt by juſt meaſure on thyſelf
And thy adherents: how haſt thou diſturb'd
Heav'n's bleſſed peace, and into nature brought
Miſery, uncreated till the crime
Of thy rebellion? how haſt thou inſtill'd

Thy

the beginning of the action: but I ſuppoſe the poet did not conſider Abdiel as *equal* to Satan, tho' he gain'd that accidental advantage over him. Satan no doubt would have prov'd an overmatch for Abdiel, only for the general engagement which enſued, and broke off the combat between them.

255. *Of tenfold adamant,*] In other poets the Angels are armed in adamant, and in Taſſo there is particular mention of an adamantin ſhield, Cant. 7. St. 82. *Scudo di lucidiſſimo diamante*; but Milton's is ſtronger, *of tenfold adamant*.

262. *Author of evil*, &c.] Theſe ſpeeches give breath as it were to the reader after the hurry of the general battel; and prepare his mind, and raiſe his expectation the more for the enſuing combat between Michael and Satan. It is the practice likewiſe of Homer and Virgil, to make their heroes diſcourſe before they fight; it renders the action more ſolemn, and more engages the reader's attention.

275. *Hence*

Thy malice into thouſands, once upright
And faithful, now prov'd falſe? But think not here
To trouble holy reſt; Heav'n caſts thee out
From all her confines. Heav'n the ſeat of bliſs
Brooks not the works of violence and war.
Hence then, and evil go with thee along,
Thy ofspring, to the place of evil, Hell,
Thou and thy wicked crew; there mingle broils,
Ere this avenging ſword begin thy doom,
Or ſome more ſudden vengeance wing'd from God
Precipitate thee with augmented pain.

So ſpake the prince of Angels; to whom thus
The Adverſary. Nor think thou with wind
Of aery threats to awe whom yet with deeds
Thou canſt not. Haſt thou turn'd the leaſt of theſe

To

275. *Hence then, and evil go with thee along,*
Thy ofspring, to the place of evil, Hell,
Thou and thy wicked crew; there mingle broils,] Imitated from Taſſo, where Michael in like manner rebukes the infernal Spirits who fought againſt the Chriſtians, Cant. 9. St. 64.

Itene maledetti al voſtro regno,
Regno di pene, e di perpetua morte:
E ſiano in quegli a voi douuti chioſtri
Le voſtre guerre, et i trionfi voſtri.

Go hence you curſt to your appointed lands,
The realms of death, of torments, and of woes,
And in the deeps of that infernal lake
Your battels fight, and there your triumphs make. Fairfax.

282. *The Adverſary.*] Not as any enemy in fight may be call'd, but in a ſenſe peculiar to him, Satan being his name, and Satan in Hebrew ſignifying *the adverſary.*

282. — *Nor*

To flight, or if to fall, but that they riſe
Unvanquiſh'd, eaſier to tranſact with me
That thou ſhouldſt hope, imperious, and with threats
To chaſe me hence? err not that ſo ſhall end
The ſtrife which thou call'ſt evil, but we ſtile
The ſtrife of glory; which we mean to win,
Or turn this Heav'n itſelf into the Hell
Thou fableſt, here however to dwell free,
If not to reign: mean while thy utmoſt force,
And join him nam'd Almighty to thy aid,
I fly not, but have ſought thee far and nigh.

They ended parle, and both addreſs'd for fight
Unſpeakable; for who, though with the tongue
Of Angels, can relate, or to what things
Liken on earth conſpicuous, that may lift
Human

282. —— *Nor think thou* &c.] Hom. Iliad. XX. 200.

Πηλεϊδη, μη δη μ' επεεσσι γε, νηπυτιον ως,
Ελπεο δειδιξεσθαι·

289. *The ſtrife which thou call'ſt evil,*] The author gave it

The ſtrife which thou call'ſt *hateful.*

This appears from Michael's words above, ver. 264.

Theſe acts of *hateful ſtrife*, hateful to all. *Bentley.*

But why may not this *evil* relate to ver. 262? where Satan is call'd the *author of evil*, of evil diſplay'd in acts of hateful ſtrife: and ſo in ver. 275. *evil go with thee along* &c. I think that *hateful* would have been a more accurate expreſſion, but *evil* is juſtifiable. *Pearce.*

298. —— *can relate*, &c.] The accuſative caſe after the verbs *relate* and *liken* is *fight* before

Human imagination to ſuch highth
Of Godlike pow'r? for likeſt Gods they ſeem'd,
Stood they or mov'd, in ſtature, motion, arms,
Fit to decide the empire of great Heaven.
Now wav'd their fiery ſwords, and in the air
Made horrid circles; two broad ſuns their ſhields
Blaz'd oppoſit, while expectation ſtood
In horror; from each hand with ſpeed retir'd,
Where erſt was thickeſt fight, th' angelic throng,
And left large field, unſafe within the wind
Of ſuch commotion; ſuch as, to ſet forth
Great

fore mention'd, and here underſtood. *For who though with the tongue of Angels can relate* that fight *or to what conſpicuous things on earth can liken* it, ſo *conſpicuous* as to *lift human imagination* &c. A general battel is a ſcene of too much confuſion, and therefore the poets relieve themſelves and their readers by drawing now and then a ſingle combat between ſome of their principal heroes, as between Paris and Menelaus, Hector and Ajax, Hector and Achilles in the Iliad, and between Turnus and Pallas, Æneas and Mezentius, Turnus and Æneas in the Æneid: and very fine they are, but fall very ſhort of the ſublimity of this deſcription. Thoſe are the combats of Men, but this of Angels; and this ſo far ſurpaſſes them, that one would think that an Angel indeed had related it.

306. —— *while expectation ſtood*
In horror;] Expectation is perſonify'd in the like ſublime manner in Shakeſpear, Hen. V. Act II.

For now ſits expectation in the air.

311. —— *if nature's concord broke,*
Among the conſtellations war were ſprung,] The context ſhows (ſays Dr. Bentley) that Milton gave it *warfare* inſtead of *war were*. I ſuppoſe the Doctor to mean, that in the common reading there is wanting a copulative particle between the 312th and 313th verſes. Now how does the Doctor's alteration mend the matter? *Broke* and *ſprung* (he ſays) are both participles of the ablative caſe. Suppoſe them ſo; will there not be wanting in the Doctor's reading a copulative particle between the 311th and 312th verſes, to connect *broke* and *ſprung*? So that the fault of Milton (if it

Great things by ſmall, if nature's concord broke,
Among the conſtellations war were ſprung,
Two planets ruſhing from aſpéct malign
Of fierceſt oppoſition in mid sky
Should combat, and their jarring ſpheres confound.
Together both with next to' almighty arm
Uplifted imminent, one ſtroke they aim'd
That might determin, and not need repeat,
As not of pow'r at once; nor odds appear'd
In might or ſwift prevention: but the ſword
Of Michael from the armoury of God

Was

it be a fault) is not remov'd from the poem by the Doctor, but only ſhifted to another verſe. We had better keep then the old reading, and allow the poet the liberty of dropping the copulative before the words *Two planets*, on account of that fire of imagination which was kindled, and the highth of that noble fury with which he was poſſeſs'd. *Pearce.*

313. *Two planets* &c.] Milton ſeems to have taken the hint of this ſimile from that of Virgil, but varied and applied to his ſubject with his uſual judgment. Æn. VIII. 691.

—— pelago credas innare revulſas
Cycladas, aut montes concurrere montibus altos.

But (as Mr. Thyer obſerves) he has leſſen'd the grandeur and ſublimity of this ſimile by tarniſhing it with the idle ſuperſtitious notion of the malignancy of planets in a particular aſpect or oppoſition, as the judicial aſtrologers term it.

316. *Together both with next to' almighty arm*
Uplifted imminent,] So I conceive the paſſage ſhould be pointed with the comma after *imminent*, and not after *arm*, that the words *uplifted imminent* may be join'd in conſtruction with *arm*, rather than with *ſtroke* or *they* following. The arm was quite lifted up, and hanging over juſt ready to fall. One thinks one ſees it hanging almoſt like the ſtone in Virgil, Æn. VI. 602.

Quos ſuper atra ſilex jam jam lapſura cadentique
Imminet aſſimilis.

321. — *from the armoury of God*] Milton, notwithſtanding the ſublime genius he was maſter of, has in this book drawn to his aſ-

Was giv'n him temper'd ſo, that neither keen
Nor ſolid might reſiſt that edge: it met
The ſword of Satan with ſteep force to ſmite
Deſcending, and in half cut ſheer; nor ſtay'd,
But with ſwift wheel reverſe, deep entring ſhar'd
All his right ſide: then Satan firſt knew pain,
And

ſiſtance all the helps he could meet with among the ancient poets. The ſword of Michael, which makes ſo great a havoc among the bad Angels, was given him, we are told, out of *the armoury of God*,

Was giv'n him temper'd ſo, that neither keen
Nor ſolid might reſiſt that edge: it met
The ſword of Satan with ſteep force to ſmite
Deſcending, and in half cut ſheer;

This paſſage is a copy of that in Virgil, wherein the poet tells us, that the ſword of Æneas, which was given him by a deity, broke into pieces the ſword of Turnus, which came from a mortal forge. As the moral in this place is divine, ſo by the way we may obſerve, that the beſtowing on a man who is favor'd by Heaven ſuch an allegorical weapon, is very conformable to the old eaſtern way of thinking. Not only Homer has made uſe of it, but we find the Jewiſh hero in the book of Maccabees, 2 Maccab. XV. 15, 16. who had fought the battels of the choſen people with ſo much glory and ſucceſs, receiving in his dream a ſword from the hand of the prophet Jeremiah. *Addiſon.* Taſſo likewiſe mentions the armoury of God, Cant. 7. St. 80. But this account of Michael's ſword ſeems to be copied from Arthegal's in Spenſer, Fairy Queen, B. 5. Cant. 1. St, 10.

For of moſt perfect metal it was made, —
And was of no leſs virtue, than of fame.
For there no ſubſtance was ſo firm and hard,
But it would pierce or cleave, whereſo it came;
Ne any armour could his dint outward,
But whereſoever it did light it throughly ſhar'd.

And this word *ſhar'd* is uſed in the ſame manner by Milton.

325. — *and in half cut ſheer*; —] We have here a fair opportunity to obſerve how finely great geniuſes imitate one another. There is a moſt beautiful paſſage in Homer's Iliad, III. 363. where the ſword of Menelaus in a duel with Paris breaks in pieces in his hand; and the line in the original is ſo contriv'd, that we do not only ſee the action, as Euſtathius remarks, but almoſt fancy we hear the ſound of the breaking ſword in the ſound of the words,

Τρίχθατε και τετράχθα διατρυφεν εκπεσε χειρός.

As this kind of beauty could hardly be equal'd by Virgil, he has with great judgment ſubſtituted another of his own, and has artfully made a break in the verſe to expreſs the breaking ſhort of the ſword of Turnus againſt the divine armour of Æneas, Æn. XII. 731. &c.

—— at perfidus enſis
Frangitur, | in medioque ardentem deſerit ictu.

But

And writh'd him to and fro convolv'd; ſo ſore
The griding ſword with diſcontinuous wound
Paſs'd through him: but th' ethereal ſubſtance clos'd,
Not long diviſible; and from the gaſh
A ſtream of necta'rous humor iſſuing flow'd
Sanguin, ſuch as celeſtial Spi'rits may bleed,
And

But he did not think this ſufficient, he was ſenſible that Homer had ſtill the advantage, and therefore goes on after ſeeming to have done with it,

——poſtquam arma dei ad Vulcania ventum eſt,
Mortalis mucro, glacies ceu futilis, ictu
Diſſiluit; | fulvâ reſplendent fragmina arenâ.

And this beauty being more imitable in our language than the τρῖχθα τε και τετραχθα of Homer, the excellent tranſlator of Homer has here rather copied Virgil than tranſlated Homer,

The brittle ſteel, unfaithful to his hand,
Broke ſhort: | the fragments glitter'd on the ſand.

The ſword of Satan is broken as well as thoſe of Paris and Turnus, but is broken in a different manner, and conſequently a different kind of beauty is proper here. Their's broke ſhort, and were ſhatter'd into various fragments; but the ſword of Michael was of that irreſiſtible ſharpneſs, that it cut the ſword of Satan quite and clean in two, and the dividing of the ſword in half is very well expreſs'd by half a verſe, as likewiſe the word *deſcending* is plac'd admirably to expreſs the ſenſe. The reader cannot read it over again without perceiving this beauty. Neither does Milton ſtop here, but carries on beauties of the ſame kind to the deſcription of the wound, and the verſes ſeem almoſt painful in deſcribing Satan's pain,

—— deep entring *ſhar'd*
All his right ſide: then Satan firſt knew pain,
And *writh'd* him to and fro *convolv'd*; *ſo ſore*
The *griding* ſword with *diſcontinuous wound*
Paſs'd through him.

329. *The griding ſword with diſcontinuous wound*] *Diſcontinuous wound* is ſaid in alluſion to the old definition of a wound, that it ſeparates the continuity of the parts, *vulnus eſt ſolutio continui*: And *griding* is an old word for cutting, and uſed in Spenſer, as in Fairy Queen, B. 2. Cant. 8. St. 36.

That through his thigh the mortal ſteel did *gride*.

332. *A ſtream of nectarous humor iſſuing flow'd*] *Sanguin,*] Here's an odious blunder. *Nectar* is the drink of the Gods; and was Satan's humor or blood a proper drink? But the next line ſhows what the author dictated,

Sanguin, ſuch as celeſtial Spirits may bleed.

The whole diſtich is word for word taken from a verſe in Homer,

Ιχωρ οιοσπερ τε ρεει μακαρεσσι θεοισι.

And all his armour ſtain'd ere while ſo bright.
Forthwith on all ſides to his aid was run
By Angels many and ſtrong, who interpos'd
Defenſe, while others bore him on their ſhields
Back to his chariot, where it ſtood retir'd
From off the files of war; there they him laid
Gnaſhing for anguiſh and deſpite and ſhame,
To find himſelf not matchleſs, and his pride
Humbled by ſuch rebuke, ſo far beneath
His confidence to equal God in power.

Yet

Homer's Gods when wounded bled *Ichor*, different from human blood, and peculiar to them. And Milton makes his Angels bleed the ſame humor, that has no other name. He gave it therefore

A ſtream of ichorous *humor iſſuing flow'd.*
Bentley.

I ſhould have thought that an attentive reader could not have miſs'd obſerving that the *ſtream* which Milton ſpeaks of, was not of *nectarous humor* only, but of *nectarous humor ſanguin*, that is, converted into what *celeſtial Spirits bleed:* and what is that but the ſame which Homer expreſſes by one word *Ichor?* If this was the poet's meaning, the Doctor's objection is wide of the mark. Beſides, if *nectarous* was wrong, yet *ichorous* would not ſeem to be right, becauſe the middle ſyllable of it ſhould be long, according to the proſody of the word from which it is deriv'd. *Pearce.*

The paſſage wherein Satan is deſcribed as wounded by the ſword of Michael is in imitation of Homer. Homer tells us that upon Diomedes wounding the Gods, there flow'd from the wound an *Ichor*, or pure kind of blood, which was not bred from mortal viands; and that tho' the pain was exquiſitely great, the wound ſoon cloſed up and healed in thoſe beings who are veſted with immortality. *Addiſon.*

The reader perhaps would be pleaſed to ſee the paſſage in Homer here quoted, Iliad. V. 339.

——— ρεε δ' αμβροτον αιμα θεοιο,
Ιχωρ οιοσπερ τε ρεει μακαρεσσι θεοισιν·
Ου γαρ σιτον εδουσ', ου πινουσ' αιθοπα οινον,
Τουνεκ' αναιμονες εισι, και αθανατοι καλεονται.

From the clear vein a ſtream immortal flow'd,
Such ſtream as iſſues from a wounded God;

Pure

Yet ſoon he heal'd; for Spi'rits that live throughout
Vital in every part, not as frail man
In entrails, heart or head, liver or reins,
Cannot but by annihilating die;
Nor in their liquid texture mortal wound
Receive, no more than can the fluid air:
All heart they live, all head, all eye, all ear,
All intellect, all ſenſe; and as they pleaſe,
They limb themſelves, and color, ſhape or ſize
Aſſume, as likes them beſt, condenſe or rare.

Mean

Pure emanation! uncorrupted flood;
Unlike our groſs, diſeas'd, terreſtrial blood:
For not the bread of man their life ſuſtains,
Nor wine's inflaming juce ſupplies their veins.
Pope.

335. —— *to his aid was run*] A Latiniſm; ſo we have *ventum eſt* in the lines juſt before quoted from Virgil,

— poſtquam arma dei ad Vulcania *ventum eſt*.

336. —— *who interpos'd*] Thus Homer makes the chief of the Trojans interpoſe between their wounded hero when he was overborne by Ajax. Satan lighted out of his ſunbright chariot at ver. 103. and according to the Homeric manner is now wounded, and borne (on the ſhields of Seraphim) back to it, where it was plac'd out of the range and array of battel, Iliad. XIV. 428.

—— Τον δ' αρ' εταιροι
Χερσιν αειραωλες φερον εκ πονου, οφρ' ικεθ' ιππους
Ωκεας, οι οι οπισθε μαχης ηδε πολεμοιο
Εσαν, ηνιοχουλε και αρματα ποικιλ' εχοντες &c.

much more looſe and redundant than our expreſſive author. *Hume.*

344. — *for Spi'rits that live throughout* &c.] Our author's reaſon for Satan's healing ſo ſoon is better than Homer's upon a like occaſion, as we quoted it juſt now. And we ſee here Milton's notions of Angels. They are vital in every part, and can receive no mortal wound, and cannot die but by annihilation. They are all eye, all ear, all ſenſe and underſtanding; and can aſſume what kind of bodies they pleaſe. And theſe notions, if not true in divinity, yet certainly are very fine in poetry; but moſt of them are not diſagreeable to thoſe hints which are left us of theſe ſpiritual beings in Scripture.

Mean while in other parts like deeds deſerv'd
Memorial, where the might of Gabriel fought,
And with fierce enſigns pierc'd the deep array
Of Moloch furious king; who him defy'd,
And at his chariot wheels to drag him bound
Threaten'd, nor from the Holy One of Heaven
Refrain'd his tongue blaſphēmous; but anon
Down cloven to the waſte, with ſhatter'd arms
And uncouth pain fled bellowing. On each wing
Uriel and Raphaël his vaunting foe,
Though huge, and in a rock of diamond arm'd,
Vanquiſh'd Adramelech, and Aſmadai,
Two potent Thrones, that to be leſs than Gods
Diſdain'd,

362. *And uncouth pain fled bellowing.*] I queſtion not but Milton in his deſcription of his furious Moloch flying from the battel, and bellowing with the wound he had received, had his eye on Mars in the Iliad; who upon his being wounded is repreſented as retiring out of the fight, and making an outcry louder than that of a whole army when it begins the charge. Homer adds that the Greeks and Trojans, who were engaged in a general battel, were terrify'd on each ſide with the bellowing of this wounded deity. The reader will eaſily obſerve, how Milton has kept all the horror of this image, without running into the ridicule of it. *Addiſon.*

With uncouth pain fled bellowing. Uncouth is a word very common with Spenſer; but Milton, no doubt, in this particular application of it had in view the following lines, Fairy Queen, B. 1. Cant. 11. St. 20.

The piercing ſteel there wrought a wound full wide,
That with the uncouth pain the monſter loudly cry'd. *Thyer.*

363. *Uriel and Raphael*] The ſpeaker here is *Raphael*; and it had been improper to mention himſelf as a third perſon, and tell his own exploits; but that Adam knew not his name.

Had

Diſdain'd, but meaner thoughts learn'd in their flight,
Mangled with ghaſtly wounds through plate and mail.
Nor ſtood unmindful Abdiel to annoy
The atheiſt crew, but with redoubled blow
Ariel and Arioch, and the violence
Of Ramiel ſcorch'd and blaſted overthrew.
I might relate of thouſands, and their names
Eternize here on earth; but thoſe elect
Angels, contented with their fame in Heaven,
Seek not the praiſe of men: the other ſort,
In might though wondrous and in acts of war,
Nor of renown leſs eager, yet by doom
Cancel'd from Heav'n and ſacred memory,
Nameleſs

Had he known it, he muſt have ſaid *Uriel and I*; which he car'd not to do. *Bentley.*

365. *Adramelech,*] Hebrew, *Mighty magnificent king*, one of the idols of Sepharvaim, worſhipped by them in Samaria, when tranſplanted thither by Shalmaneſer. *And the Sepharvites burnt their children in the fire to Adramelech*, 2 Kings XVII. 31. *Aſmadai*, the luſtful and deſtroying Angel Aſmodeus, mention'd Tobit III. 8. who robbed Sara of her ſeven huſbands; of a Hebrew word ſignifying to *deſtroy*. Hume.

368. —— *plate and mail.*] *Plate* is the broad ſolid armour. *Mail* is that compos'd of ſmall pieces like ſhells, or ſcales of fiſh laid one over the other; or ſomething reſembling the feathers as they lie on the bodies of fowl, V. 284. *Richardſon.*

371. *Ariel and Arioch,*] Two fierce Spirits, as their names denote. *Ariel* Hebrew, *the lion of God* or *a ſtrong lion*. *Arioch* of the like ſignification, *a fierce and terrible lion*. *Ramiel* Hebrew, *one that exalts himſelf againſt God.* Hume.

373. *I might relate of thouſands*, &c.] The poet here puts into the mouth of the Angel an excellent reaſon for not relating more particulars of this firſt battel. It would have been improper on all accounts to have inlarged much more upon it, but it was proper that the Angel ſhould

Nameleſs in dark oblivion let them dwell.
For ſtrength from truth divided and from juſt,
Illaudable, nought merits but diſpraiſe
And ignominy, yet to glory aſpires
Vain glorious, and through infamy ſeeks fame:
Therefore eternal ſilence be their doom.

And now their mightieſt quell'd, the battel ſwerv'd,
With many an inroad gor'd; deformed rout
Enter'd, and foul diſorder; all the ground
With ſhiver'd armour ſtrown, and on a heap
Chariot and charioteer lay overturn'd,
And fiery foaming ſteeds; what ſtood, recoil'd
O'er-

ſhould appear to know more than he choſe to relate, or than the poet was able to make him relate.

382. *Illaudable,*] Is uſed here much in the ſame manner as *illaudatus* in Virgil,

—— Quis aut Euryſthea durum,
Aut *illaudati* neſcit Buſiridis aras?
Georg. III. 5.

And the learned reader may, if he pleaſes, ſee a diſſertation upon that verſe of Virgil in the ſecond book of Aulus Gellius.

386. —— *the battel ſwerv'd,*] *Swerv'd* from the Saxon *ſwerven*, to wander out of its place; here by analogy to bend, to ply; for in that caſe an army in battel properly ſwerves.
Richardſon.

The word is uſed in the ſame ſenſe by Spenſer, Fairy Queen, B. 5. Cant. 10. St. 35.

Who from his ſaddle *ſwerved* nought aſide.

391. —— *what ſtood, recoil'd* &c.] The conſtruction has occaſion'd ſome difficulty here, but it may be thus explicated. *What ſtood* is the nominative caſe in the ſentence, and the verbs are *recoil'd* and *fled*. It would indeed be a contradiction to ſay that *what ſtood* their ground, *fled*; but that is not the meaning of it, *what ſtood* is put in oppoſition to what *lay overturn'd* in the preceding line. Part of the Satanic hoſt *lay overturn'd*; and that part which was not overturn'd, but kept on their feet, *and ſtood*, either gave way and *recoil'd o'er-wearied,*

O'er-wearied, through the faint Satanic hoſt
Defenſive ſcarce, or with pale fear ſurpris'd,
Then firſt with fear ſurpris'd and ſenſe of pain,
Fled ignominious, to ſuch evil brought
By ſin of diſobedience, till that hour
Not liable to fear or flight or pain.
Far otherwiſe th' inviolable Saints
In cubic phalanx firm advanc'd entire,
Invulnerable, impenetrably arm'd;
Such high advantages their innocence
Gave them above their foes, not to have ſinn'd,
Not to have diſobey'd; in fight they ſtood

Un-

wearied, or *with pale fear ſurpris'd fled ignominious.*

396. — *till that hour* &c.] It ſeems a very extraordinary circumſtance attending a battel, that not only none of the warriors on either ſide were capable of death by wound, but on one ſide none were capable of wound or even of pain. This was a very great advantage on the ſide of the good Angels; but we muſt ſuppoſe that the rebel Angels did not know their own weakneſs *till this hour.*

399. *In cubic phalanx firm*] In ſtrictneſs of ſpeech, to have been *cubic*, it muſt have been as high, as it is broad, as Dr. Bentley juſtly obſerves. But why muſt a poet's mind, ſublim'd as Milton's was on this occaſion, be expected to attend to every circumſtance of an epithet made uſe of? He meant *four ſquare* only, having that property of a *cube* to be equal in length on all ſides. And ſo he expreſſes himſelf in his tract called *The reaſon of Church Government* &c. p. 215. Edit. Toland. *As thoſe ſmaller ſquares in battel unite in one great cube, the main phalanx, an emblem of truth and ſtedfaſtneſs.* To be ſure Milton's *cubic*, tho' not ſtrictly proper, is better than the epithet *martial* (which the Doctor would give us in the room of it) becauſe a *phalanx* in battel could not be otherwiſe than *martial*; and ſo cloſely united an idea could not have any beauty or force here. *Pearce.*

Unwearied, unobnoxious to be pain'd
By wound, though from their place by violence mov'd.
Now night her courſe began, and over Heaven
Inducing darkneſs, grateful truce impos'd,
And ſilence on the odious din of war:
Under her cloudy covert both retir'd,
Victor and vanquiſh'd: on the foughten field
Michaël and his Angels prevalent
Incamping, plac'd in guard their watches round,
Cherubic waving fires: on th'other part
Satan with his rebellious diſappear'd,
Far in the dark diſlodg'd; and void of reſt,
His potentates to council call'd by night;
And in the midſt thus undiſmay'd began.

O

405. —— *though from their place by violence mov'd.*] This circumſtance is judiciouſly added to prepare the reader for what happens in the next fight.

407. *Inducing darkneſs,*] He ſeems here to have copied Horace, Sat. I. V. 9.

—— Jam *nox inducere* terris
Umbras, et cœlo diffundere ſigna parabat.

413. *Cherubic waving fires:*] Their watches were *Cherubic waving fires*, that is Cherubim like fires waving; the Cherubim being deſcrib'd by our author, agreeably to Scripture, as of a fiery ſubſtance and nature.

415. —— *and void of reſt,*
His potentates to council call'd by night;] So Agamemnon, the Grecians being defeated by Hector, calls a council of the princes and generals by night. Iliad. IX.

418. *O now in danger try'd,* &c.] This ſpeech of Satan is very artful. He flatters their pride and vanity, and avails himſelf of the only comfort

O now in danger try'd, now known in arms
Not to be overpow'rd, Companions dear,
Found worthy not of liberty alone,
Too mean pretence, but what we more affect,
Honor, dominion, glory, and renown;
Who have ſuſtain'd one day in doubtful fight
(And if one day, why not eternal days?)
What Heaven's Lord had pow'rfulleſt to ſend
Againſt us from about his throne, and judg'd
Sufficient to ſubdue us to his will,
But proves not ſo: then fallible, it ſeems,
Of future we may deem him, though till now
Omniſcient thought. True is, leſs firmly arm'd,
Some diſadvantage we indur'd and pain,

Till

comfort that could be drawn from this day's engagement (tho' it was a falſe comfort) that God was neither ſo powerful nor wiſe as he was taken to be. He was forc'd to acknowledge that they had ſuffer'd ſome loſs and pain, but endevors to leſſen it as much as he can, and attributes it not to the true cauſe but to their want of better arms and armour, which he therefore propoſes that they ſhould provide themſelves withal, to defend themſelves and annoy their enemies.

422. *Honor, dominion, glory, and renown;*] Dr. Bentley thinks that Milton gave it *Pow'r and* dominion *&c. Honor, glory, and renown,* (he ſays) are three words all allied together, and therefore Milton would not put *dominion,* of another family, between them. But did not Milton mean by *honor* that which ariſes from high titles? if he did, then *honor* will not be allied to *glory and renown,* which may be gain'd and enjoy'd by a private man, by one who has no *honor* and titles to ſhow.

Pearce.

447. *Niſroch,*

Till now not known, but known as ſoon contemn'd;
Since now we find this our empyreal form
Incapable of mortal injury,
Imperiſhable, and though pierc'd with wound,
Soon cloſing, and by native vigor heal'd.
Of evil then ſo ſmall as eaſy think
The remedy; perhaps more valid arms,
Weapons more violent, when next we meet,
May ſerve to better us, and worſe our foes,
Or equal what between us made the odds,
In nature none: if other hidden cauſe
Left them ſuperior, while we can preſerve
Unhurt our minds and underſtanding ſound,
Due ſearch and conſultation will diſcloſe.

He ſat; and in th' aſſembly next upſtood
Niſroch, of Principalities the prime;
As one he ſtood eſcap'd from cruel fight,
Sore toil'd, his riven arms to havoc hewn,

And

447. *Niſroch*,] A God of the Aſſyrians, in whoſe temple at Niniveh Sennacherib was kill'd by his two ſons, 2 Kings XIX. 37. and Iſaiah XXXVII. 37. 'Tis not known who this God *Niſroch* was. The Seventy call him *Meſerach* in Kings, and *Naſarach* in Iſaiah; Joſephus calls him *Araſkes*. He muſt have been a principal idol, being worſhipped by ſo great a prince, and at the capital city Niniveh; which may juſtify Milton in calling him *of Principalities the prime*.

462. — *the*

And cloudy in aſpect thus anſw'ring ſpake.
Deliverer from new Lords, leader to free
Enjoyment of our right as Gods; yet hard
For Gods, and too unequal work we find,
Againſt unequal arms to fight in pain,
Againſt unpain'd, impaſſive; from which evil
Ruin muſt needs enſue; for what avails
Valor or ſtrength, though matchleſs, quell'd with pain
Which all ſubdues, and makes remiſs the hands
Of mightieſt: Senſe of pleaſure we may well
Spare out of life perhaps, and not repine,
But live content, which is the calmeſt life:
But pain is perfect miſery, the worſt
Of evils, and exceſſive, overturns
All patience. He who therefore can invent
With what more forcible we may offend
Our yet unwounded enemies, or arm
Ourſelves with like defenſe, to me deſerves
No

462. —— *the worſt*
Of evils,] Niſroch is made to talk agreeably to the ſentiments of Hieronymus and thoſe philoſophers, who maintain'd that pain was the greateſt of evils; there might be a poſſibility of living without pleaſure, but there was no living in pain. A notion ſuitable enough to a deity of the effeminate Aſſyrians.

467. —— *to me deſerves*
No leſs than for deliverance what we owe.]
Niſroch

No leſs than for deliverance what we owe.
Whereto with look compos'd Satan reply'd.
Not uninvented that, which thou aright
Believ'ſt ſo main to our ſucceſs, I bring.
Which of us who beholds the bright ſurfáce
Of this ethereous mold whereon we ſtand,
This continent of ſpacious Heav'n, adorn'd
With plant, fruit, flow'r ambroſial, gems and gold;
Whoſe eye ſo ſuperficially ſurveys
Theſe things, as not to mind from whence they grow
Deep

Niſroch is ſpeaking; he had complimented Satan (ver. 451.) with the title of *Deliverer*; here he ventures to ſay that Whoever could invent the new engin of war would be equal to him in his eſtimation. Milton has taken care that this deliverer ſhould alſo have this merit, and be without a competitor; Satan is both the one and the other as it follows immediately. *Richardſon.*

472. *Which of us who beholds the bright ſurfáce*
Of this ethereous mold &c.] Dr. Bentley, for the ſake of a better accent, reads *the ſúrface bright*; but *ſurfáce* is to be read with the accent upon the laſt ſyllable, and not as it is commonly pronounc'd, for Milton would hardly uſe a trochaic foot at the end of the verſe. Dr. Bentley reads likewiſe *this ethereal mold*; and it is true Milton commonly uſes the word *ethereal*, but that is no reaſon why he may not ſay likewiſe *ethereous* which is nearer the Latin *æthereus*. The conſtruction of this ſentence is, *Which of us who beholds* &c *ſo ſuperficially ſurveys theſe things:* but as the nominative caſe *which of us* is mention'd ſo many lines before the verb *ſurveys*, he throws in another nominative caſe,

Whoſe eye ſo ſuperficially ſurveys &c.

482. — *the deep*] It is commonly uſed for *Hell*, but here is only oppos'd to *ſurface*, ver. 472. and is the ſame as *deep under ground*, ver. 478. which may likewiſe explain the word *infernal* in the next line. Not but *infernal flame* may mean flame like that of Hell, Hell having been frequently mention'd before by the Angels, and the idea being very well known.

484. *Which into hollow* &c.] *Which* that is the *materials*, ver. 478. *Theſe* ver. 482. the deep ſhall yield, which into hollow engins
ramm'd,

Deep under ground, materials dark and crude,
Of ſpiritous and fiery ſpume, till touch'd
With Heaven's ray, and temper'd they ſhoot forth
So beauteous, opening to the ambient light:
Theſe in their dark nativity the deep
Shall yield us pregnant with infernal flame;
Which into hollow engins long and round
Thick-ramm'd, at th' other bore with touch of fire
Dilated and infuriate, ſhall ſend forth
From far with thund'ring noiſe among our foes
Such

ramm'd, with touch of fire ſhall ſend forth &c. *Hollow engins*, great guns, the firſt invention whereof is very properly aſcribed to the author of all evil. And Arioſto has deſcribed them in the ſame manner in his Orlando Furioſo, Cant. 9. St. 28. or 24. of Harington's tranſlation; and attributes the invention to the Devil.

Un ferro bugio, &c.

A trunk of iron hollow made within,
And there he puts powder and pellet in.

25.

All cloſed ſave a little hole behind,
Whereat no ſooner taken is the flame,
The bullet flies with ſuch a furious wind,
As tho' from clouds a bolt of thunder came:
And whatſoever in the way it find
It burns, it breaks, it tears, and ſpoils the ſame.

No doubt ſome fiend of Hell or deviliſh wight
Deviſed it to do mankind a ſpite.

And again, St. 84.

O curſt deviſe found out by ſome foul fiend
And fram'd below by Belzebub in Hell &c.

And Spenſer has the ſame thought, Fairy Queen, B. 1. Cant. 7. St. 13.

As when that deviliſh iron engin wrought
In deepeſt Hell, and fram'd by Furies ſkill,
With windy nitre and quick ſulphur fraught,
And ramm'd with bullet round, ordain'd to kill &c.

But tho' the poets have agreed to attribute the invention to the Devil from a notion of its being ſo deſtructive to mankind, yet many authors have obſerved, that ſince the uſe of artillery there has leſs ſlaughter been made in battels than was before, when the engagements were cloſer and laſted longer.

502. *In*

Such implements of miſchief, as ſhall daſh
To pieces, and o'erwhelm whatever ſtands
Adverſe, that they ſhall fear we have diſarm'd
The Thund'rer of his only dreaded bolt.
Nor long ſhall be our labor; yet ere dawn,
Effect ſhall end our wiſh. Mean while revive;
Abandon fear; to ſtrength and counſel join'd
Think nothing hard, much leſs to be deſpair'd.

He ended, and his words their drooping chear
Inlighten'd, and their languiſh'd hope reviv'd.
Th'invention all admir'd, and each, how he
To be th' inventor miſs'd; ſo eaſy it ſeem'd
Once found, which yet unfound moſt would have thought
Impoſſible: yet haply of thy race

In

502. *In future days—ſome one intent*, &c.] This ſpeaking in the ſpirit of prophecy adds great dignity to poetry. It is in the ſame ſpirit that Dido makes the imprecation, Virg. Æn. IV. 625.

Exoriare aliquis noſtris ex oſſibus ultor &c.

This here very properly comes from the mouth of an Angel.

507. *Forthwith from council to the work they flew*; &c.] This and the two following lines are admirably contriv'd to expreſs the [illegible] of the Angels: and conſiſt therefore of ſhort periods, without any particles to connect them.

512. —— *ſulphurous and nitrous foam* &c.] Dr. Bentley would have us read as follows,

— ſulphurous and nitrous foam
They *pound*, they *mingle*, and with *ſooty chark*
Concocted and aduſted, they *reduce*
To blackeſt grain, and into ſtore *convey*:
Part hidden veins *dig* up.

To juſtify this great alteration of the text, the Doctor premiſes one poſtulatum (tho' it is properly two) that Milton is here deſcribing the making

In future days, if malice ſhould abound,
Some one intent on miſchief, or inſpir'd
With deviliſh machination, might deviſe
Like inſtrument to plague the ſons of men
For ſin, on war and mutual ſlaughter bent.
Forthwith from council to the work they flew;
None arguing ſtood; innumerable hands
Were ready; in a moment up they turn'd
Wide the celeſtial ſoil, and ſaw beneath
Th' originals of nature in their crude
Conception; ſulphurous and nitrous foam
They found, they mingled, and with ſubtle art,
Concocted and aduſted they reduc'd
To blackeſt grain, and into ſtore convey'd:

Part

making of gun-powder, and that he was not ignorant how it was made. Agreed. Let us now examin the Doctor's objections particularly. *Sulphurous and nitrous foam aduſted?* (ſays he) why, at the leaſt approach of heat they will fly away in exhalations. I think that this is not true: tho' theſe ingredients be heated to ſome degree, yet they will not fly away in exhalations unleſs ſome ſpark of fire gets to them. But why muſt *aduſted* ſignify burnt or heated to a great degree? If the word will ſignify parch'd or dry'd any way in ſuch a manner as things commonly are by fire, it will be a very proper expreſſion here: for by being *reduc'd to grain* they were *concocted*, and by being *reduc'd to the blackeſt grain* they were ſufficiently *aduſted*. Again, the Doctor obſerves that only two materials are here mention'd, and theſe without charcoal can never make gunpowder. This is true; but is it neceſſary that a poet ſhould be as exact as a writer about arts and ſciences? If ſo, not only Milton but Spenſer muſt be blam'd, who has done the ſame thing as Milton has done; for in his Fairy Queen, Book 1. Cant. 7. St. 13. deſcribing a cannon charg'd with gunpowder, he ſays,

Part hidden veins digg'd up (nor hath this earth
Entrails unlike) of mineral and ſtone,
Whereof to found their engins and their balls
Of miſſive ruin; part incentive reed
Provide, pernicious with one touch to fire.
So all ere day-ſpring, under conſcious night,
Secret they finiſh'd, and in order ſet,
With ſilent circumſpection uneſpy'd.
Now when fair morn orient in Heav'n appear'd,
Up roſe the victor Angels, and to arms

The

With windy *nitre* and quick *ſulphur* fraught,

where it is obſervable that he takes no notice of charcoal, tho' gunpowder can't be without it. But what is the Doctor's word *chark?* it is the workman's language, he ſays; if it be, it is ſpoken contractedly for *charcoal*; and is but a cant word fit only for the powder-mill, not for a poem: for *charcoal* is, in its etymology, what is *chark'd* or rather *charr'd to a coal*, that is, burnt tho' not aſhes. *Sooty coal*, V. 440. is right: but when the word *chark*, or *charcoal* at length, is uſed, *ſooty* ſeems a ſuperfluous epithet, becauſe it is implied in the word *charr'd*. In the common reading the Doctor miſſes the word *pound*; a neceſſary word, becauſe without long *pounding* the three ingredients together, no powder can be made. But is not the ſenſe of the word *pound* ſufficiently imply'd in *reduc'd to grain?* The words *found, mingled, reduc'd, convey'd, digg'd,* were chang'd (ſays the Doctor) from the preſent to the perfect tenſe: for the preſent tenſe *provide* in ver. 520. demonſtrates that all the foregoing verbs were of the ſame manner. If there were any demonſtration to be drawn from hence, one would think rather that it would fall againſt the preſent tenſe *provide*. But there is hardly a page where Milton has not run from one tenſe to another, and ſometimes he has even coupled unlike tenſes.

Pearce.

516. *Part hidden veins digg'd up (nor hath this earth*
Entrails unlike) of mineral and ſtone,] Dr. Bentley has carried on the mark of parentheſis to the end of the verſe; but it ſhould be plac'd after *unlike:* and the *ſtone* may have been mention'd here as what they uſed for *bails*. That ſtone-bullets have been in uſe, ſee Chambers's Univ. Dict. in *Cannon*. Or Milton by the word *ſtone* here would expreſs more diſtinctly

that

The matin trumpet ſung: in arms they ſtood
Of golden panoply, refulgent hoſt,
Soon banded; others from the dawning hills
Look'd round, and ſcouts each coaſt light-armed ſcour,
Each quarter, to deſcry the diſtant foe,
Where lodg'd, or whither fled, or if for fight,
In motion or in halt: him ſoon they met
Under ſpread enſigns moving nigh, in ſlow
But firm battalion; back with ſpeedieſt ſail
Zophiel, of Cherubim the ſwifteſt wing,

Came

that the metal, of which they made their *engins* and *balls*, was inclos'd in and mix'd with a ſtony ſubſtance in the mine. See Furetiere's French Dictionary upon the word *Mineral*. Pearce.

520. —— *pernicious with one touch to fire.*] The incentive reed is indeed *pernicious* as the engins and balls do no miſchief till touch'd by that: but probably *pernicious* is not to be underſtood here in the common acceptation, but in the ſenſe of the Latin *pernix*, quick, ſpeedy, *&c.*

521. —— *under conſcious night,*] Ovid. Met. XIII. 15.

— quorum nox conſcia ſola eſt. *Hume.*

526. *The trumpet ſung:*] A claſſical expreſſion. So Virg. Æn. V. 113.

Et *tuba* commiſſos medio *canit* aggere ludos.

527. *Of golden panoply,*] With golden armour from head to foot completely arm'd. *Panoply*, Πανοπλια, Greek, armour at all points. *Hume.*

528. —*others from the dawning hills*] This epithet is uſually apply'd to the *light*, but here very poetically to the *hills*, the dawn firſt appearing over them, and they ſeeming to bring the riſing day; as the evening ſtar is ſaid likewiſe firſt to appear *on his hill-top*, VIII. 520.

532. —— *halt:*] Milton ſpells it as the Italians do *alto*, but we commonly write it with an *h* like the French and Germans.

533. —— *in ſlow*
But firm battalion;] The reaſon of their being both a *ſlow* and *firm battalion* is ſuggeſted a little afterwards. They were *ſlow* in drawing their cannon, and *firm* in order to conceal it, ver. 551.

535. *Zophiel,*] In Hebrew *the ſpy of God.* Hume.

Came fly'ing, and in mid air aloud thus cry'd.
Arm, Warriors, arm for fight; the foe at hand,
Whom fled we thought, will ſave us long purſuit
This day; fear not his flight; ſo thick a cloud
He comes, and ſettled in his face I ſee
Sad reſolution and ſecure: let each
His adamantin coat gird well, and each
Fit well his helm, gripe faſt his orbed ſhield,
Borne ev'n or high; for this day will pour down,
If I conjecture ought, no drizling ſhower,
But rattling ſtorm of arrows barb'd with fire.
So warn'd he them aware themſelves, and ſoon
In order, quit of all impediment;

Inſtant

539. —— *ſo thick a cloud*
He comes,] This metaphor is uſual in all languages, and in almoſt all authors to expreſs a great multitude. We have it in Heb. XII. 1. *Seeing we alſo are compaſſed about with ſo great a cloud of witneſſes* &c. We have νεφος πτεξων in Homer Iliad. IV. 274: *nimbus peditum* in Virgil Æn. VII. 793. and *clouds of foot* in Paradiſe Regain'd, III. 327. We have *peditum equitumque nubes* in Livy, Lib. 5. and even *nubem belli* in Virgil, Æn. X. 809. and *armorum nubem* in Statius, Theb. IV. 839.

541. *Sad reſolution and ſecure:*] By *ſad* here is meant ſower and ſullen, as *triſtis* in Latin and *triſto* in Italian ſignify. *Pearce.*

Or poſſibly it means no more than ſerious or in earneſt, a ſenſe frequent in all our old authors. And I remember a remarkable inſtance of the uſe of the word in Lord Bacon's Advice to Villiers Duke of Buckingham; "But "if it were an embaſſy of weight, concerning "affairs of ſtate, choice was made of ſome "*ſad* perſon of known judgment, wiſdom "and experience, and not of a young man, "not weighed in ſtate matters *&c:*" if *ſad* there be not falſe printed for *ſtaid* or *ſage*. So it is uſed in Spenſer for ſober, grave, ſedate. Fairy Queen, B. 2. Cant. 2. St. 14.

A ſober *ſad*, and comely courteous dame,

and in other places.

541. — *let*

Inſtant without diſturb they took alarm,
And onward move imbattel'd: when behold
Not diſtant far with heavy pace the foe
Approaching groſs and huge, in hollow cube
Training his deviliſh enginry, impal'd
On every ſide with ſhadowing ſquadrons deep,
To hide the fraud. At interview both ſtood
A while; but ſuddenly at head appear'd
Satan, and thus was heard commanding loud.
Vanguard, to right and left the front unfold;
That all may ſee who hate us, how we ſeek
Peace and compoſure, and with open breaſt
Stand ready to receive them, if they like

Our

541. —— *let each*
His adamantin coat gird well, and each
Fit well his helm, gripe faſt his orbed ſhield,] This is plainly copied from Agamemnon's directions in Homer, Iliad. II. 382.

Ευ μεν τις σ'ορυ θηξαθω, ευ δ' ασπιδ'α θεθω &c.

His ſharpen'd ſpear let every Grecian wield,
And every Grecian fix his brazen ſhield, *&c.*
Pope.

546. — *barb'd with fire.*] Bearded, headed with fire. Of the French *barbe*, and the Latin *barba* a beard. *Hume.*

548. — *quit of all impediment*;] The carriages and baggage of an army were call'd in Latin *impedimenta:* and the good Angels are ſaid to be *quit of all impediment* in oppoſition to the others incumber'd with their heavy artillery.

552. —— *in hollow cube*] Dr. Bentley reads *ſquare*, but ſee my note on ver. 399. *Pearce.* I knew one who uſed to think it ſhould be *hollow tube:* to which it may be objected that *enginry*, *machinæ*, are the hollow tubes or guns themſelves. *Fortin.*

553. *Training*] Drawing in train, from the term, train of artillery.

568. *So*

Our overture, and turn not back perverſe;
But that I doubt; however witneſs Heaven,
Heav'n witneſs thou anon, while we diſcharge
Freely our part; ye who appointed ſtand,
Do as you have in charge, and briefly touch
What we propound, and loud that all may hear.
So ſcoffing in ambiguous words, he ſcarce
Had ended; when to right and left the front
Divided, and to either flank retir'd:
Which to our eyes diſcover'd, new and ſtrange,

A

568. *So ſcoffing in ambiguous words*, &c.] We cannot pretend entirely to juſtify this *punning* ſcene: but we ſhould conſider that there is very little of this kind of wit any where in the poem but in this place, and in this we may ſuppoſe Milton to have ſacrific'd to the taſte of his times, when *puns* were better reliſh'd than they are at preſent in the learned world; and I know not whether we are not grown too delicate and faſtidious in this particular. It is certain the Ancients practic'd them more both in their converſation and in their writings; and Ariſtotle recommends them in his book of Rhetoric, and likewiſe Cicero in his treatiſe of Oratory; and if we ſhould condemn them abſolutely, we muſt condemn half of the good ſayings of the greateſt wits of Greece and Rome. They are leſs proper indeed in ſerious works, and not at all becoming the majeſty of an epic poem; but our author ſeems to have been betray'd into this exceſs in great meaſure by his love and admiration of Homer. For this account of the Angels jeſting and inſulting one another is not unlike ſome paſſages in the 16th book of the Iliad. Æneas throws a ſpear at Meriones; and he artfully avoiding it, Æneas jeſts upon his *dancing*, the Cretans (the countrymen of Meriones) being famous dancers. A little afterwards in the ſame book, Patroclus kills Hector's charioteer, who falls headlong from the chariot, upon which Patroclus inſults him for ſeveral lines together upon his ſkill in *diving*, and ſays that if he was at ſea, he might catch excellent oiſters. Milton's jeſts cannot be lower and more trivial than theſe; but if he is like Homer in his faults, let it be remember'd that he is like him in his beauties too.

574. *Or hollow'd bodies* &c.] We muſt carefully preſerve the parentheſis here, as Milton himſelf

A triple mounted row of pillars laid
On wheels (for like to pillars moſt they ſeem'd,
Or hollow'd bodies made of oak or fir,
With branches lopt, in wood or mountain fell'd)
Braſs, iron, ſtony mold, had not their mouths
With hideous orifice gap'd on us wide,
Portending hollow truce: at each behind
A Seraph ſtood, and in his hand a reed
Stood waving tipt with fire; while we ſuſpenſe,
Collected ſtood within our thoughts amus'd,

Not

himſelf has put it. The conſtruction then will be, *Which to our eyes diſcover'd a triple row of pillars laid on wheels*, of *braſs*, *iron*, *ſtony mold* or ſubſtance, *had not their mouths gap'd wide*, and ſhow'd that they were not pillars; the intermediate words containing a reaſon why he call'd them *pillars (for like to pillars moſt they ſeem'd or hollow'd bodies* &c.) being included in a parentheſis.

576. *Braſs, iron, ſtony mold,*] *Mold* here ſignifies ſubſtance as in II. 355. but Dr. Bentley by reading *caſt in mold* changes the ſenſe of it to one of a very different nature. By this emendation (he ſays) he has rid the poem of *ſtone cannon*: but ſuch cannon have been heard of elſewhere, and are now to be ſeen (I think) at Delf in Holland. Whether they ever were, or could have been uſed in war, may be queſtion'd: but it is probable that Milton by ſeeing ſuch *ſtone cannon* in foreign countries, was led to mention them here as part of Satan's artillery. *Pearce.* We read before that theſe Angels *digg'd up veins of mineral and ſtone*, ver. 517. and that may account for the *braſs*, *iron*, *ſtony* ſubſtance here.

578. *Portending hollow truce:*] Here Raphael himſelf cannot help continuing the pun.

580. *Stood waving*] This muſt certainly be an error of the preſs, occaſion'd by *ſtood* in the line before or in the line following; but then it is a wonder that Milton did not correct it in his ſecond edition. Dr. Bentley reads

—— and in his hand a reed
Held waving tipt with fire;

and we ſhould ſubſtitute ſome ſuch word as this, as it makes better ſenſe, as well as avoids the repetition of *ſtood* three times ſo near together.

586. — *deep*

Not long, for ſudden all at once their reeds
Put forth, and to a narrow vent apply'd
With niceſt touch. Immediate in a flame,
But ſoon obſcur'd with ſmoke, all Heav'n appear'd,
From thoſe deep throated engins belch'd, whoſe roar
Imbowel'd with outrageous noiſe the air,
And all her entrails tore, diſgorging foul
Their deviliſh glut, chain'd thunderbolts and hail
Of iron globes; which on the victor hoſt
Level'd, with ſuch impetuous fury ſmote,
That whom they hit, none on their feet might ſtand,
Though ſtanding elſe as rocks, but down they fell
By thouſands, Angel on Arch-Angel roll'd;
The ſooner for their arms; unarm'd they might
Have eaſily as Spi'rits evaded ſwift

By

586. — *deep throated engins*] So Shakeſpear in Othello, Act. III.

And oh, you mortal engins, whoſe rude throats
Th'immortal Jove's dread clamors counterfeit.

586. —— *whoſe roar*
Imbowel'd with outrageous noiſe the air,
And all her entrails tore,] The conſtruction ſeems to be, *The roar of which* (engins) *imbowel'd with outrageous noiſe tore the air and all her entrails.* So in ver. 740, 741.

That from *thy* juſt obedience could revolt,
Whom to obey &c.

Thy for *of thee*; and to this ſenſe the word *whom* refers. This is common in Milton's poem. *Pearce.* The moſt natural and obvious conſtruction is, *whoſe roar imbowel'd* or fill'd *the air with outrageous noiſe*; but to this

By quick contraction or remove; but now
Foul diſſipation follow'd and forc'd rout;
Nor ſerv'd it to relax their ſerried files.
What ſhould they do? if on they ruſh'd, repulſe
Repeated, and indecent overthrow
Doubled, would render them yet more deſpis'd,
And to their foes a laughter; for in view
Stood rank'd of Seraphim another row,
In poſture to diſplode their ſecond tire
Of thunder: back defeated to return
They worſe abhorr'd. Satan beheld their plight,
And to his mates thus in deriſion call'd.

O Friends, why come not on theſe victors proud?
Ere while they fierce were coming; and when we,
To entertain them fair with open front

And

this it is objected, that it is as much as to ſay that the roar fill'd the air with roar. Neither do I ſee how the matter is much mended by ſaying that the roar of the cannon imbowel'd with roar tore the air *&c.* The cannon I think cannot themſelves be properly ſaid to be imbowel'd with noiſe, tho' they might imbowel with noiſe the air. I would therefore endevor to juſtify this by other ſimilar paſſages. It is uſual with the poets to put the property of a thing for the thing itſelf: and as in that verſe, II. 654. (where ſee the note)

A cry of Hell hounds never ceaſing bark'd,

we have a *cry of Hell hounds* for the Hell hounds themſelves, ſo here we have the *roar* of the cannon for the cannon themſelves; and the *roar* may as properly be ſaid to imbowel the air *with outrageous noiſe*, as the *cry* to *bark*.

599. —— *ſerried files.*] The Italian word *ſerrato*, cloſe, compact. *Thyer.*

And breaſt (what could we more?) propounded terms
Of compoſition, ſtrait they chang'd their minds,
Flew off, and into ſtrange vagaries fell,
As they would dance; yet for a dance they ſeem'd
Somewhat extravagant and wild, perhaps
For joy of offer'd peace: but I ſuppoſe,
If our propoſals once again were heard,
We ſhould compel them to a quick reſult.

To whom thus Belial in like gameſome mood.
Leader, the terms we ſent were terms of weight,
Of hard contents, and full of force urg'd home,
Such as we might perceive amus'd them all,
And ſtumbled many; who receives them right,
Had need from head to foot well underſtand;
Not underſtood, this gift they have beſides,
They ſhow us when our foes walk not upright.

So

620. *To whom thus Belial*] Whoever remembers the character of *Belial* in the firſt and ſecond books, and Mr. Addiſon's remarks upon it, will eaſily ſee the propriety of making *Belial* reply to Satan upon this occaſion and in this ſportive manner, rather than *Beelzebub*, or *Moloch*, or any of the evil Angels.

635. *Rage — found them arms*] Furor arma miniſtrat. Virg. Æn. I. 150.

643. *From their foundations* &c.] There is nothing in the firſt and laſt day's engagement which does not appear natural, and agreeable enough to the ideas moſt readers would conceive of a fight between two armies of Angels. The ſecond day's engagement is apt to ſtartle an imagination which has not been raiſed and qualify'd for ſuch a deſcription, by the reading of the ancient poets, and of Homer in particular.

So they among themſelves in pleaſant vein
Stood ſcoffing, highten'd in their thoughts beyond
All doubt of victory; eternal might
To match with their inventions they preſum'd
So eaſy', and of his thunder made a ſcorn,
And all his hoſt derided, while they ſtood
A while in trouble: but they ſtood not long;
Rage prompted them at length, and found them arms
Againſt ſuch helliſh miſchief fit to' oppoſe.
Forthwith (behold the excellence, the power,
Which God hath in his mighty Angels plac'd)
Their arms away they threw, and to the hills
(For Earth hath this variety from Heaven
Of pleaſure ſituate in hill and dale)
Light as the lightning glimpſe they ran, they flew;
From their foundations looſning to and fro
They

particular. It was certainly a very bold thought in our author, to aſcribe the firſt uſe of artillery to the rebel Angels. But as ſuch a pernicious invention may be well ſuppos'd to have proceeded from ſuch authors, ſo it enter'd very properly into the thoughts of that being, who is all along deſcribed as aſpiring to the majeſty of his Maker. Such engins were the only inſtruments he could have made uſe of to imitate thoſe thunders, that in all poetry, both ſacred and profane, are repreſented as the arms of the Almighty. The tearing up the hills was not altogether ſo daring a thought as the former. We are in ſome meaſure prepared for ſuch an incident by the deſcription of the giants war, which we meet with among the ancient poets. What ſtill made this circumſtance the more proper for the poet's uſe is the

They pluck'd the ſeated hills with all their load,
Rocks, waters, woods, and by the ſhaggy tops
Up-lifting bore them in their hands: Amaze,
Be ſure, and terror ſeis'd the rebel hoſt,
When coming towards them ſo dread they ſaw
The bottom of the mountains upward turn'd;
Till on thoſe curſed engins triple-row
They ſaw them whelm'd, and all their confidence
Under the weight of mountains buried deep;
Themſelves invaded next, and on their heads

Main

opinion of many learned men, that the fable of the giants war, which makes ſo great a noiſe in antiquity, and gave birth to the ſublimeſt deſcription in Heſiod's works was an allegory founded upon this very tradition of a fight between the good and the bad Angels. It may perhaps be worth while to conſider with what judgment Milton in this narration has avoided every thing that is mean and trivial in the deſcriptions of the Latin and Greek poets; and at the ſame time improved every great hint which he met with in their works upon this ſubject. Homer in that paſſage, which Longinus has celebrated for its ſublimeneſs, and which Virgil and Ovid have copy'd after him, tells us that the giants threw Oſſa upon Olympus, and Pelion upon Oſſa. He adds an epithet to Pelion (ενοσιφυλλον) which very much ſwells the idea, by bringing up to the reader's imagination all the woods that grew upon it. There is further a great beauty in ſingling out by name theſe three remarkable mountains, ſo well known to the Greeks. This laſt is ſuch a beauty, as the ſcene of Milton's war could not poſſibly furniſh him with. Claudian, in his fragment upon the giants war, has given full ſcope to that wildneſs of imagination which was natural to him. He tells us that the giants tore up whole ilands by the roots, and threw them at the Gods. He deſcribes one of them in particular taking up Lemnos in his arms, and whirling it to the ſkies, with all Vulcan's ſhop in the midſt of it. Another tears up mount Ida, with the river Enipeus, which ran down the ſides of it; but the poet, not content to deſcribe him with this mountain upon his ſhoulders, tells us that the river flow'd down his back, as he held it up in that poſture. It is viſible to every judicious reader, that ſuch ideas ſavor more of burleſque, than of the ſublime. They proceed from a wantonneſs of imagination, and rather divert the mind than aſtoniſh it. Milton has taken every thing that

is

Main promontories flung, which in the air
Came ſhadowing, and oppreſs'd whole legions arm'd;
Their armour help'd their harm, cruſh'd in and bruis'd
Into their ſubſtance pent, which wrought them pain
Implacable, and many a dolorous groan,
Long ſtrugling underneath, ere they could wind
Out of ſuch pris'on, though Spi'rits of pureſt light,
Pureſt at firſt, now groſs by ſinning grown.
The reſt in imitation to like arms
Betook them, and the neighb'ring hills uptore;

So

is ſublime in theſe ſeveral paſſages, and compoſes out of them the following great image;

From their foundations looſning to and fro
They pluck'd the ſeated hills with all their load,
Rocks, waters, woods, and by the ſhaggy tops
Uplifting bore them in their hands: ——

We have the full majeſty of Homer in this ſhort deſcription, improved by the imagination of Claudian, without its puerilities. I need not point out the deſcription of the fallen Angels ſeeing the promontories hanging over their heads in ſuch a dreadful manner, with the other numberleſs beauties in this book, which are ſo conſpicuous, that they cannot eſcape the notice of the moſt ordinary reader. There are indeed ſo many wonderful ſtrokes of poetry in this book, and ſuch a variety of ſublime ideas, that it would have been impoſſible to have given them a place within the bounds of this paper. Beſides that I find it in a great meaſure done to my hand at the end of my Lord Roſcommon's Eſſay on tranſlated poetry. I ſhall refer my reader thither for ſome of the maſter-ſtrokes in the ſixth book of Paradiſe Loſt, tho' at the ſame time there are many others, which that noble author has not taken notice of. *Addiſon.*

648. *When coming towards them ſo dread they ſaw*] Does not this verſe expreſs the very motion of the mountains, and is not there the ſame kind of beauty in the numbers, that the poet recommends in his excellent Eſſay on Criticiſm?

When Ajax ſtrives ſome rock's vaſt weight to throw,
The line too labors, and the words move ſlow.

656. *Their armour help'd their harm,*] Somewhat like that in Spenſer, Fairy Queen, B. 1. Cant. 11. St. 27.

That erſt him goodly arm'd, now moſt of all him harm'd.

662. *The reſt in imitation* &c.] *The reſt* of the

So hills amid the air encounter'd hills
Hurl'd to and fro with jaculation dire,
That under ground they fought in diſmal ſhade;
Infernal noiſe; war ſeem'd a civil game
To this uproar; horrid confuſion heap'd
Upon confuſion roſe: and now all Heaven
Had gone to wrack, with ruin overſpread;
Had not th' almighty Father, where he ſits
Shrin'd in his ſanctuary of Heav'n ſecure,
Conſulting on the ſum of things, foreſeen
This tumult, and permitted all, advis'd:
That his great purpoſe he might ſo fulfil,

To

the Satanic hoſt that were not overwhelmed by the mountains, *in imitation* of the good Angels, *&c.*

666. *That under ground they fought in diſmal ſhade*;] It was a memorable ſaying of one of the Spartans at Thermopylæ, who being told that the multitude of Perſian arrows would obſcure the ſun, why then ſays he we ſhall fight in the ſhade. I ſuppoſe that Statius alluded to this ſtory in the following bold lines. Thebaid. VIII. 412.

Excluſere diem telis, ſtant ferrea cælo
Nubila, nec jaculis arctatus ſufficit aer.

But what was a ſhade of *arrows* to a ſhade of *mountains* hurl'd to and fro, and encountring in mid air! This was *infernal noiſe* indeed, and making almoſt a Hell of Heaven. Such was the uproar in Hell, II. 539.

Others with vaſt Typhœan rage more fell
Rend up both rocks and hills, and ride the air
In whirlwind; Hell ſcarce holds the wild uproar.

669. —— *and now all Heaven*
Had gone to wrack, ——] It is remark'd by the critics in praiſe of Homer's battels, that they riſe in horror one above another to the end of the Iliad. The ſame may be ſaid of Milton's battels. In the firſt day's engagement, when they fought under a cope of fire with burning arrows, it was ſaid

—— all

To honor his anointed Son aveng'd
Upon his enemies, and to declare
All pow'r on him transferr'd: whence to his Son
Th' aſſeſſor of his throne he thus began.
Effulgence of my glory, Son belov'd,
Son in whoſe face inviſible is beheld
Viſibly, what by deity I am,
And in whoſe hand what by decree I do,
Second Omnipotence, two days are paſt,
Two days, as we compute the days of Heaven,
Since Michael and his Pow'rs went forth to tame
Theſe diſobedient: ſore hath been their fight,

As

—— all Heaven
Reſounded, and had Earth been then, all Earth
Had to her center ſhook.

But now, when they fought with mountains and promontories, it is ſaid *All Heaven had gone to wrack*, had not the almighty Father interpos'd, and ſent forth his ſon in the fulneſs of the divine glory and majeſty to expel the rebel Angels out of Heaven. Homer's Iliad, VIII. 130.

Ενθα κε λοιγῳ εην, και αμηχανα εργα γενοντο,
Ει μη αρ' οξυ νοησε πατηρ ανδρων τε θεων τε.

674. — *advis'd:*] Is here a participle adverbial, and very elegant; it means adviſedly, deſignedly; the ſame with the Latin *conſulto* or *prudens*, as in Horace, Od. I. III. 21.

Nequicquam Deus abſcidit
Prudens Oceano diſſociabili
Terras. *Richardſon.*

679. *Th' aſſeſſor of his throne*] So the Son is called in ſome of the Fathers, παρεδρος θεου, dei aſſeſſor.

681. *Son in whoſe face inviſible is beheld*
Viſibly, what by deity I am,] So the firſt editions have pointed the ſentence; and the conſtruction and ſenſe of it is this; *Son in whoſe face* what is *inviſible is beheld viſibly*, viz. *what I am by deity.* Pearce. *Inviſible* here is a neuter adjective uſed for a ſubſtantive, and it is in alluſion to theſe texts, Rom. I. 20. *The inviſible things of God are clearly ſeen*, and Col. I. 15. *The image of the inviſible God.*

695. *War*

As likelieſt was, when two ſuch foes met arm'd;
For to themſelves I left them, and thou know'ſt,
Equal in their creation they were form'd,
Save what ſin hath impair'd, which yet hath wrought
Inſenſibly, for I ſuſpend their doom;
Whence in perpetual fight they needs muſt laſt
Endleſs, and no ſolution will be found:
War wearied hath perform'd what war can do,
And to diſorder'd rage let looſe the reins,
With mountains as with weapons arm'd, which makes
Wild work in Heav'n, and dange'rous to the main.
Two days are therefore paſt, the third is thine;
For thee I have ordain'd it, and thus far
Have ſuffer'd, that the glory may be thine
Of ending this great war, ſince none but Thou

Can

695. *War wearied hath perform'd what war can do,*] And indeed within the compaſs of this one book we have all the variety of battels that can well be conceiv'd. We have a ſingle combat, and a general engagement. The firſt day's fight is with darts and ſwords, in imitation of the Ancients; the ſecond day's fight is with artillery, in imitation of the Moderns; but the images in both are raiſed proportionably to the ſuperior nature of the beings here deſcrib'd. And when the poet has briefly compris'd all that has any foundation in fact and reality, he has recourſe to the fictions of the poets in their deſcriptions of the giants war with the Gods. And when *war hath* thus *perform'd what war can do*, he riſes ſtill higher, and the Son of God is ſent forth in the majeſty of the almighty Father, agreeably to Scripture; ſo much doth the ſublimity of holy Writ tranſcend all that is true,

Can end it. Into thee ſuch virtue and grace
Immenſe I have transfus'd, that all may know
In Heav'n and Hell thy pow'r above compare;
And this perverſe commotion govern'd thus,
To manifeſt thee worthieſt to be Heir
Of all things, to be Heir and to be King
By ſacred unction, thy deſerved right.
Go then thou Mightieſt in thy Father's might,
Aſcend my chariot, guide the rapid wheels
That ſhake Heav'n's baſis, bring forth all my war,
My bow and thunder, my almighty arms
Gird on, and ſword upon thy puiſſant thigh;
Purſue theſe ſons of darkneſs, drive them out
From all Heav'n's bounds into the utter deep:
There let them learn, as likes them, to deſpiſe

God

true, and all that is feign'd in deſcription.

710. *Go then thou Mightieſt* &c.] The following lines in that glorious commiſſion, which is given the Meſſiah to extirpate the hoſt of rebel Angels, are drawn from a ſublime paſſage in the Pſalms. The reader will eaſily diſcover many other ſtrokes of the ſame nature. *Addiſon.*

The Pſalm here meant is the XLVth, ver. 3. & 4. *Gird thy ſword upon thy thigh, O moſt mighty, with thy glory and thy majeſty: and in thy majeſty ride proſperouſly* &c.

714. — *and ſword upon thy puiſſant thigh*;] A great man obſerved to me, that the ſentence falls in this place, and that it may be improv'd by reading and pointing the whole paſſage thus,

—— bring forth all my war,
My bow and thunder, my almighty arms;
And gird my ſword upon thy puiſſant thigh.

God and Meſſiah his anointed king.
He ſaid, and on his Son with rays direct
Shone full; he all his Father full expreſs'd
Ineffably into his face receiv'd;
And thus the filial Godhead anſw'ring ſpake.
O Father, O Supreme of heav'nly Thrones,
Firſt, Higheſt, Holieſt, Beſt, thou always ſeek'ſt
To glorify thy Son, I always thee,
As is moſt juſt; this I my glory account,
My exaltation, and my whole delight,
That thou in me well pleas'd, declar'ſt thy will
Fulfill'd, which to fulfil is all my bliſs.
Scepter and pow'r, thy giving, I aſſume,
And gladlier ſhall reſign, when in the end
Thou ſhalt be all in all, and I in thee

For

732. *Thou ſhalt be all in all*, &c.] We may ſtill obſerve that Milton generally makes the divine Perſons talk in the ſtile and language of Scripture. This paſſage is manifeſtly taken from 1 Cor. XV. 24 and 28. *Then cometh the end when he ſhall have delivered up the kingdom to God: And when all things ſhall be ſubdued unto him, then ſhall the Son alſo himſelf be ſubject unto him that put all things under him, that God may be all in all.* And immediately afterwards when it is ſaid

—— I in thee
For ever, and in me all whom thou lov'ſt:

this is plainly in alluſion to ſeveral expreſſions in John XVII. *That they all may be one, as thou Father art in me, and I in thee, that they alſo may be one in us.* ver. 21. *I in them, and thou in*

For ever, and in me all whom thou lov'ſt:
But whom thou hat'ſt, I hate, and can put on
Thy terrors, as I put thy mildneſs on,
Image of thee in all things; and ſhall ſoon,
Arm'd with thy might, rid Heav'n of theſe rebell'd,
To their prepar'd ill manſion driven down,
To chains of darkneſs, and th' undying worm,
That from thy juſt obedience could revolt,
Whom to obey is happineſs entire.
Then ſhall thy Saints unmix'd, and from th' impure
Far ſeparate, circling thy holy mount
Unfeigned Halleluiahs to thee ſing,
Hymns of high praiſe, and I among them chief.

So ſaid, he o'er his ſcepter bowing, roſe
From the right hand of glory where he ſat;

And

in me, that they may be made perfect in one, and that the world may know that thou haſt loved them, as thou haſt loved me. ver. 23. And when it is added

But whom thou hat'ſt, I hate,

is not this an alluſion to Pſal. CXXXIX. 21. *Do not I hate them, O Lord, that hate thee,* &c. And there are ſeveral other inſtances, which the pious reader will perhaps be better pleas'd to recollect himſelf, than to have them pointed out to him.

737. —— *rid Heav'n of theſe rebell'd,*] Of theſe rebellious, of theſe who have rebell'd; a remarkable expreſſion.

746. *So ſaid, he o'er his ſcepter bowing, roſe* &c.] The deſcription of the Meſſiah's going out againſt the rebel Angels is a ſcene

And the third ſacred morn began to ſhine,
Dawning through Heav'n: forth ruſh'd with whirlwind [ſound
The chariot of paternal Deity,
Flaſhing thick flames, wheel within wheel undrawn,
Itſelf inſtinct with Spirit, but convoy'd
By four Cherubic ſhapes; four faces each
Had wondrous; as with ſtars their bodies all
And wings were ſet with eyes, with eyes the wheels
Of

of the ſame ſort with Heſiod's Jupiter againſt the Titans. They are both of them the moſt undoubted inſtances of the true ſublime; but which has exceeded it is very difficult to determin. There is, I think, a greater profuſion of poetical images in that of the latter; but then the ſuperior character of a Chriſtian Meſſiah, which Milton has with great judgment and majeſty ſupported in this part of his work, gives a certain air of religious grandeur, which throws the advantage on the ſide of the Engliſh poet. *Thyer.*

749. —— *forth ruſh'd with whirlwind ſound* &c.] Milton has raiſed his deſcription in this book with many images taken out of the poetical parts of Scripture. The Meſſiah's chariot is formed upon a viſion of Ezekiel, who, as Grotius obſerves, has very much in him of Homer's ſpirit in the poetical parts of his prophecy. *Addiſon.* The whole deſcription indeed is drawn almoſt word for word from Ezekiel, as the reader will ſee by comparing them together.

—— forth ruſh'd with whirlwind ſound
The chariot of paternal Deity,
Flaſhing thick flames,

And I looked, and behold, a whirlwind came out of the north, a great cloud, and a fire infolding itſelf. I. 4. Or perhaps the author here drew Iſaiah likewiſe to his aſſiſtance, Iſa. LXVI. 15. *For behold the Lord will come with fire, and with his chariots like a whirlwind.*

—— wheel within wheel undrawn,
Itſelf inſtinct with Spirit, but convoy'd
By four Cherubic ſhapes;

Alſo out of the midſt thereof came the likeneſs of four living creatures, and their appearance was as it were a wheel in the middle of a wheel; and when the living creatures went, the wheels went by them, for the ſpirit of the living creature was in the wheels. I. 5, 16, 19, 20.

—— four faces each
Had wondrous; as with ſtars their bodies all
And wings were ſet with eyes, with eyes the wheels

And

Of beril, and carreering fires between; 756
Over their heads a cryſtal firmament,
Whereon a ſaphir throne, inlaid with pure
Amber, and colors of the ſhow'ry arch.
He in celeſtial panoply all arm'd 760
Of radiant Urim, work divinely wrought,
Aſcended; at his right hand victory
Sat eagle-wing'd; beſide him hung his bow

And

And every one had four faces. I. 6. *And their whole body, and their wings, and the wheels were full of eyes round about.* X. 12.

—— the wheels
Of beril, and carreering fires between;

The *beril* is a precious ſtone of a ſea-green color, and *carreering fires* are lightnings darting out by fits, a metaphor taken from the running in tilts; *The appearance of the wheels and their work was like unto the color of a beril; and the fire was bright, and out of the fire went forth lightning.* I. 16, 13.

Over their heads a cryſtal firmament,
Whereon a ſaphir throne, inlaid with pure
Amber, and colors of the ſhow'ry arch.

And the likeneſs of the firmament upon the heads of the living creatures was as the color of the terrible cryſtal, ſtretched forth over their heads above: And above the firmament that was over their heads was the likeneſs of a throne, as the appearance of a ſaphir ſtone: And I ſaw as the color of amber, as the appearance of the bow that is in the cloud in the day of rain. I. 22, 26, 27, 28.

760. *He in celeſtial panoply all arm'd*
Of radiant Urim,] All arm'd in complete heavenly armour of radiant light. *Celeſtial panoply* is in alluſion to St. Paul's expreſſion, Eph. VI. 11. *Put on* the panoply, *the whole armour of God.* The word was uſed before, ver. 527. *Urim* and *Thummim* were ſomething in Aaron's breaſtplate; what they were critics and commentators are by no means agreed; but the word *Urim* ſignifies *light* and *Thummim perfection*; and therefore Milton very properly gives the epithet of *radiant* to *Urim.* It is moſt probable that *Urim* and *Thummim* were only names given to ſignify the clearneſs and certainty of the divine anſwers, which were obtain'd by the high-prieſt conſulting God with his breaſtplate on, in contradiſtinction to the obſcure, enigmatical, uncertain and imperfect anſwers of the Heathen oracles.

765. *And*

And quiver with three-bolted thunder ſtor'd,
And from about him fierce effuſion roll'd
Of ſmoke and bickering flame and ſparkles dire:
Attended with ten thouſand thouſand Saints,
He onward came, far off his coming ſhone;
And twenty thouſand (I their number heard)
Chariots of God, half on each hand were ſeen:
He on the wings of Cherub rode ſublime
On the cryſtállin sky, in ſaphir thron'd,
Illuſtrious far and wide, but by his own
Firſt ſeen; them unexpected joy ſurpris'd,
When the great enſign of Meſſiah blaz'd
Aloft by Angels borne, his ſign in Heaven;
Under whoſe conduct Michael ſoon reduc'd
His army, circumfus'd on either wing,
Under their Head imbodied all in one.

Before

765. *And from about him fierce effuſion roll'd*
Of ſmoke and bickering flame and ſparkles dire:] A furious tempeſt pouring forth ſmoke and fighting flame round about him. *Bickering*, fighting and thence deſtroying, of the Welſh *Bicre* a combat. *There went up a ſmoke out of his noſtrils, and fire out of his mouth devoured.* Pſal. XVIII. 8. *A fire ſhall devour before him, and it ſhall be very tempeſtuous round about him.* Pſal. L. 3. *Hume.*

767. *Attended with ten thouſand thouſand*
Saints,
He onward came, &c.] Jude 14. *Behold the Lord cometh with ten thouſands of his Saints.*

And twenty thouſand (I their number heard)
Chariots of God,

The

Before him pow'r divine his way prepar'd;
At his command th' uprooted hills retir'd
Each to his place; they heard his voice, and went
Obſequious; Heav'n his wonted face renew'd,
And with freſh flow'rets hill and valley ſmil'd.
This ſaw his hapleſs foes but ſtood obdur'd,
And to rebellious fight rallied their Powers
Inſenſate, hope conceiving from deſpair.
In heav'nly Spi'rits could ſuch perverſeneſs dwell?
But to convince the proud what ſigns avail,
Or wonders move th' obdurate to relent?
They harden'd more by what might moſt reclame,
Grieving to ſee his glory, at the ſight
Took envy; and aſpiring to his highth,
Stood reimbattel'd fierce, by force or fraud
Weening to proſper, and at length prevail
Againſt

The chariots of God are twenty thouſand. Pſal. LXVIII. 17. *I heard the number of them.* Rev. VII. 4. Let it be remark'd how much of his ſublimity, even in the ſublimeſt part of his works, Milton owes to Scripture.

787. — *hope conceiving from deſpair.*] Imitated from Virgil.

Una ſalus victis nullam ſperare ſalutem.
Æn. II. 354.

Or rather from Quintus Curtius. Lib. 5. cap. 4. Ignaviam quoque neceſſitas acuit, et *ſæpe deſperatio ſpei cauſa eſt.*

788. *In heav'nly Spirits could ſuch perverſeneſs dwell?*]

— Tantæne animis cœleſtibus iræ?
Virg. Æn. I. 11.

797. *In*

Againſt God and Meſſiah, or to fall
In univerſal ruin laſt; and now
To final battel drew, diſdaining flight,
Or faint retreat; when the great Son of God
To all his hoſt on either hand thus ſpake.
Stand ſtill in bright array, ye Saints, here ſtand
Ye Angels arm'd, this day from battel reſt;
Faithful hath been your warfare, and of God
Accepted, fearleſs in his righteous cauſe,
And as ye have receiv'd, ſo have ye done
Invincibly; but of this curſed crew
The puniſhment to other hand belongs;
Vengeance is his, or whoſe he ſole appoints:
Number to this day's work is not ordain'd
Nor multitude; ſtand only and behold
God's indignation on theſe Godleſs pour'd

By

797. *In univerſal ruin laſt*;] So it is in Milton's two firſt editions; and if he wrote *laſt*, it muſt be underſtood the ſame as *at laſt*: but I was thinking whether it would not be better to read *In univerſal ruin loſt*, when I found it ſo in Dr. Bentley's edition, but without any note upon it, or any thing to diſtinguiſh the alteration, as if it had been ſo printed in all the former editions.

808. *Vengeance is his, or whoſe he ſole appoints:*] *To me belongeth vengeance and recompenſe.* Deut. XXXII. 35. *Vengeance is mine, I will repay it, ſaith the Lord.* Rom. XII. 19.

826. *And full of wrath bent on his enemies.*]

Dr.

By me; not you but me they have deſpis'd,
Yet envied; againſt me is all their rage,
Becauſe the Father, t' whom in Heav'n ſupreme
Kingdom and pow'r and glory appertains,
Hath honor'd me according to his will.
Therefore to me their doom he hath aſſign'd;
That they may have their wiſh, to try with me
In battel which the ſtronger proves, they all,
Or I alone againſt them, ſince by ſtrength
They meaſure all, of other excellence
Not emulous, nor care who them excels;
Nor other ſtrife with them do I vouchſafe.
So ſpake the Son, and into terror chang'd
His count'nance too ſevere to be beheld,
And full of wrath bent on his enemies.
At once the Four ſpread out their ſtarry wings
With

Dr. Bentley is for rejecting this verſe as mean and ſuperfluous. I ſuppoſe he underſtood it thus, *And full of wrath bent* his courſe, went *on his enemies*; this is ſaid afterwards, ver. 831. *He on his impious foes right onward drove*, &c. But it may be underſtood thus, *He chang'd his countenance into terror, and bent* it ſo chang'd and *full of wrath upon his enemies*; and I cannot ſee how this is either mean or ſuperfluous. Or rather *bent* may be a participle in this conſtruction—*his countenance too ſevere to be beheld, and bent full of wrath on his enemies.*

827. *At once the Four* &c.] Whenever he mentions the four Cherubim and the Meſſiah's chariot,

With dreadful ſhade contiguous, and the orbs
Of his fierce chariot roll'd, as with the ſound
Of torrent floods, or of a numerous hoſt.
He on his impious foes right onward drove,
Gloomy as night; under his burning wheels
The ſtedfaſt empyréan ſhook throughout,
All but the throne itſelf of God. Full ſoon
Among them he arriv'd, in his right hand
Graſping ten thouſand thunders, which he ſent
Before him, ſuch as in their ſouls infix'd
Plagues; they aſtoniſh'd all reſiſtance loſt,
All courage; down their idle weapons dropt;

O'er

chariot, he ſtill copies from Ezekiel's viſion.

At once the Four ſpread out their ſtarry wings
With dreadful ſhade contiguous,

Their wings join'd together made a dreadful ſhade; and Ezekiel ſays, *Their wings were joined one to another.* I. 9.

—— and the orbs
Of his fierce chariot roll'd, as with the ſound
Of torrent floods, or of a numerous hoſt.

And when the living creatures went, the wheels went by them; and when they went I heard the noiſe of their wings, like the noiſe of great waters, as the noiſe of an hoſt. I. 19, 24.

832. *Gloomy as night;*] From Homer, Iliad. XII. 462. where the tranſlator makes uſe of Milton's words.

—— ο δ' αρ' εθορε φαιδιμος Εκτωρ,
Νυκτι θοη αταλαντος υπωπια.

Now ruſhing in, the furious chief appears,
Gloomy as night! Pope.

And again, Odyſſ. XI. 605.

—— οδ' ερεμνη νυκτι εοικως.

Gloomy as night he ſtands. Broome.

833. *The*

O'er ſhields and helms and helmed heads he rode
Of Thrones and mighty Seraphim proſtráte,
That wiſh'd the mountains now might be again
Thrown on them as a ſhelter from his ire.
Nor leſs on either ſide tempeſtuous fell
His arrows, from the fourfold-viſag'd Four
Diſtinct with eyes, and from the living wheels
Diſtinct alike with multitude of eyes;
One Spirit in them rul'd, and every eye
Glar'd lightning, and ſhot forth pernicious fire
Among th' accurs'd, that wither'd all their ſtrength,
And of their wonted vigor left them drain'd,

Ex-

833. *The ſtedfaſt empyréan ſhook throughout,*] *The pillars of Heaven tremble, and are aſtoniſh'd at his reproof.* Job. XXVI. 11. *Hume.*

838. *Plagues*;] The pauſe reſting ſo upon the firſt ſyllable of the verſe makes this word very emphatical. The reader may ſee beauties of the ſame kind in IV. 350. and the note there.

—— others on the graſs
Couch'd, and now fill'd with paſture gazing ſat.

841. *Of Thrones and mighty Seraphim proſtráte,*] Milton commonly pronounces this word, as we do, with the accent upon the firſt ſyllable. See I. 280. X. 1087. 1099. But here the accent is upon the laſt ſyllable, and ſo Fairfax uſes it in his tranſlation of Taſſo, Cant. 1. St. 83.

He heard the weſtern Lords would undermine
His city's wall, and lay his tow'rs proſtráte.

And Spenſer, I think, commonly pronounces it in this manner, Fairy Queen, B. 2. Cant. 8. St. 54.

Whoſe carcaſes on ground were horribly proſtráte.

And B. 3. Cant. 12. St. 39.

Before fair Britomart ſhe fell proſtráte.

842. *That wiſh'd the mountains now might be again* &c.] So Rev. VI. 16. *They ſaid*

Exhauſted, ſpiritleſs, afflicted, fall'n.
Yet half his ſtrength he put not forth, but check'd
His thunder in mid voly; for he meant
Not

ſaid to the mountains, Fall on us, and hide us from the face of him that ſitteth on the throne, and from the wrath of the Lamb: which is very applicable here, as they had been overwhelmed with mountains. See ver. 655. What was ſo terrible before, they wiſh'd *as a ſhelter* now.

853. *Yet half his ſtrength he put not forth*, &c.] There is no queſtion but Milton had heated his imagination with the fight of the Gods in Homer, before he enter'd upon this engagement of the Angels. Homer there gives us a ſcene of men, heroes, and Gods, mix'd together in battel. Mars animates the contending armies, and lifts up his voice in ſuch a manner, that it is heard diſtinctly amidſt all the ſhouts and confuſion of the fight. Jupiter at the ſame time thunders over their heads; while Neptune raiſes ſuch a tempeſt, that the whole field of battel, and all the tops of the mountains ſhake about them. The poet tells us, that Pluto himſelf, whoſe habitation was in the very center of the earth, was ſo affrighted at the ſhock, that he leap'd from his throne. Homer afterwards deſcribes Vulcan as pouring down a ſtorm of fire upon the river Xanthus, and Minerva as throwing a rock at Mars; who, he tells us, cover'd ſeven acres in his fall. As Homer has introduced into his battel of the Gods every thing that is great and terrible in nature, Milton has filled his fight of good and bad Angels with all the like circumſtances of horror. The ſhouts of armies, the rattling of brazen chariots, the hurling of rocks and mountains, the earthquake, the fire, the thunder, are all of them employ'd to lift up the reader's imagination, and give him a ſuitable idea of ſo great an action. With what art has the poet repreſented the whole body of the earth trembling, even before it was created!

All Heav'n reſounded, and had Earth been then,
All Earth had to her center ſhook.

In how ſublime and juſt a manner does he afterwards deſcribe the whole Heaven, ſhaking under the wheels of the Meſſiah's chariot, with that exception to the throne of God!

— Under his burning wheels
The ſtedfaſt empyréan ſhook throughout,
All but the throne itſelf of God.

Notwithſtanding the Meſſiah appears clothed with ſo much terror and majeſty, the poet has ſtill found means to make his readers conceive an idea of him, beyond what he himſelf was able to deſcribe.

Yet half his ſtrength he put not forth, but check'd
His thunder in mid voly; for he meant
Not to deſtroy, but root them out of Heaven.

In a word, Milton's genius, which was ſo great in itſelf, and ſo ſtrengthen'd by all the helps of learning, appears in this book every way equal to his ſubject, which was the moſt ſublime that

Not to deſtroy, but root them out of Heaven: 855
The overthrown he rais'd, and as a herd
Of goats or timorous flock together throng'd
Drove

that could enter into the thoughts of a poet. As he knew all the arts of affecting the mind, he knew it was neceſſary to give it certain reſting places, and opportunities of recovering itſelf from time to time: he has therefore with great addreſs interſperſed ſeveral ſpeeches, reflections, ſimilitudes, and the like reliefs to diverſify his narration, and eaſe the attention of the reader, that he might come freſh to his great action, and by ſuch a contraſt of ideas have a more lively taſte of the nobler parts of his deſcription. *Addiſon.*

Yet half his ſtrength he put not forth, &c. This fine thought is ſomewhat like that of the Pſalmiſt, LXXVIII. 38. *But he being full of compaſſion, forgave their iniquity, and deſtroyed them not; yea, many a time turned he his anger away, and did not ſtir up all his wrath.* And it greatly exceeds Heſiod, who makes Jupiter upon a like occaſion exert all his ſtrength. Heſ. Theog. 687.

Ουδ' αρ' ετι Ζευς ισχεν εον μενος· αλλα νυ τογε
Ειθαρ μεν μενεος πληντο φρενες, εκ δε τε πασαν
Φαινε βιην.

856. —— *and as a herd*

Of goats &c.] It may ſeem ſtrange that our author amidſt ſo many ſublime images ſhould intermix ſo low a compariſon as this. But it is the practice of Homer; and we have ſome remarkable inſtances in the ſecond book of the Iliad, where in a pompous deſcription of the Grecians going forth to battel, and amidſt the glare of ſeveral noble ſimilitudes, they are compar'd for their number to *flies about a ſhepherd's cottage, when the milk moiſtens the pails*; and after he has compar'd Agamemnon to Jove, and Mars, and Neptune, he compares him again to a *bull*. But we may obſerve to the advantage of our author, that this low ſimile is not apply'd, as Homer's are, to the perſons he meant to honor, but to the contrary party; and the lower the compariſon, the more it expreſſes their defeat. And there is the greater propriety in the ſimilitude of *goats* particularly, becauſe our Saviour repreſents the wicked under the ſame image, as the good are called *the ſheep*. Mat. XXV. 33. *And he ſhall ſet the ſheep on his right hand, but the goats on the left.* For which reaſon Dr. Pearce is of opinion that by a *timorous flock* are not meant ſheep but deer, that epithet being as it were appropriated by the poets to that animal. Virgil has *timidi damæ* twice at leaſt. Or the author (as Dr. Bentley and Dr. Heylin imagin) might have ſaid not *or* but *a timorous flock*; *and as a herd of goats* a *timorous flock*. But he would hardly have call'd the ſame *a herd of goats*, and then a *flock* immediately afterwards, and neither would he have uſed the expreſſion of *timorous flock* for a herd of deer in contradiſtinction to a herd of goats, tho' it is a proper phraſe for ſheep, which ſeem plainly to be meant by it. And it is probable that in the highth and fury of his deſcription he did not attend to the minuteneſs of that figurative diſtinction

Drove them before him thunder-ſtruck, purſued
With terrors and with furies to the bounds
And cryſtal wall of Heav'n, which opening wide,
Roll'd inward, and a ſpacious gap diſclos'd
Into the waſteful deep; the monſtrous ſight
Struck them with horror backward, but far worſe
Urg'd them behind; headlong themſelves they threw
Down from the verge of Heav'n; eternal wrath
Burnt after them to the bottomleſs pit.
Hell heard th' unſufferable noiſe, Hell ſaw
Heav'n

ſtinction between goats and ſheep, however beautiful it may be in its proper place: or if he had deſigned it, he would have avoided the ambiguity of ſuch a word as *flock*, which ſeems improper either to goats or deer.

859. *With terrors and with furies to the bounds*] Job. VI. 4. *The terrors of God do ſet themſelves in array againſt me:* and the *fury of the Lord* is a common expreſſion in Scripture. Iſa. LI. 20. *They are full of the fury of the Lord.* And Virgil frequently uſes *furiæ* for ſuch frights and diſturbances of mind as drive perſons to madneſs. See Georg. III. 511. Æn. I. 41. IV. 376, 474. &c. And ſo the word ſeems to be uſed here.

865. —— *eternal wrath*
Burnt after them to the bottomleſs pit.

The uncommon meaſure of this verſe, with only one Iambic foot in it, and that the laſt, is admirably contriv'd to expreſs the idea. The beauty of it ariſes chiefly from the Pyrrichius in the third, and the Trochee in the fourth place,

Burnt after them to the bottomleſs pit;

and change them into Iambics, which ſome perhaps would think better, and it will loſe its effect;

Burnt after them to Hell's tremendous pit.

Milton himſelf was ſo ſenſible of this beauty, that he repeats it in Paradiſe Regain'd, I. 360.

—— but was driven
With them from bliſs to the bottomleſs deep.

868. *Heav'n*

Heav'n ruining from Heav'n, and would have fled
Affrighted; but ſtrict fate had caſt too deep
Her dark foundations, and too faſt had bound.
Nine days they fell; confounded Chaos roar'd,
And felt tenfold confuſion in their fall
Through his wild anarchy, ſo huge a rout
Incumber'd him with ruin: Hell at laſt
Yawning receiv'd them whole, and on them clos'd;
Hell their fit habitation fraught with fire
Unquenchable, the houſe of woe and pain.

Dis-

868. *Heav'n ruining from Heav'n,*] *Ruining* is here uſed as a deponent; it is a beautiful way of ſpeaking, and very expreſſive of the idea; it is founded on the notion of the Latin *ruina* from *ruo*. And Milton here follow'd the ſenſe of the Italian word *rovinare* or *ruinare*, which in the dictionary Della Cruſca is explain'd by falling headlong and violently from a higher to a lower place. *Pearce.*

871. *Nine days they fell;*] And ſo in Book I. 50.

Nine times the ſpace that meaſures day and night *&c.*

Thus in the firſt Iliad the plague continues nine days, and upon all occaſions the poets are fond of the numbers nine and three. They have three Graces and nine Muſes. What might at firſt occaſion this way of thinking it is not eaſy to ſay; but it is certainly very ancient, and we are now ſo accuſtom'd to it, that if here, inſtead of nine, Milton had ſaid ten days, I am perſuaded it would not have had ſo good an effect.

874. *Incumber'd him with ruin:*] This too, like the word *ruining* in ver. 868. muſt be taken in its Italian ſignification. *Ingombrato* is very poetical, and expreſſes the utmoſt embaraſment and confuſion; but *incumber'd*, tho' plainly the ſame word, yet in its common acceptation has a meaning too weak and low for the author's purpoſe in this verſe. *Thyer.*

876. *Hell their fit habitation — the houſe of woe and pain.*] Very like that in Fairfax's Taſſo, Cant. 9. St. 59.

Fit

Disburden'd Heav'n rejoic'd, and ſoon repair'd
Her mural breach, returning whence it roll'd.
Sole victor from th' expulſion of his foes
Meſſiah his triumphal chariot turn'd:
To meet him all his Saints, who ſilent ſtood
Eye-witneſſes of his almighty acts,
With jubilee advanc'd; and as they went,
Shaded with branching palm, each order bright,
Sung triumph, and him ſung victorious King,
Son, Heir, and Lord, to him dominion given,
Worthieſt to reign: he celebrated rode
Triumphant through mid Heav'n, into the courts
And temple of his mighty Father thron'd
On high; who into glory him receiv'd,

Where

Fit houſe for them, the houſe of woe and pain.

An inſtance this, and there are others, that Milton made uſe of the tranſlation of Taſſo, as well as of the original.

878. *Diſburden'd Heav'n rejoic'd, and ſoon repair'd*
Her mural breach, returning whence it roll'd.] *Returning* is to be join'd in conſtruction with *Heav'n*, and not with *breach*. Heaven returned to its place: But the expreſſion (as we noted before) is not very accurate, *Heav'n repair'd* her *mural breach, and return'd whence* it *roll'd.*

888. *Worthieſt to reign:*] Alluding to Rev. IV. 11. *Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory, and honor, and power*, &c. and ſo making the Angels ſing the ſame divine ſong that St. John heard them ſing in his viſion.

893. *Thus meaſuring things in Heav'n by things on Earth*, &c.] He repeats the ſame kind of apology here in the concluſion, that he

Where now he ſits at the right hand of bliſs.
Thus meaſuring things in Heav'n by things on Earth,
At thy requeſt, and that thou may'ſt beware
By what is paſt, to thee I have reveal'd
What might have elſe to human race been hid;
The diſcord which befel, and war in Heaven
Among th' angelic Pow'rs, and the deep fall
Of thoſe too high aſpiring, who rebell'd
With Satan; he who envies now thy ſtate,
Who now is plotting how he may ſeduce
Thee alſo from obedience, that with him
Bereav'd of happineſs thou may'ſt partake
His puniſhment, eternal miſery;
Which would be all his ſolace and revenge,

As

he made in the beginning of his narration. See V. 573. &c.

By likening ſpiritual to corporal forms, &c and it is indeed the beſt defenſe that can be made for the bold fictions in this book, which tho' ſome cold readers perhaps may blame, yet the coldeſt, I conceive, cannot but admire. It is remarkable too with what art and beauty the poet from the highth and ſublimity of the reſt of this book deſcends here at the cloſe of it, like the lark from her loftieſt notes in the clouds, to the moſt proſaic ſimplicity of language and numbers; a ſimplicity which not only gives it variety, but the greateſt majeſty, as Milton himſelf ſeems to have thought by always chooſing to give the ſpeeches of God and the Meſſiah in that ſtile, tho' theſe I ſuppoſe are the parts of this poem, which Dryden cenſures as the flats which he often met with for thirty or forty lines together.

900. *With Satan; he who envies now thy ſtate,*] The conſtruction requires *him*, as Dr. Bentley ſays:

As a deſpite done againſt the moſt High,
Thee once to gain companion of his woe.
But liſten not to his temptations, warn
Thy weaker; let it profit thee to' have heard

By

ſays: or it may be underſtood *He it is who envies now thy ſtate.*

909. *Thy weaker*;] As St. Peter calls the wife *the weaker veſſel.* 1 Pet. III. 7.

It may perhaps be agreeable to the reader to find here at the concluſion of this ſixth book the commendations, which Lord Roſcommon has beſtow'd upon it in his Eſſay on tranſlated verſe, and to which Mr. Addiſon refers in a note above. That truly noble critic and poet is there making his complaints of the barbarous bondage of rime, and wiſhes that the Engliſh would ſhake off the yoke, having ſo good an example before them as the author of Paradiſe Loſt.

Of many faults rime is perhaps the cauſe;
Too ſtrict to rime, we ſlight more uſeful laws.
For that, in Greece or Rome, was never known,
Till by Barbarian deluges o'erflown:
Subdued, undone, they did at laſt obey,
And change their own for their invaders way.
I grant that from ſome moſſy idol oak
In double rimes our Thor and Woden ſpoke;
And by ſucceſſion of unlearned times,
As Bards began, ſo Monks rung on the chimes.
But now that Phœbus and the ſacred Nine
With all their beams on our bleſs'd iland ſhine,
Why ſhould not we their ancient rites reſtore,
And be what Rome or Athens were before?
Have we forgot how Raphael's numerous proſe
Led our exalted ſouls through heav'nly camps,
And mark'd the ground where proud apoſtate Thrones
Defy'd Jehovah! Here, 'twixt hoſt and hoſt,
(A narrow but a dreadful interval)
Portentous fight! before the cloudy van
Satan with vaſt and haughty ſtrides advanc'd,
Came towring arm'd in adamant and gold.
There bellowing engins with their fiery tubes
Diſpers'd ethereal forms, and down they fell
By thouſands, Angels on Arch-Angels roll'd;
Recover'd, to the hills they ran, they flew,
Which (with their pond'rous load, rocks, waters, woods)
From their firm ſeats torn by the ſhaggy tops,
They bore like ſhields before them through the air,
Till more incens'd they hurl'd them at their foes.
All was confuſion, Heav'n's foundations ſhook,
Threatning no leſs than univerſal wrack,
For Michael's arm main promontories flung,
And over-preſs'd whole legions weak with ſin;
Yet they blaſphem'd and ſtruggled as they lay,
Till the great enſign of Meſſiah blaz'd,
And (arm'd with vengeance) God's victorious Son
(Effulgence of paternal Deity)
Graſping ten thouſand thunders in his hand

Drove

By terrible example the reward
Of diſobedience; firm they might have ſtood,
Yet fell; remember, and fear to tranſgreſs.

Drove th' old original rebels headlong down,
And ſent them flaming to the vaſt Abyſs.
O may I live to hail the glorious day,
And ſing loud Pæans through the crouded way,
When in triumphant ſtate the Britiſh Muſe,
True to herſelf, ſhall barb'rous aid refuſe,
And in the Roman majeſty appear,
Which none know better, and none come ſo near.

The end of the Sixth Book.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM